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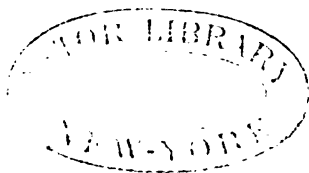


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**EDITED BY
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THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

No. XIII.

MARCH, 1839.

ARTICLE I.

RELIGION OF THE BIBLE.

Religion of the Bible, in Select Discourses. By THOMAS H. SKINNER. New York. 1839.

It was with elevated expectations, that we took up this volume from the pen of Dr. Skinner. To say that we lay it down without disappointment, would be saying too little; we can affirm truly, that our anticipations have all been fulfilled, and more than fulfilled by the perusal. We know not when it has fallen to our lot to read a book which has afforded us so much pleasure, and which we feel that we can commend so fully and cordially to the attention of every class of our readers. The name of the author himself cannot but secure it a favorable reception with those who have ever heard his voice in the sanctuary, and are acquainted with the style of his public ministrations. We are happy to know, that there are not a few, to whom the writer is thus favorably known; and, as we cannot doubt that all such will turn with eagerness to the pages of this work, so we are sure, that it will be more their own fault than that of the work itself, if it does not impart to them views, and produce on them impressions, which shall make them wiser and better, so long as they live.

But the influence of these discourses should not be restricted to limits even thus extensive. The voice of a speaker, however widely it may have been heard, can yet be heard by few, in comparison with those whom

the printed page may reach. Nor, again, while it is impossible that words merely spoken should fall upon the ears of all, is it by any means certain, that they will be universally read, because the press has brought them before the public. Even this mode of disseminating truth has its limits: and these, while imposed in part by the necessity of the case are to some extent imposed also by causes which need not exist. One of these so naturally suggests itself under the circumstances, in which we write, that we would just allude to it, as we pass on, and make it the subject of one or two remarks.

It is undeniable, that even religious works of great value make but slow progress, in obtaining currency and favor, beyond the limits of the denomination in which they are produced. It is natural, and we hesitate not to add, proper, for us to give the preference to those writers, who sympathize with us in all our views of truth, and who, from this coincidence, command so much more fully our confidence, and thus acquire a power over us, which enables them to benefit us in a higher degree. To a reasonable preference of this nature, no one can object; so far from condemning it, we would cherish it ourselves, and commend it in others. But there is an excess of this feeling, which is too apt to spring from it, that is a very different quality. Carried to an extreme, it loses entirely the merit of its origin, and develops a spirit bordering but too closely upon prejudice and bigotry. A proneness to this excess is not, so far as we know, the characteristic of one sect more than of another: it would seem to be a tendency of human nature itself. It is a principle of universal operation; and goes far to explain what we believe to be well nigh a universal fact; and that is, that valuable works, not at all sectarian or polemic in their character, but purely practical in their aim and spirit, are often so imperfectly known to Christians of a different religious persuasion from their authors. In this remark we have reference more especially to contemporary works of this class; for in regard to those which have been for a long time before the public, and which possess a very decided merit, it is of course impossible that they should not, however restricted at first, gradually enlarge the sphere of their circulation, and at length win their way to universal favor. Thus no one, we suppose, reads

the Pilgrim's Progress with less readiness or profit, because Bunyan was a Baptist, or Taylor's Holy Living, or Edwards on the Affections, because the one was an Episcopalian, and the other a Congregationalist. The success of such productions may be delayed, indeed, but cannot be prevented. Give them time, and they will triumph over the strongest prejudices which sectarianism can array against them.

But such writings, it should be remembered, furnish but a small part of the religious reading of the times. The present taste, as well in this as every other department of authorship, would seem to be to read those first who have published last; and then, to speak of what is true rather than of what is desirable or wise, it is to the labors of living writers that we are indebted, so far as regards the agency of the press, for nearly all our means of moral excitement. As applied to these writers, the remark we just now made is certainly true, and in this application we make it again. There is, we say, too great a disposition among Christians to limit their knowledge of the religious publications of the day to those of their own sect. They restrict themselves too much to such books as have their origin among themselves. They take too little pains to become acquainted with those which appear elsewhere, receive them with distrust and reserve, and seem often barely to *submit*, as it were, to be benefited by them. Does any one question this? With as much reason might he, in our opinion, question the existence of sectarianism itself: for that it should manifest itself in this form, is no more strange, surely, than that it should appear in any other. That Christendom is yet free from a sectarian spirit, no one will pretend; of course, it still exists and operates, and we have no doubt that this of which we are speaking is one of the ways in which it causes its power to be felt. We believe that one of the first, we are sure one of the most important, effects of its utter extinction will be, that mind will then have fewer obstacles to encounter, in giving free circulation to its thoughts,—that it will overleap with less difficulty those barriers, which separate so widely the various bodies of evangelical Christians, who yet, in reality, differ from each other in so few respects; nay, more, that those barriers themselves will be broken down, so that the writers

of one religious denomination shall have ready access to the members of every other, and no longer be compelled to sacrifice "to party, what was meant for mankind."

It is obvious to remark, that a book assuming such a title as *Religion of the Bible*, ought, at least, to be written in *such a spirit* as to commend it to general acceptance. In this respect, the name which Dr. Skinner has chosen pledges him to nothing which he has not fully done. A volume of religious discourses, containing more of what is fundamental to Christianity, and less of what is extraneous or sectarian, we know not where to find. Those topics in which the true disciples of Christ may disagree, are all excluded; and those only discussed and enforced, in which they have a common interest, and from which spring the obligations which they all acknowledge. If in omitting topics such as those connected with the external ordinances of the gospel, he has not attempted to give the whole religion of the Bible, yet such views as he has chosen to present, are indisputably supported by the authority of that sacred volume.

As was natural, the author dedicates the volume,—he does it in a single brief sentence,—to the people of his charge; and we thus learn that he is pastor of a Presbyterian church; but, aside from this, did we not know what his denominational connection is from other sources, we could never have known it at all, from the contents of the book itself. In short, we are prepared to say, that the writer has fulfilled his intention, as expressed in the preface, and that "the reader will find, in the pieces composing this volume, nothing incongenial with the spiritual feelings and sympathies of all true Christians; nothing which will not, if he is a spiritual man, tend to his advancement in spirituality; and, if he is a worldly man, tend to make him a spiritual one. In perusing the book, he will not once find his thoughts conversant with a subject, which he himself will regard as a matter of doubtful disputation, or as among the uncertainties of religion, or as pertaining to those peculiarities, whether of doctrine, practice or spirit, which have given Christians different names, and have divided them into contending schools and sects."

The discourses which are here presented to the public have not exactly the form of sermons, although we presume that they were originally written as such, and have

been addressed to religious assemblies. We have met before with nearly all of them in the different publications of the day; and it is owing to the fact, that they are now reprinted from these publications, to which they would have been less adapted, as composed in the first instance, that they appear in their present character. We do not see that the reason for this change has any application to the discourses, as they stand in this collection; and should have been better pleased, had they been restored to their original form. So also it appeared to the author himself; when, however, it was no longer in his power to make the correction, and he could only, as an approximation to it, insert in the table of contents a list of the passages which were used as texts.

It is in the light of sermons, however, that we are to regard these discourses, whether we consider their origin as called forth by the exigences of the pulpit, or in fact their construction, notwithstanding the slight defect, to which we have just adverted. And it is in this light, that we *wish* them to be regarded. They are the legitimate fruit of the Christian ministry; and the honor, which they are calculated to reflect upon it, should not be diminished by their being dissociated from it. This volume of Dr. Skinner, in our judgment of it, stands in the very first rank of the class of productions to which it belongs. Happier specimens of the true effective style of pulpit discourses have seldom been penned or preached. They are distinguished for that rare union of qualities, which gives them power over minds of every degree of culture. They satisfy almost every demand of the most rigid literary criticism, and, at the same time, are adapted to make a strong impression on those who are least qualified to judge critically of such performances. To the finish of elaborate composition, without its stiffness, they add much of the directness and energy of unpremeditated discourse, with none of its inelegance and looseness. We were much struck, in reading them, with the power of our language, as adapted to the expression of religious ideas. They furnish a striking illustration of the sufficiency and richness of its stores in this respect. We see from them, that the inculcations of the pulpit may be in the highest degree evangelical and spiritual, and yet be conveyed in

terms as approved and classical, as those which are employed on other subjects.

The discourses, which compose this volume, are ten in number, and are on the following topics: "Spiritual Religion. Spiritual Joy. Doing Good; part first, Doing Good; part second, Coöperation with God. Prayer; part first, Prayer; part second, The Sabbath. Restraints on Divine Influence. The First Last, and the Last First, or the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard." From this enumeration, our readers will perceive at once the practical character of the book. We wish them to procure it, and thus judge for themselves of its excellence in this, as well as other respects, and we would not diminish the motive to do this, by presenting too copious extracts upon our pages. We shall limit ourselves to two or three quotations, in which we have in view the two-fold object of illustrating the manner of the author, and calling attention to the importance of some of the ideas which he advances.

The first of the series,—the sermon on *Spiritual Religion*,—is truly an able effort. It not only discusses a subject of vital importance, but does it with a power, moral and intellectual, which is rarely exceeded. We have, in the first place, a definition of the nature of spiritual religion, showing what it is in itself, and as contrasted with other kinds of religion, which are found among those who profess to be Christians. The way being thus prepared for understanding the terms of the proposition, the proposition itself, which it is the design of the discourse to illustrate, is laid down in these words: viz., *That spiritual religion has, in many respects, greatly the preëminence above every other.* The truth of this affirmation is then argued, in a strain of the most convincing and persuasive eloquence, from a variety of considerations, such as that this sort of religion is *scriptural* religion,—that it is the most *rational* kind of religion,—that it is the only religion which affords *sensible* and *satisfying* enjoyment,—that it is the only kind of religion which *perceptibly advances the soul in the life and likeness of God*,—that it is more *useful* than any other religion, and better adapted to *sustain us* under evil. And, finally, two or three objections, which might be supposed to arise in the mind against the claims of such piety, are taken up

and disproved, and thus, at the close of the subject, the full weight of the obligation to cultivate and practise this religion, is left *pressing* upon the conscience, with nothing to obstruct it, except the aversion of the heart itself to the holiness, which is shown to be so justly required.

We have sketched the plan of this discourse, not because we suppose the reader will obtain from it any adequate conception of the ability with which it is executed, but because we wish to lay before him at least one example of that skill in sermonizing, which Dr. Skinner possesses in so eminent a degree. There is one peculiarity, we would take occasion to say, in the structure of the sermon under remark, which is worthy of notice. It will be perceived, on comparing the main position of it with the subsequent reasoning, that the former claims less than the latter really proves; in other words, it presents a conclusion narrower than the premises on which it rests. All which it proposed to show is, that spiritual religion has a decided superiority over religion of every other kind; but the thing actually shown and intended, is, not that such religion is the *best* of several kinds of religion, of which a person may safely take his choice, but that it is in fact *the only* religion, which can make it certain that the soul will finally be saved. Every one can see, that this mode of conducting the argument is perfectly adapted to the circumstances of the case. Had more been demanded at the outset, less, in all probability, would have been secured in the end. It admits of no dispute, that the generality of those, who are reputed Christians, do not, practically at least, regard such piety as this discourse recommends, as essential to the safety of their religious hopes. They acknowledge its desirableness, but deny its necessity. They consider it as well suited, perhaps, to ministers of the gospel, and a few others who are peculiarly favored in their circumstances; but beyond this, as too impracticable to be expected, as an ordinary attainment. Hence, to have taken at once the open ground, that such a view as this is utterly false, and the practice to which it leads, in the highest degree dangerous and sinful, could have had no other effect than to arouse the mind to opposition, and throw it into precisely the state, of all others the most unfavorable to conviction. To have provoked thus a feeling of hostility, to have commenced with giving out, as it

were, a challenge to resistance, would have been surely neither necessary nor wise. The plan of discourse, which the author has adopted, has enabled him to avoid all prejudice of this kind against his object. It gives him an opportunity to convince those who may need it, without being compelled, in so doing, to overcome a previously formed purpose on their part *not to be convinced*. The point of the Thyrsus, so to speak, is concealed for a while; but it is the Thyrsus still. In due time, this is manifest. The ivy-wreaths, which were entwined around it, are presently stripped away, and the fearful weapon is seen as it is. But it is then too late to recoil. The truth has done its work. By the time that the writer has disclosed fully the design and scope of his argument, he has already presented so much evidence of its correctness, that the conclusion to which it tends can no longer be fairly resisted. With what plainness and fidelity that conclusion is urged, the closing sentences of the discourse will show. They are as follows :

“Still, some will think that although spiritual religion is the best and safest kind, yet as the more common sort may suffice, they will content themselves with that. But does not this savor more of a low and calculating selfishness, than of that spirit of regeneracy which instinctively pants after entire freedom from sin, and entire conformity to the image of God? Have those persons any true holiness, who desire no more than may answer to keep them out of the world of wo? But is it certain that the common sort of religion *will* suffice? Who feels certain of it? Have the professors of that religion an assurance of their salvation? Their hearts answer, No! Has the world any assurance of their salvation? All men stand in doubt,—and it is indeed a doubtful matter. St. Paul thought he should be a cast-away if he did not keep his body under, and bring it into subjection. Do these professors of religion practise such discipline on themselves, that their souls may not be lost? Who would stand in their souls’ stead? In the infinite concerns of religion, no uncertainty, no suspense of mind ought to be tolerated, if it can possibly be prevented; and prevented it may be, by giving due diligence to that end. And the needful diligence in this case is not more than men generally employ to secure worldly things. But shall men, shall professors of religion, use more diligence to secure to themselves things that perish in the using, than to lay hold on eternal life? Are such men Christians? Must we not tremble at the question!

“Thus irresistible and overwhelming, are the arguments for SPIRITUAL RELIGION. Should we venture upon any other? Destitute of this kind of religion, is there a man living, who, for a thousand worlds, would take our place at death or judgment?”—pp. 41—43.

In passing to the second of the discourses before us, we find ourselves still in the same spiritual atmosphere which surrounded us in the first. The proximity of the one to the other may have been accidental, but it is certainly natural and happy; for what moral effect follows more certainly from its cause, than "spiritual joy" from "spiritual religion?" It is not, however, the object of the writer to consider the origin, or describe the nature of this affection, so much as "to show the power of it as a practical principle." No view of the subject could be taken, so profitable to Christians as this: and yet, probably, it is the very one, which of all others has been least frequently presented. It is universally understood and acknowledged, so far as relates to the ordinary pursuits of men, that to be successfully followed, they must take a deep hold of the affections of those devoted to them, and be regarded, not merely as a duty and a labor, but as a source of happiness and delight. No activity is so efficient as that which is prompted by a lively interest in the work to which it is directed. It is when the mind derives pleasure from the exertion of its powers, that its powers are so exerted as to accomplish the greatest results. It is not enough, for example, if a person would be truly learned, that he should desire the rewards which learning confers; he must delight also in the toils which it imposes, and be attracted to them as much by the gratification which they afford, as by a desire for those remoter benefits which he may thus secure. Nothing has such a tendency to arouse the mind, and give it power for successful effort, as a feeling of intense delight in the objects which engage its attention. Nor is this true of those pursuits only, which are strictly intellectual in their character. We witness the same fact in every department of human labor. Most of those differences of skill, which exist among those who practise the mechanical arts of life, are to be attributed, not so much to a superior natural aptitude for the processes which they perform, as to the greater pleasure, which they take in these exercises of their ingenuity. With such manifestations of the power of this principle, all are familiar; we have observed its effect in the case of others; we have often experienced it ourselves. But beyond these limits, there is another and yet more important field of its operation. It is in our character as moral beings,

that we fill the highest sphere of action; and the law, of which we have just spoken as having such an effect on our physical and intellectual agency, has the same effect also, here. It is this most interesting and important truth, which the writer sets forth and illustrates, in the discourse under consideration. He thus proposes his object:—

“It is joy, for the most part, that makes men industrious and indefatigable in the fulfilment of moral claims and undertakings. This is the great principle of Christian attainment; of holy zeal and enterprise in the people of God. Why should it not be so? Would it not be surprising and unaccountable to find it otherwise? Should we not ask with wonder, how it is, that a principle which holds good in every other department of rational agency, should fail in this department? Are the laws of nature violated in the spiritual kingdom? No; reason requires us to believe, that this is the very sphere, in which, above all others, the efficiency of this influence is discovered. The influence itself exists here in a far nobler kind, than any where else. The joy of the Lord is as far above all other kinds of joy, as holiness is better than other kinds of excellence. The just conclusion is, that the effects of this joy are proportionately superior; the conclusion of common sense, confirmed by the universal testimony of Scripture and experience. It may, however, be useful, to enter somewhat particularly into an examination of the tendencies of this feeling; to inquire, in several instances, into the ways in which its efficacy is exerted and discovered.”—pp. 51, 52.

The considerations, which the writer then proceeds to submit, in further prosecution of his design, are happily conceived, and eloquently expressed. We adduce his remarks merely on a single one of the several topics upon which he enlarges,—the power of “spiritual delight to bear up the mind amidst assaults of outward afflictions.”

“Through these assaults must all make their triumphant way, who at last gain entrance into the world of rest. *As many as I love I rebuke and chasten. I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction.* Here it is that strength is demanded, and what, in these circumstances, imparts strength like this holy joy? Hope and faith are, indeed, needful, but it is joy, commonly, which gives faith and hope their strength. Unattended by joy, they may stay up the mind in some sort, amidst these seasons of storm and darkness; they may keep it from sinking into the deep waters of despair, but they may not do even this, without a great inward strife. Many a saint, going through the floods of trouble in the mere exercise of hope and faith, has meanwhile trembled in himself, lest, by failing to retain these supporters, he should perish in the passage. But how is the scene changed at once, when the light of heavenly joy springs up in darkness? What can any floods or fires of tribulation then do, to hinder

the mind's steadfastness, and swift progress in its upward course to God? These trials seem to assist, rather than hinder it on its way. How matchless the efficacy of this divine joy! It enlivens faith and hope, and all the other heavenly affections. It is as if omnipotence itself had entered into all the feelings of the mind. The mind becomes more than a conqueror. The very violence of fire is quenched; and, sometimes, as in the case of the martyr, the fiercest flames, under the influences of spiritual joy, not only lose their peculiar power, but become an instrument of ease, as the dying martyr found the flames were to him a bed of roses. This may savor of mere ardor, to the externally strict religionist, but he is not set to judge in this case: we appeal in verification of what we have said, to the Scriptures of truth, and the history of the church. It has been fulfilled in thousands of real examples, of whom the world was not worthy."—pp. 60—62.

We are persuaded that no considerate reader will dissent from the leading views of the discourse. No one, surely, will question the desirableness of that high state of religious enjoyment, which it urges upon Christians, or doubt that, if possessed, it would prove the source of all that moral power, which is here represented as connected with it. On these points, it would seem as if there could be no difference of opinion. The only question, which can fairly present itself, springs from another source. It may be thought by some, that the measure of religious joy, for which the writer pleads, is greater than Christians in general can be expected to attain, and that the possession of it is to be recommended as a privilege, rather than enjoined as a duty. The author takes notice, indeed, of this objection; but, as it would have exceeded the usual limits of such a discussion, to have been more particular, he has been able to do little else than barely allude to it. It is obvious, however, that the practical effect of the discourse must depend very much upon the view which is taken of this same objection; and it may not be amiss, therefore, to pause a moment, and inquire how far it is founded in truth.

That the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, represent, not merely peace of mind, but joy and delight in the Lord, as one of the usual fruits of genuine piety, every one knows, who is familiar with the sacred volume. Nor, as every such person must be aware, do they leave it at our option, whether we will cherish this feeling, or decline it; they use the language of authority, and with the same voice that they call upon us to repent

and believe, they command us also to rejoice, yea, *always* to rejoice in the Lord. Again, we know, on the testimony of the same unerring witness, that the piety of the primitive Christians fully realized, in this respect, the scriptural idea of it,—that it was a piety making them happy in their possessions, as well as their hopes,—ante-dating, to some extent, the bliss of heaven, and pouring the light of “high, eternal noon” through the otherwise gloomy house of their pilgrimage. Does it seem to any one, that we state the case too strongly? Let him, then, cast his eye over the pages of the inspired record;—let him read, for instance, the account which the Acts of the Apostles give, of the first converts, selling their worldly possessions, as soon as they had found the pearl of great price, and yet, in the midst of threatened poverty, eating their meat in gladness of heart;—let him listen to the martyr Stephen, praying for his murderers, and, as the vision of Christ, at the right hand of God, bursts on his dying eye, joyously surrendering his spirit, and sinking to sleep in Jesus,—O, let him hear the praises of Paul and Silas, as they sing in their prison at midnight, while their bodies yet bleed with the stripes of recent chastisement, and they wait for morning, not to release them from their bonds, but to renew their scourging and pains;—let him call to mind, also, what, though spoken by one, applies equally to all the apostles,—*We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; as unknown, yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing*;—let him, we say, recollect these, and other numberless illustrations of the state of their minds, and then judge whether the religion of the first believers did not make them happy,—whether their heaven was not truly begun on earth,—whether it would not have been infinite loss to them, as regards even this life, to have exchanged their feelings for any mere worldly portion which can be imagined.

But it will be said, perhaps, that the experience of the first Christians was peculiar in this respect. Admitting that *they* were favored, in so extraordinary a manner, with the consolations of religion, does it follow, it may be asked, that Christians of every age may expect to be equally favored? Why, we ask, in reply, should they

not? The gift of tongues, and other miraculous powers, which the apostles and their contemporaries possessed, have indeed passed away. Nor is this strange. They were not designed to be permanent; and ceased, as a matter of course, when the occasion which required them had ceased. On the contrary, the wants of Christians, as regards their need of spiritual succor and support, are ever the same. There exist, at the present moment, substantially the same reasons for dispensing freely the joys of salvation, as existed in the days of primitive Christianity. The early believers, it is true, had persecutions and trials, of mockery and martyrdom, to encounter, from which believers now are exempt; but are they, therefore, exempt from *all* difficulties? Did the Saviour utter a temporary truth, when he said, It is through much tribulation that ye must enter into the kingdom of God? Assuredly, no. The form of this tribulation may be varied, but the reality of it is unchanged. The first Christians, in being obliged literally to give up their worldly possessions, and forsake all, and follow Christ, did but that which every true Christian does now, in affection, if not in fact; and if *they* needed so much grace to enable them to "take joyfully the spoiling of their goods," *we*, surely, need as much, who are required to regard these things with the same insensibility, as if they were actually lost to us; and, even more,—we had almost said,—since we are obliged to resist, as they were not, the snare of having them still in our hands, to tempt and allure us. In addition to this, we are to remember, also, that the enmity of the unrenewed heart to the gospel, is as deep and bitter as ever. They who live godly in Christ Jesus are no less the objects of its inveterate malice. The church, at this very moment, when all is externally so calm, is as really hated, as when the fires of persecution threatened to devour her, and the blood of her own sons flowed so freely as almost to deluge her. This hostility is differently manifested, it is true. The cross of the gospel, however, may be as painful, when it slays our pride, by exposing us to reproach, as when it tortures the body. A sense of shame is often stronger than the fear of death. Hence there are, perhaps, as many apostates from the faith at this day, when religion is derided as weakness and hypocrisy, as there were when it might be punished as a crime. Pos-

sibly, the step of an informer may not have been half so dreadful to the first Christians, as the sneer of a fool-hardy trifler is, to some of us. The eye of Jesus, we have no doubt, now looks down upon many a follower, who, if it were the will of his Lord, would much more cheerfully glorify him by a martyr's death, than endure the scoffs, with which the ungodly mock at his prayers and zeal. Can we suppose, then, that he, whose compassion has no limit, would give to his people of one age a support under trials, which he refuses to those of another, equally, although differently, exposed? Having loved his disciples in one period of the church, will he not love their successors in every other, even to the end? He does, he must. To suppose otherwise, is to make him, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, changeable like ourselves. Surely, he who has inscribed the names of his children on the palms of his hands, will not fail to succor them in every distress, and to bless them, even in this life, with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

There is another source of proof on this subject, to which we would just allude. The actual experience of believers shows, that the ministration of the Spirit, in his office of comforter, was not designed to be temporary. There have been those, we mean, in every age of the church, who have walked in the steps of the joy, as well as the faith, of the primitive saints. There have been men, even in our own times, or those next to our own, who have risen to such measures of spiritual joy, as to realize our highest conceptions of the experience of apostles and martyrs. We mention, among the crowd of names, that offer themselves to us in confirmation of this, those of Flavel, Baxter, Tennent, Edwards, and Payson, and to these we might add others still. Surely, with such witnesses before us, we cannot doubt for a moment, that the Holy Ghost is still the comforter, as well as the sanctifier, of the Christian, and that he is as free to impart his consolations to us, as he was to those who were first obedient to the faith.

Why, then, the inquiry here naturally suggests itself, do so few of those, who call themselves Christians, exemplify the spirit of religion, in the matter of which we are speaking? We revert again to the sermon, which has

occasioned these remarks, and give the answer as it is there presented :

"The plain truth is this, that what hinders our joy, is allowed sin. The power of sin to do this is great. This little hand, said Whitefield, placing his hand near his eyes, as he was preaching in the field, while the glorious sun was flooding creation with his beams,—this little hand hides all the lustre of the sun from my eyes; and so a little sin may involve the soul in darkness, though the spiritual world be all bright as heaven itself. But should we therefore be content to live in darkness, or set ourselves with more resolution against all forms and degrees of sin? The latter is the course of duty, and is it not also the course of wisdom? Is it idle to ask the question, What manner of persons ought we to be, in all holy conversation and godliness? Why is it we do not understand, that our only concern in this world is, to keep a guileless spirit, a conscience void of offence? Alas, that we should suffer such things as love of lucre, or of preëminence, or of sensual pleasure, or jealous, and envious, and irascible feelings, to rest in our bosoms, and stay there from day to day, and week to week, and month to month, in the place which should be ever sacred to the gracious affections; in the temple of the Holy Ghost! Alas, that we should be so infrequent, so cursory, so cold in prayer; so seldom in fastings, so formal and lifeless in the duties of the sanctuary: that we should be so uncircumspect in speech, so little intent on walking in the Spirit; in all the pursuits of life, so regardless of the great principle of Christian morals, which demands that we do all things, even to eating and drinking, to the glory of God: that we should have so little fellowship (might we not rather say, such disagreement?) with Paul, in his purpose to do but this one thing all his life long,—forgetting the things behind, and reaching forth to those before, to press towards the mark, for the prize of his high calling? Here is the secret of our want of religious joy, of our spiritual doubts and fears; and also of our readiness to justify them. But shall such things vitiate and set aside the law of Christ's kingdom before recited, *rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice?*

"No, this is as irreversible as any other statute of the eternal realm. It has been given out, not to be neglected, but obeyed. It is the duty of all Christians to rejoice evermore, and the importance of their fulfilling this duty, no tongue can fully tell. Immortal souls, in countless multitudes, have gone to an undone eternity, in consequence of its not having been fulfilled; the salvation of the world still lingers from the same cause; for want of holy joy in the church, all the means of grace in operation are comparatively ineffectual; the triumph of the gospel is kept back, on this sole account; and the gloominess and sadness of Christians keep up a sort of rejoicing among the spirits of darkness."—pp. 83—86.

The two discourses on Doing Good, are intended to urge upon Christians the duty of making it their aim, in imitation of their great Example, to lead lives of active

benevolence. Nothing which is said, in illustration of this point, is to be so construed, however, as to imply any disparagement of the more private and personal claims of religion. The object is not, by any means, to exalt the value of the more active virtues, at the expense of the more passive; but rather to show, that while true Christianity cherishes and promotes the latter, it in reality demonstrates the vigor even of these virtues, as well as develops its own strongest impulses, by devoting itself to works of philanthropy and love. We limit ourselves to a single extract:

"That the life of Christians in this world should, like that of their Lord, be a life of beneficence, is a conviction which must at once seize any mind, that with a just idea of Christian character, associates a recollection of the real state of the world. There was nothing arbitrary in Christ's choosing the mode of life he pursued; and, there is nothing arbitrary in the requisition that Christians should imitate it. The example of Christ was but true virtue developing itself fitly in the circumstances in which he found himself when his dwelling was with men. It was a form, which holiness, carried out into just action, in such a world as ours, naturally assumes. Holiness is benevolence; but how can benevolence with eyes to see, and ears to hear, and feet to walk, and hands to help, refrain in such a world as this, from active and self-denying exertions to do good? Whether we might innocently give ourselves up to quiet contemplations, or private indulgences, or projects for increasing our personal possessions, if we were among a race of sinless and happy beings, we need not inquire; but can we pretend to benevolence, and live for any such purpose, while we have our residence amidst such scenes and circumstances as those in which we are passing our days? Too few, even of Christians, appear to be aware of their circumstances. How little do any of us reflect, that we cannot go abroad into the streets without passing by some habitation of beggary, of disease, or of death; or, what is worse, of ignorance and crime, where benevolence might be doing works of goodness, at which angels would renew their songs of praises? While we are sitting together in the sanctuary, or rejoicing in the society of our friends, or pursuing our gainful business, how seldom or how slightly do we think that men, not far distant from us, are groaning life away in want and distress, in dungeons and in chains; and that widows and orphans, paupers, prisoners, and others ready to perish, far and near, and all the world over, are by their deep necessities crying aloud for our pity and our assistance! And more heart-rending still, that nearly the whole world are lying in the chains and under the curse of sin; and generation after generation are led captive of the great destroyer, at his will, into the prisons of eternal death! But should Christians be thus unmindful that it is in such a world they have their dwelling? If nothing could be done by them to alleviate human wretchedness, they might well forbear beneficent

effort, and live for other purposes than to do good to men. But as this is a world of hope as well as of sorrow, and as we have, through the bounty of Providence, and the sacrifice of Christ, ample remedies for both the temporal and spiritual ills of man, where is our benevolence, if we do not exert ourselves to make full proof of these remedies? Must it not astonish the holy angels to see benevolent beings, in our circumstances, unemployed in doing good? Is it strange, that in these circumstances our Saviour should have devoted himself to works of mercy and compassion? Where is the vigor of piety in the church, when but here and there can a Christian be found who lives only to be useful to his perishing fellow-men, and he passes too often for little better than a well-meaning enthusiast?" —pp. 100—103.

Should we venture to designate any one of the discourses here given to the public, as superior to the rest,—as *primus inter pares*,—we should accord that character to the one on *prayer*,—divided into two parts;—the sixth and seventh of the series. There may be single passages of equal power in some of the others; but, taken as a whole, we give it the preëminence. The structure of it,—the exact relation of the different parts to each other,—the power of analysis which it discovers,—the vigor of thought and style, as well as earnestness of feeling, with which it is written, together, make it one of the most perfect models for a sermon, that we have ever heard from the pulpit, or read from the press. This, we are aware, is high commendation; but we leave it without fear with the discourse itself, to vindicate its justice. We have room for only a few paragraphs. From the effect of these, diminished, of course, by being taken out of their proper connection, the reader may judge of the effect of the whole;—*ex pede Herculem*.

The subject of the discourse is the utility of prayer. This is considered,—“In its direct tendency to improve the human character; in its counteracting influence on whatever tends to injure that character; in its efficacious influence on whatever is favorable to it; and, in its persuasive influence on the great Source of blessedness himself.” Under the first head, the author analyzes the nature of prayer, and shows, that the several acts, of which it consists, require precisely those affections and states of mind, which constitute the greatest perfection of character; and hence, that prayer, since it calls into exercise these affections and states of mind, as often as it is performed, con-

tributes, as nothing else can, to the advancement of the soul in holiness. This part of the subject is thus treated :

"Prayer is adoration. And when are the divine perfections so likely to expand the soul with the ardors of holy love and delight, as when brought distinctly before her eye in this heavenly employment? The philosopher may be indeavour, while he traces these perfections in the frame of nature; and the theologian may coldly speculate and discourse concerning them as exhibited in Scripture. But he who fixes a firm and single eye on God in prayer, and dwells on one attribute and another with adoring admiration, will not be long unconscious of that pure flame, in which are blended all the elements of virtue and happiness. Prayer is confession of sin: And when is sin more apt to melt the heart into the soft relentings of godly contrition, than when carefully recounted to him against whom it has all been committed, with a spirit awed into reverence and submission by the pure majesty of the Divine presence? You may speak lightly of sin, when your words are directed to the sinful ear of a creature like yourself; but get you into some solitary place, and set the Lord distinctly and immediately before you; and spread out your offences before his undefiled eye; and, under his pure and piercing gaze, lay your heart and life open;—and we see not how you are ever to become repentant, if your sorrows do not then begin to flow forth. Prayer is supplication for mercy, grounded upon the blood of Christ, and the promises, which in him are yea and amen. And if ever the heart hath advantages for becoming all subdued and possessed by the sentiments and feelings which these wonders of divine love should excite, it is now. Men may speak to one another of these subjects with as little sensibility as they feel towards common things; but when the soul collects herself, and comes, and, convinced of her guilt, stands trembling and pleading before her great Judge, and tells him of his professed clemency and graciousness, and how his own Son hath loved her, and how he himself hath said and sworn, that for his worthy Son's sake, he will withhold no blessing from any humble contrite suppliant,—what a resistless tendency hath all this, to transfuse the soul with confidence, and faith, and full assurance of hope. Prayer, finally, is thanksgiving for favors received. And, sure, if ever gratitude unfeigned and unextinguishable do glow in a mortal's breast, this is the occupation in which the ethereal passion is generated and nourished. You may be reminded, that goodness and mercy have followed you all the days of your life, and look around you upon a thousand witnessings of the divine benignity still compassing you about; and your heart still be but little awake to its numberless and everlasting obligations. But not so, if, in a secret interview with your Father in heaven, you yourself tell over to him some few of the countless mercies which his hand hath been incessantly bestowing on you, since you first became the object of his providential and gracious care. Thus does it appear, how the various excellences of holy character are instrumentally produced and promoted by means of this exercise; and it would appear more convincingly, if the time permitted more detail."—pp. 188—191.

From the second general division of this discourse,—*prayer, the neutralizer of what injures the character*,—we select what is said in illustration of a single topic :

“Again, the world often fills the bosoms of men with avarice and ambition ; under the former of which they make haste to be rich, and under the latter to be great ; under either, or both, to be undone ; since the love of money is the root of all evil ; and since they have no heart to believe the gospel, who receive honor one of another.

“Would you, then, regard that as a useless thing, which has a tendency to eradicate these base passions from the hearts of men ? But if men would give themselves to prayer, they would soon cease to be the slaves of these passions. Prayer would quickly dethrone and banish these guilty usurpers of dominion over the immortal minds of men. If men would acknowledge God in all their ways, God himself would be their ruler and guide ; and his Holy Spirit would hold the throne of their hearts. If, before they undertake their plans and enterprises, they would submit them, with the calmness and seriousness of pure devotion, for the approbation of him, on whom they depend for success, how many of them would they relinquish, and with what moderation would they prosecute the rest ! Seest thou a man hurrying, and scrambling, and scuffling for the pelf or the praise of this world ? Assuredly thou seest a prayerless soul ; professor or not, he is a prayerless soul ;—one who, if he deals at all with God in prayer, deals with him only so far as to mock and insult him. A praying man knows too much concerning the true riches, and the honor which cometh from God, to discover such miserable infatuation for the things of an hour. To such a man it matters little, whether he rank with this world's rich or poor, its mighty or its mean. Riches cannot exalt, nor poverty depress him ; honors cannot elate him, nor reproaches break his heart. He dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, abiding under the shadow of the Almighty ; afraid neither for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day.”—pp. 200—202.

We quote also the conclusion :

“A word, at parting, to the saint,—the man of faith in Christ. Great, beloved brother, and manifold, are thy privileges ; but what we now would humbly call upon thee to bear in constant remembrance, is, the power which thou, all impotent and helpless as thou art in thyself, can exert through prayer. The feeblest of saints can chase a thousand,—can put ten thousand to flight,—can overcome the world,—can elevate himself to higher honor than earth can give or appreciate. There is a kind of omnipotence in prayer ; as having an influence on him who is Almighty. But why do we put thee in mind of this ? Not because we would have thee inflate thyself with pride ; but because we remember that the spirit of prayer is altogether benevolent. Its power is unto the destruction of nothing but sin and its fruits. Its power hath the same scope and aim with that glorious Being on whom it depends. Pure prayer's first accents are, ‘Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done

in earth as it is in heaven.' Faithful brother, man of prayer,—a man who hath power with God,—forget not, we beseech thee, what, by means of prayer, thou art capable of accomplishing. The world's conversion hath not yet been achieved. Means, with that great end in purpose, have been long in operation, and have recently been much increased. What those means are, thou knowest; and their powerlessness, independently of God's blessing, thou knowest also. We remind thee again of thy privilege, as endued with the spirit of grace and supplication. For Zion's sake, then, hold not thy peace, for Jerusalem's sake rest not, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth. There is neither dullness in the ear nor weariness in the arm of God. Both almighty strength and boundless mercy are awake and alert, to make full and swift return to any righteous man's effectual fervent application. And the divine glory is still pledged to make the dominion of truth and grace universal and complete. Of the prophecies promising that triumph, not a jot or tittle can fail to be fulfilled; unless God can cease to be God, or the Scriptures cease to be his word. And the souls of men have not become less excellent than when Christ counted not his blood too precious to be given for their ransom. Nor are they less liable to be lost, or liable to less than an everlasting perdition. And shall the knees of the saints be soon wearied, and the breath of their prayers be stifled? O, let them lift up their hands, and pour forth their cries, till they cease to have their dwelling in the land of prayer."—pp. 224—227.

But we have already extended this article, perhaps, too far, and must now bring it to a close, without remarking on several topics, which we had designed to introduce, when we began. As we said before, our object has been to make known, not so much the *contents* of the book, as the *book itself*. To call attention to it, is all which we have aimed to do;—and, in truth, it is the only service which it needs at our hands. We merely bespeak for it an opportunity to plead its own claims; and it will do it, we are sure, more effectually than can any voice of commendation from us or others.

ARTICLE II.

ECLECTICISM.

Or, the Philosophy of M. COUSIN, so far as it is developed in his Philosophical Fragments, his Introduction to the History of Philosophy, and his Examination of Locke, &c.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE remaining facts of consciousness, viz., those of sensibility and of will, we shall be obliged to pass over in a more cursory manner. The facts of reason, which we have already considered, are all *necessary*, and in no degree under the influence or control of the will. The same is true of the facts of sensibility. In the will only, we find freedom. To the acts of the will only, are attached the characteristics of personality and responsibility. According to the system we are considering, we are accountable neither for our sensations, our judgments, nor our preferences, but only for our *volitions*. The external world is the source and cause of our sensations. "I press upon a sharp cutting instrument, and a painful sensation results. I put a rose to my nose, and an agreeable sensation results. Is it I who produce these phenomena? Can I make them cease? Does the pain or pleasure come or go at my wish? No; I am subject to the pleasure, as well as the pain; both come, subsist, and depart, without regard to my will. In a word, sensation is a phenomenon marked in the eye of my consciousness with the characteristic of *necessity*."* Reason is the source of all our primitive judgments; and these judgments are performed by all men alike. All men must necessarily judge, that the whole is greater than a part, that two and three are equal to five. Reason is pronounced to be that true Light, the *Logos* of St. John, which "lighteth every man that cometh into the world." The conclusion is, that "liberty does not fall under sensibility or intelligence,"—a term here

* *Elements of Psychology*, Chap. X.

used as synonymous with reason,—“it falls under activity, and not under all the facts which are referred to this class, but under a certain number which are marked by peculiar characteristics; that is to say, those actions which we perform, with the consciousness, both of performing them and of being able not to perform them.”* Actions, marked by these peculiar characteristics, are said to be only the acts of the will, and, consequently, for these alone are we accountable. To illustrate more particularly the author's views of liberty and accountability, we submit the following extract:

“Every moral act is comprised of three elements, perfectly distinct; 1. The intellectual element, which is composed of the knowledge of the motives for and against, of deliberation, of preference, of choice. 2. The voluntary element, which consists entirely in an internal act, namely, the resolution to do. 3. The physical element, or the external action. * * * * *

“It is now the question to determine, precisely, in which of these three elements we are to find liberty, that is to say, the power to do, with the consciousness of being able not to do. Is this power to be found in the first element, the intellectual element of free action? No, for it is not in the power of man to judge that one motive is preferable to another; we are not masters of our preferences, we prefer one motive to another, on this side or that, according to our intellectual nature, which has its necessary laws, without having the consciousness of being able to prefer or to judge differently, and even with the consciousness of being unable not to prefer and to judge as we actually do. It is not, then, in this element, that we are to seek for liberty; neither is it in the third element, in the physical act; for this act supposes the external world, an organization which corresponds to it, and in this organization a muscular system, sound and appropriate, without which the physical act is impossible. When we accomplish this, we are conscious of acting but on condition of a theatre which is not at our disposal, and of instruments which are imperfectly at our disposal, which we can neither restore, if they leave us, and they may leave us at any moment, nor set in order, if they become deranged, and deceive us, and which often do deceive us, and obey their own peculiar laws, over which we have no power, and with which we are scarcely even acquainted; whence it follows, that we do not act here with the consciousness of being able to do the opposite of that which we do. It is not, then, in this third element, any more than in the first, that we are to look for liberty; it can only be in the second; and there, in fact, we find it. Neglect the first and the third element, the judgment and the physical act, and let the second element, the will, subsist alone, analysis discovers two terms still, in this single element, namely, a

* *Philosophical Miscellanies*, Vol. 1, p. 26.

special act of will, and the power of will within us, to which we refer this act. This act is an effect, in relation to the power of will, which is the cause of it; and this cause, in order to produce its effect, needs no other theatre, and no other instrument, than itself. It produces it directly, without any medium or condition; it continues and completes it, or suspends and modifies it—creates it entirely, or destroys it entirely; and, at the very moment when it exercises itself by a special act of any kind, we have the consciousness that it could exercise itself by a special act of a quite contrary kind, without any obstacle, without exhausting itself by such action, so that after having changed its acts a hundred times, the faculty remains absolutely the same inexhaustible and identical will itself, in the perpetual variety of its applications, always being able to do what it does not do, and not to do what it does. Here, then, in all its perfection, is the characteristic of liberty. Sensible facts are necessary. We do not impute them to ourselves. Rational facts are also necessary; and reason is no less independent of the will than sensibility. Voluntary facts alone are marked, in the view of consciousness, with the characteristics of personality and responsibility.”*

The author has here given us his sentiments upon two most important subjects,—the freedom of the will, and the extent of human accountability. We shall not alarm our readers, by attempting an extended elucidation of these topics; but the prominence, which they have always occupied in philosophical discussions, will justify us in a few brief remarks. Cousin’s theory, with regard to the freedom of the will, was designed by himself, and has been regarded by many others, as a refutation of those views of the subject, which have been advocated in this country by President Edwards. We do not, however, regard it as repugnant to the sentiments of Edwards, to maintain that “when the will exercises itself by a special act of any kind, we have the consciousness that it has the power to exercise itself in quite a contrary act, without exhausting itself by such action.” Herein, as Cousin supposes, consists the perfection of liberty; and we grant it. When the will has exercised itself in a certain act, who will deny that the will is the *cause* of that act? If it is the will’s act, it was the will, surely, that acted. It was not *motive* that acted, nor argument, nor any thing else, but the will itself; and, in producing this act, who will deny, that the will was free, and that the same power which produced

* *Elements of Psychology*, page 252; also, *Philosophical Miscellanies*, page 265; also, *Ibid.*, page 124.

this act, is sufficient to produce a directly contrary act, or to repeat the same act? And we know, that the will often does, at different times, and in different circumstances, put forth acts directly contrary to each other. How, then, would Cousin account for this diversity? We are told that the cause is still to be found in the will alone,—that the will always determines itself. But if the will be the only cause, then it will be impossible to account for the difference in action; this difference would be an effect without a cause; for the law, that “like causes produce like effects,” is as applicable to mind, as to matter. And if the will must be regarded, not only as the efficient cause, but as the determining and directing cause of all its acts, then the will must always act in one direction; there could be no difference in volitions, no variety, no liberty, no room for either virtue or vice. Are we told, that the same cause produces different effects, in different circumstances? This we admit; and we would ask, what are the different circumstances which influence the will to put forth acts, differing in their moral character? These circumstances can be nothing more than the varying *motives* by which the acts of the will are determined. We are, then, conducted inevitably to the conclusion of Edwards, that the will is determined by the strongest motive. The will is still the efficient and uniform cause of its own acts, while the power of motive is the cause which inclines the will to one action rather than another, and which imparts to every volition the characteristic of virtue or of vice. Were we to offer any further considerations in favor of this position, we could only repeat those which have already been advanced by Edwards himself. His argument still remains unshaken; and, even had it suffered, in the least, from the attacks of its numerous adversaries, we could have little hope of seeing its breach repaired in these modern times. In our opinion, however, it has gathered strength from age and opposition, and is destined to endure, as long as truth continues to have a single advocate. We recommend it, therefore, to our readers, with a sentiment similar to that which was expressed by a celebrated architect, with regard to the great dome of St. Peter’s. Having been commissioned to examine that stupendous monument of mechanical ingenuity, from a fear, that some of its frame-work was beginning to

give way, he returned this report:—"The work of Angelo still stands unimpaired; and should it ever need mending, better let it fall."

As to our author's views of the extent of human accountability, we have much to object. Our limits, however, will admit of only a few brief suggestions. His doctrine is, that the characteristic of responsibility attaches itself only to our volitions, and that these only can have a moral character. In his analysis of *action*, he first supposes deliberation, preference, and a knowledge of motives for and against. He then asks, what faculty it is which deliberates, prefers, and takes cognizance of motives. He replies, that it is the *intelligence*, the faculty whose operations, according to his system, are entirely under the control of necessity. To deliberate, he tells us, is "nothing else than to examine with doubt, to estimate the relative value of different motives, without yet perceiving it with the clear evidence that commands judgment, conviction, preference." "Now," he again asks, "what is it that examines, what is it that doubts, what is it that judges, that we should not yet judge, in order to judge better? Evidently it is intelligence. * * * It is in the intelligence that the phenomena of preference take place, as well as the other phenomena which it supposes. Thus far, then, we are still in the sphere of intelligence, and not in that of action." Intelligence deliberates, intelligence prefers, intelligence decides that we *ought* to do it. At this point, the office of intelligence closes, without having performed any act to which is attached the least accountability, the least virtue or vice. The whole matter is now referred to the disposal of another faculty,—this faculty *resolves*; it says, *I will*, or *I will not*. Here commences responsibility; here commences virtue or vice. The faculty which resolves is not the same with the faculty which judges and decides. The faculty which says I ought, is not the same which says I will. I ought, is a necessary judgment, I will, is a free and unrestrained volition. Volition only can be praised or blamed.

Could this system be sustained, how would the responsibility of man be diminished! What a multitude of his sins would prove to be sinless! For his opinions, which have so often led him astray, he is no longer accountable. His preferences, his desires, his choice, which impel him

to so many acts of selfishness and of injustice towards others, are all the results of necessary judgments, over which he has no control. Avarice, covetousness and idolatry, are no longer sinful. Jealousy, hatred, malignity and wrath, may be troublesome occupants of some unfortunate bosom, but if their fury can only be restrained within the precincts of their own Æolian caverns, they can never be chargeable with moral blame. They are all sensations or judgments, under the rigid dominion of necessity. Pity, compassion, charity, benevolence, which have so often gladdened the pallid countenance of indigence and poverty, are not in themselves moral virtues. They impart not to their possessor any moral character. Indeed, if morality attaches itself only to volitions, it would be impossible for man to possess what may properly be called a *moral character*, or a moral nature. His nature, that is to say, his intellect, his affections, or his heart, cannot be depraved, or morally contaminated. As morality begins with volition, it must end with volition. Volition, however vicious, can proceed from no vicious trait of character, and can leave upon the character no moral stain. The admonition of the wise man is then no longer needful, "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." According to the above system, the will is not influenced by our previous moral habits, nor by any of our previous judgments. Let our judgments and our preferences be as they may, our will may be this or that. One necessary consequence of this system is, that virtue and vice are impossible, a consequence which our author would, of course, deny; but let us look at his theory. He finds, indeed, a place for the influence of motives; but what place? He confines this influence exclusively to the operations of intelligence, never allowing it to extend to the will. Motives never influence our volitions; they influence our judgments and our preferences, but these have no moral character; and even these cannot influence our volitions. Volition is uncontrolled, either by preference, judgment, motive, or any thing else. Now, separate volition from the influence of all motive, and what becomes of its moral character? What virtue or vice can be attached to a volition, which is prompted by no motive whatever, whether good or bad?

But if this system be wrong, where lies the error?—

where does it begin? It is no error, surely, to attach the characteristic of moral responsibility to our volitions or intentions. In this all systems of moral philosophy agree. But, in attaching a moral quality to volitions, they generally include also the motive which determines the volition. An executioner intends or *wills* to destroy human life, because he is required to do so by law. Another man wills the same act from motives of revenge. Both perform the same deed; the latter only is culpable. But it is an error to *confine* moral responsibility either to volitions or motives. Otherwise, a brute is as susceptible of moral guilt, as man. A brute may take away human life, and may do it from motives of revenge. But why, in this case, do we attach the idea of guilt to the act of man, and not to the act of the brute? Evidently, it is because man is endowed with reason; and is responsible for the *exercise* of his reason. In short, because man is an intelligent being, he is responsible for his judgments, his preferences, and often even for his sensations. Who does not know, that an impure imagination may induce sensations which tend to vitiate the character? Who will deny, that, if we neglect to discipline our minds, and to enlighten our reason, we shall often form wrong judgments and preferences, and thereby be impelled to wrong volitions and actions; whereas, a cultivated character might have led us to judge rightly, and act rightly. Aside from these considerations, every system of moral philosophy must be defective, which does not hold man guilty, in a degree, even for his ignorance, and for acts of forgetfulness and neglect. A parent may forget or neglect the moral culture of his children; but who will say that he is not, in some degree, responsible for their consequent moral ruin? The sin of Eli was, that "his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not." Saul persecuted the Christians through *ignorance*; and, though his motive was good, he was still guilty. A man may indulge in nervous and peevish sensations, until he becomes as churlish and irritable as Nabal; who was such a son of Belial that no one dared speak to him. Can such an individual be blameless? The moral system of the New Testament, while it indeed holds man accountable for his volitions, holds him equally accountable for his preferences and his judgments. Our Saviour's language to the Jews

is, "Ye will not come to me, that ye might have life;" here, guilt is charged upon the will. Guilt is also charged upon the preference, where it is said, "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men *loved* darkness rather than light." The scoffers, also, alluded to by Peter, are implicated in guilt, when they are represented as expressing the impious conclusion of a perverted judgment, by the interrogation, "Where is the sign of his coming?" We admit that the sacred Scriptures do not recognise expressly the metaphysical distinctions we have alluded to; but who can deny that they here charge upon man the guilt of sinful volitions, sinful preferences, and sinful judgments? We conclude this paragraph by remarking, that the whole error of Cousin, in relation to this subject, proceeds from a vain attempt to transfer the same necessity to all our judgments and preferences, which is necessarily attached to our perception of first and necessary truths.

Having arrived thus far, he is prepared more fully to answer the question with regard to the origin of our knowledge. He, at last, comes to the same conclusion with Reid and Stewart,—that though we have many ideas which cannot be traced, either to sensation or reflection, yet we have no *innate ideas*. What others have called innate ideas, Reid and Stewart have called first truths, the necessary conceptions of the intellect, &c. Cousin calls them the spontaneous developments of reason, or of the intelligence, and regards the external world as furnishing only the *occasion*, by which these ideas are necessarily evolved.

We now hasten to a brief statement of the manner in which Cousin disposes of the question with regard to the validity of our knowledge. Here, he enters within the precincts of Ontology,—the science of real being. He is now to attempt that grand problem, so perplexing to philosophy, and hitherto unsolved,—to settle the inquiry, how we can know that the things which we see, and hear, and feel, actually exist,—how we are to pass from a world of phenomena, of qualities, of appearances, to a world of substances, of real essences,—from the finite to the infinite,—from the relative to the absolute. Between these two worlds, he would have us believe there is a "great gulf fixed," more dark than the caverns of Scylla, more

to be dreaded than the vortex of Charybdis. Here, in attempting to force a passage, system after system has found its ruin. Thus far Aristotle came, but dared to proceed no farther. Here Des Cartes, also, paused, and, rather than attempt the dark profound, was willing to rest the existence of a world of reality upon his faith in God. Kant was more adventurous, but his oblivion was the reward of his temerity. But that splendid system of philosophy, which is to attract the admiration of all Europe, was not to be baffled by this difficulty. Cousin would, therefore, have us work ourselves up to the highest possible emotions of sublimity, while he unfolds his stupendous scheme for crossing this vast abyss. But what is his scheme? As he has now a work before him worthy of a god, a god is accordingly introduced to perform it. In this, we suppose he is sustained by the advice of the poet:

“Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.”

To effect the purpose in hand, human reason is deified; its robes of humanity are taken off, and it is solemnly invested with all the attributes of divinity. The doctrine proposed to us is, that our reason does not belong to us, it is no part of our personality; nothing is personal but our volition; and “nothing is less personal or less individual than reason.” Reason is the divine in the human; it is God dwelling in humanity,—dwelling alike in every individual of the human race. When our senses, therefore, supply us with a knowledge of the *qualities* of matter, this furnishes the occasion upon which reason reveals to us that there is an unseen substance in which these qualities inhere. When the senses give us a knowledge of the finite and the relative, reason is always present to reveal to us instantly a knowledge of the infinite and the absolute. Hence we are authorized to believe in the existence of real substances, and of an infinite, absolute Being, even with more confidence than we believe in the testimony of our senses; because, for the existence of these, we have the immediate testimony of the Deity himself. Thus, having invested reason with supreme and unlimited authority, and having freed it from all the fallibility and weakness incident to human nature, our author has laid the foundation of a system of Transcen-

dentalism, by the aid of which he can easily arrive at the utmost boundary of all possible knowledge. Even the essence itself of the great Supreme can hide no secret from the disciple of such a system. We are told, that the divine essence, when searched to the bottom, is found to "*consist only of creative power.*" The language of Inspiration is, "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?" And the Christian, in his highest aspirations, can only indulge the hope, that when he shall enter the pure abodes of the redeemed, he shall then know even as he is known. But the system, of which we are now treating, would teach us that the Almighty can be perfectly comprehended, even in our present state. And it actually professes, not only to give us a complete analysis of the character and essence of God, but to demonstrate, that there is nothing further knowable or possible, beyond this analysis. This statement the following remarks will amply justify :

"We shall not deny the charge of wishing to penetrate into the depths of the divine essence, which common opinion declares to be incomprehensible. There are those, who would have it incomprehensible. There are men, reasonable beings, whose vocation it is to comprehend, and who believe in the existence of God, but who will believe in it only under the express condition, that this existence is incomprehensible. What does this mean? Do they assert that his existence is absolutely incomprehensible? But that which is absolutely incomprehensible can have no relations which connect it with our intelligence, nor can it be in any wise admitted by us. A God who is absolutely incomprehensible, is a God who, in regard to us, does not exist. * * * * Will it be said, that God is not altogether incomprehensible,—that he is somewhat incomprehensible? Be it so; but let the measure of this be determined; and then I will maintain, that it is precisely the measure of the comprehensibility of God, which will be the measure of human faith. So little is God incomprehensible, that his nature is constituted by ideas,—by those ideas whose nature it is to be intelligible."

If we wish to know what analysis he has given of the Deity, we have only to recur to his analysis of reason. In that was found three elements, constituting a triplicity in unity. Triplicity and unity are all found in man, and are all that is necessary to constitute a God. The elements of reason were defined to be the idea of the finite, of the infinite, and the relation of necessity connecting them. The same elements are found in God, and to

destroy one of these elements, is to destroy the whole. The plain English of this is, that in God we find first, *absolute cause*, this is his essence; the second element is, *necessary effect*, this is the universe; the third element is, the relation between this cause and this effect. Destroy one of these correlatives, and you destroy the other. Destroy the world, for instance, and you destroy God; for "there can be no more a God without a world, than a world without a God."

"There are, in human reason, two elements, and their relation; that is to say, three elements, three ideas. The existence of these three ideas, is not an arbitrary fiction of human reason; for, in their triplicity and in their unity, they constitute the very foundation of human reason. They appear there, to govern it, as reason appears in man to govern him. That which was true in reason, humanly considered, subsists in reason considered in itself; that which forms the foundation of our reason forms the foundation of eternal reason; and that is a triplicity which resolves itself into unity, and an unity which develops itself into triplicity. The unity of this triplicity alone, is real; and, at the same time, this unity would utterly perish, if limited to either of the three elements which are necessary to its existence; they have all the same logical value, and constitute one indecomposable unity. What is this unity? The divine Intelligence itself. Here is that thrice holy God, whom the family of man recognises and adores." * * * * * "What is the theory which I have just stated? It is the very foundation of the Christian religion. The God of Christians is both threefold and one, and the charges which are brought against the doctrine I teach, must extend even to the Christian trinity. The dogma of the trinity is the revelation of the divine essence, illuminated in its whole depth, and brought within the scope of thought. It does not seem that Christianity regards the divine essence as inaccessible, or interdicted to human intelligence; for it gives to the humblest mind instruction concerning it; it is the first truth which it teaches us in our childhood. But, it may be asked, do you forget that this truth is a mystery? I answer, no, I do not forget it; but neither do I forget, that this mystery is a truth. Moreover, I will speak plainly and unequivocally upon this point. Mystery is a word which belongs, not to the vocabulary of philosophy, but to that of religion. Mysticism is the necessary form of all religion, considered merely as religion; but under this form are ideas which may be approached and comprehended."

Philosophy here assumes a lofty tone; to her nothing is mysterious. Religion is weak, and has to encounter many mysteries; but philosophy has no such word as mystery in her whole vocabulary. Could this view of the doctrine of the trinity be accepted by Trinitarians, the Unitarians would doubtless have but little farther controversy with

them upon the subject. And if this be a specimen of the revelations which Cousin's reason has made to him, we have only to recur to the testimony of Revelation to settle the question with regard to the claims of such reason to the attributes of divinity.

When philosophers undertake to advance some new and strange theory, which has only an equivocal value, even in their own estimation, it is curious to observe their anxiety to enlist in their favor the testimony of some theologian of acknowledged piety. Of this, we have here a very remarkable instance. Cousin is anxious to press in the testimony of Fenelon, in support of the doctrine, that "reason is literally a revelation," and, that all its dictates are divine inspirations; and the translator of the Philosophical Miscellanies is very sure, that he can find traces of this doctrine in the writings of President Edwards. But we are here again constrained to remark, for the sake of the young, into whose hands these translations may fall, that the quotation referred to, from the writings of Edwards, does not justify any such conclusion. Edwards is there speaking of the special influences of the Holy Spirit, which are shared only by the true children of God, and not of those revelations of reason, in order to the enjoyment of which, it is only necessary to be a human being.

The argument, by which the divinity of reason is here supported, is equally valid in proof of the divinity of our eyes. Our eyes reveal to us light, which is not our own, it is not the property of individuals, it is shared in general by all who have eyes. Moreover, this light comes to us *necessarily*; in order to prevent it, our eyes must be destroyed; just as it would be necessary to annihilate reason before we could prevent the truths it reveals. Why may we not, then, conclude, that the eye is not the property of an individual; that it is eye universal, eye absolute, or, in other words, the "divine in the human?"

We shall not be able to give, as we intended, a particular account of our author's distinction between pure, spontaneous reason, and practical reason. The latter is human, it is our own. This is what the Scotch philosophers call the discursive faculty. Spontaneous reason imparts to all men the same truths, and leaves them all equal. All the difference which exists between one man and another, between the peasant and the philosopher, is occasioned by

the various use which is made of practical reason. And this difference is not without its utility. It is necessary to make a distinction between man and man; without it, all would run into a state of fusion, become amalgamated into one mind, and occasion in society a universal stagnation. The distinction here drawn, while it makes high pretensions to originality, is the same which has been made by Jacobi, and some other German writers, between reason and the understanding. The same idea was adopted by Coleridge, and has been tampered with by many in our own country; but the distinction has by no one been so clearly expressed as by Jacobi; an extract from his writings may be seen in "Specimens of Foreign Literature," Vol. I.

In the survey we have taken of the above system, we have necessarily left several prominent particulars unnoticed; and, with regard to others, we may have, in some instances, mistaken the author's meaning. Where, however, we have feared the least mistake, we have given his own language. As he has not given us his system, in a connected manner, we have made our own arrangement of his materials; and our quotations have, therefore, been necessarily taken out of the connection in which the author penned them. In no other circumstances would this liberty have been justifiable. But we are not conscious of introducing, at any time, a quotation in a connection adapted to misrepresent his sentiments. The extracts, which we have referred to no particular page, may all be found in the first six lectures of his Introduction to the History of Philosophy; and we have made no extracts which are not accessible to the mere English reader.

Great pains have been taken to recommend this system to the young men of our country. But it is still struggling for existence in the land which gave it birth, and we predict, that it will, in a short period, be permitted to expire, without sympathy or regret. Cousin is surrounded by many profound thinkers, who are turning their attention, with characteristic enthusiasm, to the study of mental science. We rely much upon their efforts in expelling from the veins of French literature the poison of German Transcendentalism. And we cannot relinquish the hope, that France, having once carried out, to their last

dreadful results, the principles of a false philosophy, till the nations have trembled at the fearful and bloody tragedies she had enacted, may yet be permitted to complete for the world a philosophical system, whose pure light may be her own future guide, and whose benignant results may be her highest glory.

Especially has this system been highly commended, on account of its religious influence. It has been hailed as the most probable means of securing a very desirable end,—the “scientific grounding of a spiritual religion.” But from the view, which we have given of this system, our readers may judge of its religious influence. Cousin, indeed, makes high pretensions of regard for Christianity. But it is too evident, that he does not understand the Christian religion. He has never seen it; he has never felt its influence; and, with all his philosophical analysis, we do not perceive, that he has ever discovered in human nature the disease for which Christianity supplies the remedy. He has, it is true, contemplated the Christian religion as a form of civilization, and one, too, that is destined to triumph over all others; but he has never viewed it as a means of regeneration, in the Scripture sense of that term. Indeed, according to his system, piety is only a philosophical refinement; and for man, there is no God but reason, no holier spirit than the inspirations of genius. The following may be regarded as a specimen of his manner of expressing his regard for Christianity:

“Christianity is the philosophy of the people. He who now addresses you, sprang from the people and from Christianity; and I trust you will always recognise this, in my profound and tender respect for all that is of the people and of Christianity. Philosophy is patient; she knows what was the cause of events in former generations, and she is full of confidence in the future; happy in seeing the great bulk of mankind in the arms of Christianity, she offers, with modest kindness, her hand to Christianity, to assist her in ascending to a yet loftier elevation.”

Truly this is *modest* kindness and humility! But when one, who was once in the embrace of avowed infidelity, can give no better account of his conversion to Christianity, than that which is contained in the above paragraph, we are capable of no other feelings towards him than those of unmingled commiseration.

The commendatory remarks, made by Dugald Stewart,

in some of his last writings, with regard to Cousin, have contributed not a little to the favorable introduction of his philosophy among ourselves. But these remarks may be accounted for, when we reflect, that Cousin was at first a disciple of the Scottish school; but after he returned from Germany, and resumed his lectures, in 1828, he assumed a very different tone of feeling and remark towards the Scottish writers. Their system is now a "timid philosophy," a "pallid idealism," "insular, like the island which gave it birth." Stewart surely could not have perused these remarks.

Notwithstanding the numerous errors in the system of Cousin, he may, nevertheless, be read with profit by those whose minds are in some degree matured upon philosophical subjects. He furnishes many fine specimens of psychological analysis, among which, we would especially recommend his remarks, in his Examination of Locke, with reference to our idea of causation. He plainly refutes the dangerous and absurd theory of Brown, who resolves this idea into a mere succession of antecedents and consequents. Cousin clearly proves, that our idea of causation is a necessary conception of the intellect; and, that, after it is once evolved, it can never again be expelled from the mind; forcibly reminding us of the language of Horace:

"Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret."

The system we have been considering, is denominated *Eclecticism*. Eclecticism, however, cannot, strictly speaking, be applied to mental philosophy. It may be employed in matters of taste or utility; in architecture, for instance, or in forms of government; but in an affair of argument it is entirely inapplicable. Who ever heard of Eclecticism in mathematics? He that carries in his own hand the measuring rod, by which the truth of other systems can be tested, must have first constructed a true system of his own. Eclecticism, therefore, is below the dignity of a philosopher; and, if we trace its history, we shall find, that it has always originated from ignorance of the true method of philosophising, from the darkness and perplexity of the human mind, with reference to difficult subjects, or from a timid disposition to sacrifice truth, in order to tranquillize the minds of heated partisans; and

its result has always been a confused amalgamation of opinions and doctrines, having no affinity, no connection with each other, and it has thus served to retard rather than to promote the cause of truth. We submit the above remarks, already too much protracted, to the candid consideration of our readers.

ARTICLE III.

ZENOBIA AND PROBUS.

Zenobia: Or, Letters of LUCIUS M. PISO, *from Palmyra, to his Friend* MARCUS CURTIUS, *at Rome.* Now first translated and published. 2 vols. New York and Boston. 1838.

Probus: Or, Rome in the third Century, in Letters of LUCIUS M. PISO, *from Rome, to* FAUSTA, *Daughter of* GRACCHUS, *in Palmyra.* 2 vols. New York and Boston. 1838.

THESE interesting volumes, understood to be from the pen of Rev. William Ware, have deservedly risen to a high place in our contemporary literature. We have long been abundantly supplied with stories founded on the incidents of modern history, and showing almost every phase of modern society, from the wild fanaticism of the crusaders, down to the savage ferocity and warrior fortitude of our own Indians. We are, therefore, the more disposed to welcome the appearance of works, that carry us beyond the region which has so often been described, and open before us the scenes of a period, which, to the student of history, is filled with events of momentous interest. When we call to mind the number of those who, since the publication of the earliest of the Waverley novels, have risen to a respectable eminence in the literature of fiction, we are more than ever impressed with the immense variety of aspects under which this many-colored life of ours may be viewed. It was formerly contended, that the materials of romance must be drawn from the incidents of a past age, lest fancy and fact should

seem too much to contradict each other, and that which actually happened, and that which only is likely to have happened, should stand in contrasts too bold and striking. But this idea seems recently to have been abandoned. For we have now served up, in the forms of fashionable romance, not only historical events, occurring within our own personal recollection, but incidents of private life, which date back but two or three years, and even the "sayings and doings" of the last season at some of our innumerable places of public resort. These, worthless as they often are, constitute the principal reading of a considerable portion of society. We almost think it in vain longer to cry out against them, and are beginning to settle down in patient waiting for the progress of higher intelligence, and better taste, and more than all, of a purer morality, to accomplish what we once thought might be effected by a speedier reform.

To be a successful writer of historical romance, requires powers and labors, corresponding to those which belong to the writer of history itself. They must both accurately study the features, and thoroughly comprehend the spirit, of the age of which they write. They must alike be endowed with a power of generalization, that can reduce the mass of facts and events to the principles on which they depend, and a vigor of imagination, and a faculty of dramatic exhibition, which shall avoid the dulness and dryness of minute narration, and combine the scattered details into forms of enduring interest and beauty. The difference between them is mainly in this; that the historian is content with setting forth the striking and general characteristics of a period, with portraying the revolutions that agitate the surface of society, and delineating the characters who stand forth as the leaders and representatives of the generation to which they belong; while the writer of romance, guided by the unchanging principles of our common nature, enters the retreats of private life, exhibits the subordinate incidents, which history does not stoop to notice, and portrays the passions and interests, the magnanimity and meanness, that controlled the daily actions of men. The one narrates only what might have happened in such an age as that described; the other relates what actually did happen, and what, indeed, gave character to the age itself.

In history, we have the truth of fact, and of course, that of nature, too; in historical romance, the truth of nature alone. When both are written with equal fidelity, and with a like conscientious regard to the interests of truth and virtue, they awaken the same sympathies with mankind, and teach the same lessons of human nature and divine providence. The difference between these two forms of history is not unlike the difference between the conceptions of a mind endowed with an active and ardent imagination, and those of a cool and unimaginative mind, on reading the same narration of facts. Suppose the narrative be of a battle-scene. To the reader destitute of imagination, it presents the statistics of the conflict, the numbers and positions of the contending hosts, the issue of the contest, and an estimate of the loss sustained by either army, and here and there a striking incident mingling in with the thread of the narrative; while before the mind of the other there arises the scene, in all its reality and fearful sublimity. His fancy lingers over it, until he seems to see the fiery leaders, charging at the head of their embattled legions, their banners fluttering gaily in the breeze, and their music stimulating their martial prowess. The field of battle seems spread around him, and he gazes upon its groups of dying and dead, and hears the sigh at the thought of friends who are away, the parting prayer, the agonizing groan, the shriek of death, until he is forced to turn away, saddened at the spectacle which his fancy has presented before him.

The volumes, which we have placed at the head of this article, belong to the species of literature we have now been discussing. Both these works, taken together, constitute a continuous historical romance, of which the first part relates to Palmyra, and closes with the fall of that renowned seat of eastern empire; and the second relates entirely to Rome, and closes with the death of the emperor Aurelian. They are an attempt at the reproduction of the close of the third century of the Christian era, a period when Palmyra, in the full meridian of her short-lived glory, was reposing beneath the benignant sway of the great Zenobia, and when Rome, maddened with the victories, and crowned with the wealth which a thousand years of almost perpetual war had heaped upon her, was mustering her armies for yet new conquests, and holding

the world in awe of her power. Lucius Manlius Piso, a Roman patrician, of ancient family, is called to Palmyra, to endeavor to ascertain the fate of his brother Calpurnius, who, along with the emperor Valerian, had been carried into captivity, by Sapor, king of Persia, and while residing in the east, becomes an intimate visiter at the court of Zenobia, and writes of the affairs and fate of her kingdom, to his friend Marcus Curtius, at Rome. These letters constitute the first of the works we have mentioned above. The second consists of letters written by the same patrician, to his friends in Palmyra, after his return to Rome. The author, we think, has shown his judgment in selecting the form of letters, since romance, as now understood, is a species of literature wholly unknown to any period of classic antiquity; and there would have been a singular impropriety in supposing a manuscript story, after the model of a modern novel, to have been discovered among the scattered remains of Roman literature. The style, though occasionally careless, and now and then too decidedly modern, for a work professing to come from so remote an age, is yet, on the whole, admirably fitted to the character assumed by the author, and indicates a mind, not only well stored with the learning of the period which he describes, but unusually familiar with the epistolary forms of Latin antiquity. Saving the halo of romance which is thrown over it, all the language is constantly reminding us of the letters of Cicero and Pliny the younger, and the other specimens of Latin composition which have come down to us.

The author, as we have already suggested, has entered upon a field of romance hitherto almost unoccupied. With here and there an exception, the writers of fiction, in our language, have drawn their materials from the incidents of modern history, and left the ancient world, with its peculiar institutions, its mysterious mythologies, and strange and varied forms of public and private character, its wars, its tumults and crimes, all to be illustrated upon the pages of veritable history alone. Of all the periods of antiquity, none furnishes so rich materials for a sober, historical drama or romance, as that transition period, when the long-decaying power and valor of the Roman empire were rapidly becoming extinct, and when, amidst the expiring glories of the pagan worship, Christianity

was emerging from her Galilean obscurity, and hastening, over fallen shrines and deserted temples, to climb the summits of the capitol, and "place upon her brow the diadem of the Cæsars." It is a portion of this period, that the author has selected, to portray in these volumes. A period, more filled with historic and romantic interest, could hardly have been chosen, from the whole range of history. On the one hand, is the majestic fabric of the Roman empire, its massy frame-work, bearing the marks which the vices and crimes of centuries had graven upon it, beginning to give signs of the universal ruin, that, in a subsequent age, was so fearfully consummated. Its all-conquering legions are abroad over every plain, and along every frontier; its early patriotism has become nearly extinct; its ancient faith, descending from the founders of the city, is fast dying away in the minds of the people, and, amidst the scepticism and licentiousness that every where succeed, there appears the benignant form of Christianity, diffusing her gentle influences over the humble walks of life, shedding her mild light upon the mysteries which philosophy had toiled in vain to solve, and kindling in the hearts, alike of the ignorant and the learned, aspirations for a purer virtue, and faith in a nobler destiny than poetry, in its brightest visions, had ever revealed. On the other hand is Palmyra, the city of Palms, rising from an unknown origin, almost the only oasis in the desert that stretches from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, gathering within its narrow limits the resources and energies of the east, and beneath the sway of the beauteous and ambitious Zenobia, putting forth its power, in proud rivalry even with the imperial city of the Cæsars. It is the relations subsisting between subjects like these, and the vast machinery of incidents that spring from these relations, and suggest themselves to every mind, that our author has illustrated in the volumes before us.

The "Letters from Palmyra," present, as their leading subject of interest, no less a personage than Zenobia herself, of whom Gibbon gives the following (for him at least) glowing description :

"Modern Europe has produced several illustrious women, who have sustained with glory the weight of empire; nor is our own age destitute of such distinguished characters. But, if we except the

doubtful achievements of Semiramis, Zenobia is, perhaps, the only female, whose superior genius broke through the servile indolence imposed on her sex, by the climate and manners of Asia. She claimed her descent from the Macedonian kings of Egypt, equalled in beauty her ancestor, Cleopatra, and far surpassed that princess in chastity and valor. Zenobia was esteemed the most lovely, as well as the most heroic of her sex. She was of a dark complexion (for in speaking of a lady, these trifles become important); her teeth were of a pearly whiteness, and her large black eyes sparkled with uncommon fire, tempered by the most attractive sweetness. Her voice was strong and harmonious. Her manly understanding was strengthened and adorned by study. She was not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but possessed, in equal perfection, the Greek, the Syriac, and the Egyptian languages. She had drawn up, for her own use, an epitome of oriental history, and familiarly compared the beauties of Homer and Plato, under the tuition of the sublime Longinus."

Such is the historian's sketch of this remarkable woman, who sought to divide with the emperors of Rome the dominion of the world. She seems to have kindled and kept alive among her subjects a devotion to her person and her throne, such as, perhaps, has never been equalled in the history of sovereigns. We present the following description of the queen of Palmyra, from the letters of Piso, as he sees her, for the first time, in the streets of her own magnificent capital. He was engaged in some negotiation in the shop of Demetrius, a celebrated worker in precious stones and metals, as the shouts with which she is hailed break upon their ears. On learning the cause of the outcry, Piso ascends with Demetrius, to the top of an adjoining market, to wait the approach of the royal procession :

"At the distance of about a mile from the walls, we soon saw the party of the queen, escorted by a large body of horse; and, approaching them from the city, apparently its whole population, some on foot, some on horse, some in carriages of every description. The plain was filled with life. The sun, shooting its beams over the whole, and reflected from the spears and corselets of the cavalry, and the gilding and polished work of chariots and harness, caused the scene to sparkle as if strewed with diamonds. It was a fair sight. But fairer than all, was it to witness, as I did, the hearty enthusiasm of the people, and even of the children, toward their lovely queen. Tears of joy, even, I could see falling from many eyes, that she was returning to them again. As soon as the near approach of Zenobia to the walls began to conceal her and her escort, then we again changed our position, and returned to the steps

of the shop of Demetrius, as the queen would pass directly by them, on her way to the palace.

"We had been here not many moments, before the shouts of the people, and the braying of martial music, and the confused sound of an approaching multitude showed that the queen was near. Troops of horse, variously caparisoned, each more brilliantly, as it seemed, than another, preceded a train of sumptuary elephants and camels, these, too, richly dressed, but heavily loaded. Then came the body-guard of the queen, in armor of complete steel,—and then the chariot of Zenobia, drawn by milk white Arabians. So soon as she appeared, the air resounded with the acclamations of the countless multitudes. Every cry of loyalty and affection was heard from ten thousand mouths, making a music such as filled the heart almost to breaking. 'Long live the great Zenobia!' went up to the heavens. 'The blessing of all the gods on our good queen!' 'Health and happiness to the mother of her people!' 'Death and destruction to her enemies!'—these, and cries of the same kind, came from the people, not as a mere lip-service, but evidently, from the tone in which they were uttered, prompted by real sentiments of love, such as it seems to me never before could have existed towards a supreme and absolute prince.

"It was to me a moment inexpressibly interesting. I could not have asked for more, than for the first time to see this great woman just as I now saw her. I cannot, at this time, even speak of her beauty, and the imposing yet sweet dignity of her manner; for it was with me, as I suppose it was with all,—the divine beauty of the emotions and sentiments which were working at her heart, and shone out in the expressive language of her countenance, took away all power of narrowly scanning complexion, feature and form. Her look was full of love for her people. She regarded them as if they were her children. She bent herself fondly towards them, as if nothing but the restraints of form withheld her from throwing herself into their arms. This was the beauty which filled and agitated me. I was more than satisfied.

"'And who,' said I to Demetrius, 'is that beautiful being, but of a sad and thoughtful countenance, who sits at the side of the queen?'

"'That,' he replied, 'is the princess Julia; a true descendant of her great mother; and the gods grant, that she, rather than either of her brothers, may succeed to the sovereign power.'

"'She looks, indeed,' said I, 'worthy to reign,—over hearts, at least, if not over nations. Those in the next chariot are, I suppose, the young Cæsars,—as I hear they are called,—about as promising, to judge by the form and face, as some of our Roman brood of the same name. I need not ask whose head that is, in the carriage next succeeding; it can belong to no other in Palmyra, than the great Longinus. What a divine repose breathes over that noble countenance! What a clear and far-sighted spirit looks out of those eyes! But,—gods of Rome and of the world!—who sits beside him? Whose dark soul is lodged in that fearful tenement?—fearful and yet beautiful, as would be a statue of ebony!'

"'Know you not him? know you not the Egyptian Zabdas?—the mirror of accomplished knighthood,—the pillar of the state,—

the Aurelian of the East? Ah! far may you go to find two such men as those,—of gifts so diverse, and power so great,—sitting together like brothers. It all shows the greater power of Zenobia, who can tame the roughest and most ambitious spirits to her uses. Who is like Zenobia?

“‘So ends, it seems to me,’ I replied, ‘every sentence of every Palmyrene,—Who is like Zenobia?’”—*Zenobia*, Vol. I, pp. 60—62.

Again, after an intimate acquaintance at the palace of the queen, in reply to a question of the princess Julia, whether fame had done her more than justice, he bears the following testimony to her dignity and charms:

“‘Great as her reputation is in Rome,’ I replied, ‘fame has not, to my ear at least, brought any thing that more than distantly approaches a true and faithful picture of her. We have heard much, indeed,—and yet not enough,—of her surpassing beauty, of the vigor of her understanding, of her vast acquirements in the Greek learning, of the wisdom and energy of her conduct as a sovereign queen, of her skill in the chase, of her bravery and martial bearing, when, at the head of her troops, she leads them to the charge. But of this union of feminine loveliness with so much of masculine power, of this womanly grace, of this winning condescension,—so that it loses all the air of condescension,—to those much beneath her in every human accomplishment, as well as in rank, of this I had heard nothing, and for this I was not prepared. When, in the morning, I first saw her seated in all the pride of oriental state, and found myself prostrate at her feet, it was only Zenobia that I saw, and I saw what I expected. But no sooner had she spoken, especially no sooner had she cast that look upon you, princess, when you had said a few words in reply to me, than I saw, not Zenobia only, but the woman and the mother. A veil was suddenly lifted, and a new being stood before me. It seemed to me, that that moment I knew her better than I knew myself. I am sure that I knew her. Her countenance all living with emotion, changing and working with every thought of her mind, and every feeling of her heart, reveals her with the truth of a magic mirror. She is not known at Rome.’”—*Zenobia*, Vol. I, p. 119.

Piso, on his voyage up the Mediterranean, had received his first impressions of the Christian religion from the conversations of an intelligent fellow-passenger, by the name of Probus, a Christian, who, in a subsequent part of the story, is made to act a prominent part. At Palmyra, he again meets this same religion, which his Roman education had taught him to despise, even within the palace of Zenobia, in the person of the princess Julia, the daughter of the queen. From her lips he becomes more fully acquainted with its principles, and during his residence in the East, he is almost persuaded to be a Christian.

While his mind is occupied with the elevated inquiries thus urged upon him, he visits, in company with the princess, and Fausta, the daughter of Gracchus, the retreat of St. Thomas, an aged hermit, in the mountains of Syria, to whom Julia had often repaired for instruction in the new religion,—a character that adds not a little to the pleasing variety which spreads its charms over the work. After ascending along a steep and toilsome way, they at length arrive at the solitary dwelling of the recluse.

“Upon a rude bridge of fallen trunks of trees, we passed the stream as it crossed our path, and which, then shooting over the edge of the precipice, was lost among the rocks and woods below. A cloud of light spray fell upon us as we stood upon the bridge, and imparted a most refreshing coolness.

“‘Where you see,’ said Julia, ‘that dark entrance, beneath yonder low-browed rock, is the dwelling of the aged Christian.’

“We moved on with slow and silent steps, our spirits partaking of the stillness and solitariness of the place. We reached the front of the grotto, without disturbing the meditations of the venerable man. A part of the rock, which formed his dwelling, served him for a seat, and another part, projecting after the manner of a shelf, served him for a table, upon which lay spread open a large volume. Bending over the book, his lean and shrivelled finger pointing to the words, and aiding his now dim and feeble eye, he seemed wholly wrapped in the truths he was contemplating, and heeded not our presence. We stood still for a moment, unwilling to break a repose so peaceful and profound. At length, raising his eyes from the page, they caught the form and face of the princess, who stood nearest to him. A quick and benignant smile lighted up his features; and rising slowly to his full height, he bade her welcome, with sweet and tremulous tones, to his humble roof.

“‘It is kind in you,’ said he, ‘so soon again to ascend these rough solitudes, to visit a now unprofitable old man. And more kind still to bring others with you. Voices from the world ring a sweet music in my ear,—sweeter than any sound of bird or stream. Enter, friends, if it please you, and be rested, after the toil of your ascent.’

“‘I bring you here, father,’ said Julia, ‘according to my sometime promise, my friend and companion, the daughter of Gracchus, and with her a noble Roman, of the house of Piso, lately come hither from the capital of the world.’—*Zenobia*, Vol. I, p. 158.

In the course of their conversation, the reverend man narrates his history, and urges upon his noble visitors the truth of the gospel, with the elevated earnestness of a Christian father:

“My father, Cyprian, a native of Syria, attained, as I have attained, to an extreme old age. At the age of fivescore years and ten, he died within the walls of this quiet dwelling of nature’s own hewing,

and there, at the roots of that ancient cedar, his bones repose. He was for twenty years a contemporary of St. John, the evangelist,—of that John, who was one of the companions of Jesus, the founder of Christianity, and who, ere he died, wrote a history of Jesus, and of his acts and doctrine. From the very lips of this holy man, did the youthful but truth-loving and truth-seeking Cyprian receive his knowledge of Christianity. He sat and listened, while the aged apostle,—the past rising before him with the distinctness of a picture,—told of Jesus; of the mild majesty of his presence; of the power and sweetness of his discourse; of the love he bore towards all that lived; of his countenance, radiant with joy, when, in using the miraculous power intrusted to show his descent from God, he gave health to the pining sick, and restored the dying and the dead to the arms of weeping friends. There was no point of the history which the apostle has recorded for the instruction of posterity, which Cyprian did not hear, with all its minuter circumstances, from his own mouth. Nay, he was himself a witness of the exercise of that same power of God, which was committed without measure to Jesus, on the part of the apostle. He stood by,—his spirit wrapt and wonder-struck,—while at the name of Jesus the lame walked, the blind recovered their sight, and the sick leaped from their couches. When this great apostle was fallen asleep, my father, by the counsel of St. John, and that his faith might yet farther be confirmed, travelled over all the scenes of the Christian history. He visited the towns and cities of Judea, where Jesus had done his marvellous works. He conversed with the children of those who had been subjects of the healing power of the Messiah. He was with those who themselves had mingled among the multitudes who encompassed him, when Lazarus was summoned from the grave, and who clung to the cross when Jesus was upon it dying, and witnessed the sudden darkness, and felt the quaking of the earth. Finding, wherever he turned his steps in Judea, from Bethlehem to Nazareth, from the Jordan to the great sea, the whole land filled with those who, as either friends or enemies, had hung upon the steps of Jesus, and seen his miracles, what was he, to doubt whether such a person as Jesus had ever lived? or had ever done those wonderful works? He doubted not; he believed, even as he would have done, had he himself been present as a disciple. In addition to this, he saw at the places where they were kept, the evangelic histories, in the writing of those who drew them up; and at Rome, at Corinth, at Philippi, at Ephesus, he handled with his own hands the letters of Paul, which he wrote to the Christians of those places; and in those places and others, did he dwell and converse with multitudes who had seen and heard the great apostle, and had witnessed the wonders he had wrought. I, the child of Cyprian's old age, heard from him all that I have now recounted to you. I sat at his feet, as he had sat at the evangelist's, and from him I heard the various experiences of his long, laborious, and troubled life. Could I help but believe what I heard?—and so could I help but be a Christian? My father was a man,—and all Syria knows him to have been such an one,—of a passionate love of truth. At any moment would he have cheerfully suffered torture and death, sooner than have

swerved from the strictest allegiance to its very letter. Nevertheless, he would not that I should trust to him alone, but, as the apostle had sent him forth, so he sent me forth, to read the evidences of the truth of this religion, in the living monuments of Judea. I, too, wandered a pilgrim over the hills and plains of Galilee, I sat in the synagogue at Nazareth, I dwelt in Capernaum, I mused by the shore of the Galilean lake, I haunted the ruins of Jerusalem, and sought out the places where the Saviour of men had passed the last hours of his life. Night after night I wept and prayed upon the Mount of Olives. Wherever I went, and among whomsoever I mingled, I found witnesses, eloquent and loud, and without number, to all the principal facts and events of our sacred history. Ten thousand traditions of the life and acts of Christ and his apostles, all agreeing substantially with the written records, were passing from mouth to mouth, and descending from sire to son. The whole land, in all its length and breadth, was but one vast monument to the truth of Christianity. And for this purpose it was resorted to by the lovers of truth from all parts of the world. Did doubts arise in the mind of a dweller in Rome, or Carthage, or Britain, concerning the whole or any part of the Christian story, he addressed letters to well-known inhabitants of Jewish cities, or he visited them in person, and by a few plain words from another, or by the evidence of his own eyes and ears, every doubt was scattered. When I had stored my mind with knowledge from these original sources, I then betook myself to some of the living oracles of Christian wisdom, with the fame of whose learning and piety the world was filled. From the great Clement, of Rome, from Dionysius, at Alexandria, from Tertullian, at Carthage, from that wonder of human genius, Origen, and his school at Cæsarea, I gathered together what more was needed, to arm me for the Christian warfare; and then went I forth, full of faith, myself, to plant its divine seeds in the hearts of whosoever would receive them. In this good work, my days have been spent. I have lived and taught, but to unfold to others the evidences which have made me a Christian. My children,' continued he, 'why should you not receive my words? why should I desire to deceive you? I am an old man, trembling upon the borders of the grave. Can I have any wish to injure you? Is it conceivable that, standing thus already, as it were, before the bar of God, I could pour false and idle tales into your ears? But if I have spoken truly, can you refuse to believe? But I must not urge. Use your freedom. Inquire for yourselves. Let the leisure and the wealth which are yours, carry you to read, with your own eyes, that wide-spread volume, which you will find among the mountains and valleys of the holy land. Princess, my strength is spent, or there is much more I could gladly add.'

"My friends," said the princess, "are, I am sure, grateful for what you have said, and they have heard."

"Indeed we are," said Fausta, "and heartily do we thank you. One thing more would I ask. What think you of the prospects of the Christian faith? Are the common reports of its rapid ascendancy to be heeded? Is it making its way, as we are told, even into the

palaces of kings? I know, indeed, what happens in Palmyra; but elsewhere, holy father?"

"As Fausta spoke these words, the aged man seemed wrapped in thought. His venerable head sank upon his breast; his beard swept the ground. At length, slowly raising his head, and with eyes lifted upward, he said, in deep and solemn tones, 'It cannot, it cannot be difficult to read the future. It must be so. I see it, as if it were already come. The throne, which is red with blood, and he who sits thereon, wielding a sword dropping blood, sinks—sinks—and disappears; and one all white, and he who sits thereon, having upon his frontlet these words, "Peace on earth, and good-will towards men," rises and fills its place. And I hear a movement of a multitude, which no man can number, coming and worshipping around the throne. God of the whole earth, arise!—visit it with thy salvation! Hasten the coming of the universal kingdom of thy Son, when all shall know thee, and love to God, and love to man, possess and fill every soul.'"—*Zenobia*, Vol. I, pp. 169—173.

But we must reserve the remaining space for a brief notice of the "Letters from Rome." In these, though the characters are nearly the same as in the "Letters from Palmyra," the interest turns almost entirely upon incidents connected with the progress of the Christian religion. Palmyra had fallen a helpless, though not unresisting victim, to the vengeance of Rome, and the proud Zenobia had been carried captive to the imperial city, to grace the triumph of Aurelian, the most splendid and costly that Roman eyes had ever looked upon. The haughty Aurelian had assigned her a palace at Tibur, where, in the midst of her family, and surrounded by a few of her former attendants, she still maintained something of her queenly dignity, and gave herself to the cultivation of letters and philosophy, and to the society of the friends who visited her, in her humiliation and retirement. Piso, having rescued his brother from the captivity of the Persian, had returned to Rome, and was now dwelling in his own palace upon the Cœlian hill, the happy husband of the princess Julia, the daughter of Zenobia. Both himself and the princess had openly espoused the faith of the Christians, much to the astonishment of the city, and still more to the scandal of the ancient house of the Pisos. This connexion with the obnoxious sect carries him into intercourse with all classes of its members, leads him to the secret places of their assemblies, both of worship and deliberation, and makes him intimately acquainted with all the events that befall

them, in that age of furious persecution. On the other hand, his high rank, and the political standing of his family, as well as his own early personal acquaintance with Aurelian, bring him often to the imperial palace, and furnish him with a thorough knowledge of the designs and motives of the emperor himself. Thus does the author remove the veil through which, both in civil and in ecclesiastical history, we are obliged to look at the events and characters of the age, and introduces us to the secret assemblies and private walks of the Christians, and to the domestic character and familiar conversations of Aurelian and his advisers.

As we turn over the pages of these letters, we see how the degenerate Cæsars of that age,—the creatures of the army and the plebeian rabble,—were urged to the commission of the foulest crimes, by the vilest and meanest of mankind. Their almost boundless empire was made one vast theatre, where was continually exhibited all that could gratify the brutal passions of an idle, ignorant, and sanguinary multitude. In rapid succession, they rose and fell, each wading through slaughter to his throne, and each drenching it with blood, and leaving behind him little else than his name, to distinguish him from those who had gone before, or those who should come after him. If Aurelian was less sensual than Gallienus or Commodus, with scarcely less cruelty, he combined greater talents, and was more sternly bent on accomplishing the bloody purposes of a military ambition. His virtues were such as we should expect from a Pannonian peasant, raised, through the gradations of military rank, to the throne of the world. They were a fearless and unbending energy, a valor, that made him, in battle, worth a hundred ordinary men, and as much magnanimity as could consist with the policy of an unrestrained despotism, and the purposes of a boundless ambition. That such a man, on the throne of the Cæsars, should often have been duped by others, weaker than himself, is not surprising. In these volumes, he is very naturally represented as urged on to his deeds of blood, by the solicitations and deceptions of a crafty and iniquitous priest, of the name of Fronto. In illustration of the manner in which the wily priest works upon the mind of the superstitious emperor, we quote a conversation which was overheard by Piso,

as he was abroad with one of the ladies, in the gardens of the palace :

"By the gods, his life shall answer it," said Aurelian, with vehemence, but with suppressed tones ; 'who but he was to observe the omens ? Was I to know that to-day is the Idea, and to-morrow the day after ? The rites must be postponed.'

"It were better not, in my judgment," said Fronto ; 'all the other signs are favorable. Never, Papirius assured me, did the sacred chickens seize so eagerly the crumbs. Many times, as he closely watched, did he observe them, which is rare, drop them from their mouths, over-filled. The times he has exactly recorded. A rite like this put off, when all Rome is in expectation, would, in the opinion of all the world, be of a more unfavorable interpretation, than if more than the day were against us.'

"You counsel well, let it go on."

"But to insure a fortunate event, and propitiate the gods, I would early, and before the august ceremonies, offer the most costly and acceptable sacrifice."

"That were well, also. In the prisons, there are captives of Germany, of Gaul, of Egypt, and of Palmyra. Take what, and as many, as you will. If we can make sure of the favor of the gods, it is when we offer freely, that which we hold at the highest price."

"I would rather they were Christians," urged Fronto.

"That cannot be," said Aurelian. 'I question if there be a Christian within the prison walls ; and, were there hundreds, it is not a criminal I would bring to the altar. I would as soon offer a diseased or ill-shaped bull.'

"But it were an easy matter to seize such as we might want. Not, O Aurelian, till this accursed race is exterminated, will the heavens smile, as formerly, upon our country. Why are the altars thus forsaken ? Why are the temples no longer thronged, as once ? Why do the great, and the rich, and the learned, silently withhold their aid, or openly scoff and jeer ? Why are our sanctuaries crowded only by the scum and refuse of the city ?"

"I know not. Question me not thus."

"Is not the reason palpable and gross to the dullest mind ? Is it not because of the daily growth of this blaspheming and atheistical crew, who, by horrid arts, seduce the young, the timid, and, above all, the women, who ever draw the world with them, to join them in their unhallowed orgies, thus stripping the temples of their worshippers, and dragging the gods themselves from their seats ?"

"I know not. Say no more."

"Is it possible religion or the state should prosper, while he, who is not only viceregent of the gods, universal monarch, but what is more,—their sworn Pontifex Maximus, connives at their existence and dissemination —"

"Thou liest."

"Harboring, even beneath the imperial roof, and feasting at the imperial table, the very heads and chief ministers of this black mischief —"

“Hold, I say. I swear, by all the gods, known and unknown, that another word, and thy head shall answer it. Is my soul that of a lamb, that I need this stirring up to deeds of blood? Am I so lame and backward, when the gods are to be defended, that I am to be thus charged? Let the lion sleep when he will; chafed too much, and he may spring, and slay at random. I love not the Christians, nor any who flout the gods and their worship; that thou knowest well. But I love Piso, Aurelia, and the divine Julia; that thou knowest as well. Now no more.”

“For my life,” said Fronto, “I hold it cheap, if I may but be faithful to my office and the gods.”

“I believe it, Fronto. The gods will reward thee. Let us on.”

“In the earnestness of their talk, they had paused, and stood just before us, being separated but by a thin screen of shrubs. We continued rooted to our seats, while this conversation went on, held there by the impossibility of withdrawing without observation, and by a desire to hear,—I confess it,—what was thus in a manner forced upon me, and concerned so nearly, not only myself, but thousands of my fellow-Christians.”—*Probus*, Vol. I, pp. 87—89.

The Christians, even before the close of the third century, had wandered widely from the simple faith, and mild, unostentatious virtue, which was taught by the Saviour, and so perfectly exemplified in every page of his history. They had multiplied with a rapidity which they could not but ascribe to the agency of Heaven. They had spread the knowledge of the gospel from Judea, not only over all the East, but to Italy, and even to the shores of the Atlantic. Gaining confidence from the number and standing of their converts, they had come forth from their obscure retreats,—the catacombs and sepulchres, in which they at first held their persecuted worship,—and dared to preach their religion through the streets of Rome, and even in the porches of the temples of the gods. Under the lenient sway of some of the emperors, learning, and rank, and wealth had joined themselves to their cause, until now, their once simple observances were beginning to vie with the costly rites of the heathen worship; and the highest officers of their churches were rivalling, in the magnificence of their dwellings, and the splendor of their equipage, the pampered priesthood of Jupiter and Apollo. Of this character, were the celebrated Paul, of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, and Felix, bishop of Rome; of each of whom, we have occasional glimpses, in the course of these volumes. The author has, however, chosen more fully to portray those differences

of character and action, among the Christians, which would arise from difference of temperament and condition in life. In the characters of Macer and Probus, we are presented with a striking contrast between religion, as it appears when engrafted upon a mind stern and impulsive, unregulated and unreflective, and upon one that has been disciplined by study and philosophy, and cultivated by the society of the learned and refined. Macer was the son of a keeper of the Vivaria, in Rome, and passed his early years in the purlieus of the amphitheatres. Since his arrival at manhood, he had served in the armies of his country, under successive emperors, and in almost every part of the world. Having become a convert to Christianity, he embraced the rigid doctrines of the Novatians,—the puritans of that early period of the church,—and believing himself under the special guidance of Heaven, he became one of those stern enthusiasts, who are to be found in every age, and under all religions, and who, by the severity of their manners and principles, and the vehemence of their denunciations, are sure to challenge hostility and persecution upon themselves and the cause whose misfortune it is to have them for its advocates. But the spirit of Macer will be best illustrated by some passages of the language he is made to use. He had been haranguing the people in the street, from the steps of the temple of Peace, just after he had been strongly rebuked, and rudely thrust from the tribunal of the prefect Varus, before whom he had come to prefer a complaint of injustice. The passages, which we select, present scenes that, in many of their features, were by no means uncommon, in those days of conflict of faith with faith.* As he was descending from the place of his harangue, one of the multitude furiously brings against him the common charge, that “he was an atheist, like all the rest of the Christians; they have no gods; they deny the gods of Rome, and give us nothing in their stead.”

“‘We deny the gods of Rome, I know,’ replied Macer, ‘and who would not, who had come to years of discretion? who had so much as left his nurse’s lap? A fouler brotherhood than they, the lords of heaven, Rome does not contain. Am I to be called upon to worship a set of wretches, chargeable with all the crimes and vices to be found on earth? It is this accursed idolatry, O Romans, that has sunk you so low in sin. They are your lewd, and drunken, and

* Neander’s Church History, Vol. I, 151.

savage deities, who have taught you all your refinement in wickedness; and never, till you remove them, never, till you repent you of your iniquities, never, till you turn, and worship the true God, will you rise out of the black Tartarean slough in which you are lying. These two hundred years, and more, has God called to you by his Son, and you have turned away your ears; you have hardened your hearts; the prophets, who have come to you in his name, have you slain by the sword, or hung upon the accursed tree. Awake out of your slumbers! These are the last days. God will not forbear for ever. The days of vengeance will come; they are now at hand; I can hear the rushing of that red right arm, hot with wrath —

“Away with him! away with him!” broke from an hundred voices! “Down with the blasphemer!”—“Who is he, to speak thus of the gods of Rome?”—“Seize the impious Galilean, and away with him to the prefect!” These, and a thousand exclamations of the same kind, and more savage, were heard on every side, and at the same moment, their denial, and counter exclamations, from as many more.

“He has spoken the truth!”—“He is a brave fellow!”—“He shall not be touched, except we fall first!” came from a resolute band, who encompassed the preacher, and seemed resolved to make good their words, by defending him against whatever assault might be made. Macer, himself a host in such an affray, neither spoke nor moved, standing upright and stiff as a statue; but any one might see the soldier in his kindling eye, and that a slight cause would bring him upon the assailants with a fury that would deal out wounds and death. He had told them that the old legionary was not quite dead within him, and sometimes usurped the place of the Christian; this they seemed to remember; and after showering upon him vituperation and abuse in every form, one after another, they withdrew, and left him with those who had gathered immediately around him. These, too, soon took their leave of him, and Macer, unimpeded and alone, turned towards his home.”—*Probus*, Vol. I, pp. 246, 247.

Again, when the Christians had been prohibited, on the severest penalties, from preaching to the people, or holding their assemblies in public, Macer ascends the steps of the capitol, and with the edict of the emperor staring him full in the face, begins an address to the multitude, ever ready to listen to his vehement and exciting eloquence. We quote the closing passage:

“Romans! turning now, and addressing the crowd, ‘the emperor, in his edict, tells me not to preach to you. Not to preach Christ in Rome, neither within a church, nor in the streets. Shall I obey him? When Christ says, “Go forth and preach the gospel to every creature,” shall I give ear to a Roman emperor, who bids me hold my peace? Not so, not so, Romans. I love God too well, and Christ too well, and you too well, to heed such bidding. I love Aurelian, too. I have served long under him, and he was ever good to me. He was a good, as well as a great general, and I loved

him. I love him now, but not so well as these; not so well as you. And if I obeyed this edict, it would show that I loved him better than you; and better than these, which would be false. If I obeyed this edict, I should never speak to you again of this new religion, as you call it. I should leave you all to perish in your sins, without any of that knowledge, or faith, or hope in Christ, which would save you from them, and form you after the image of God, and after death, carry you up to dwell with him and with just men, for ever and ever. I should then, indeed, show that I hated you, which I can never do. I love you, and Rome, I cannot tell how much,—as much as a child ever loved a mother, or children one another. And therefore it is, that no power on earth, nor above it, nor under it, save that of God, shall hinder me from declaring to you the doctrine which I think you need, nay, without which your souls will perish, and dwell for ever and ever, not with God, but in fires eternal, of the lowest hell. For, what can your gods do for you? what are they doing? They lift you not up to themselves,—they push you down, rather, to those fires. Christ, O Romans, if you will receive him, will save you from them, and from those raging fires of sorrow and remorse, which, here on earth, do constitute a hell, hot as any that burns below. It is your sins, which kindle those fires, and with which Christ wages war,—not with you. It is your sins, against which I wage war here, in the streets of Rome. Only repent of your sins, Romans, and believe in Christ, the Son of God, and, O how glorious and happy were then this great and glorious city. I have told you before, and I tell you now, your vices are undermining the foundations of this great empire. There is no power to cure these, but in Jesus Christ. And when I know this, shall I cease to preach Christ to you, because a man, a man like myself, forbids me? Would you not still prepare for a friend, or a child, the medicine that would save his life, though you were charged by another, never so imperiously, to forbear? The gospel is the divine medicament that is to heal all your sicknesses, cure all your diseases, remove all your miseries, cleanse all your pollutions, correct all your errors, confirm within you all necessary truth. And when it is this healing draught, for which your souls cry aloud, for which they thirst, even unto death, shall I, the messenger of God, sent in the name of his Son, to bear to your lips the cup of which, if you once drink, you shall live for ever, withhold from you that cup, or dash it to the ground? Shall I, a mediator between God and man, falter in my speech, and my tongue hang palsied in my mouth, because Aurelian speaks? What, to me, O Romans, is the edict of a Roman emperor? Down, down, accursed scrawl! nor insult, longer, both God and man.'

"And saying that, he reached forth his hand, and seizing the parchment, wrenched it from its brazen frame, and rending it to shreds, strowed them abroad upon the air."—*Probus*, Vol. II, pp. 98—100.

Scarcely was this act of high-handed contempt of the emperor's authority accomplished, when the Christian

was hurried again to the judgment-seat of the prefect Varus, where, with the fortitude of a soldier and a Christian, he offers up his life amidst the taunts of the multitude and the tortures of every instrument that cruelty could invent. But the vengeance of the populace is not thus satisfied. They hurry from the scene of Macer's sufferings and death, to the obscure dwelling of his wife and children,—an interesting group,—whom, to complete the symmetry of his character, the father is represented as having deserted (in obedience to the suggestions of his imaginary inspiration), and left for their support to the charity of friends or the scanty earnings of their own occasional labors. They are dragged forth from their humble home, and, amidst the most heart-rending entreaties, in a public square of the city consecrated to such uses, are given to the blood-hounds of the amphitheatre. The rising of this war of popular vengeance and its breaking upon the devoted family of Macer, constitute a scene which, for power and vividness of description, we have seldom seen surpassed.

We had intended to contrast with this reckless yet well-meant enthusiasm, some passages from the eloquent defence of the Christians, which Probus makes in the presence of Aurelian, but our limits forbid, and we must refer our readers to the defence itself, as a clear and earnest, yet calm and well-reasoned exposition, of the nature of Christianity, and the rights of its disciples.

The literature of antiquity is singularly deficient in the incidents of private history. It opens here and there a glimpse, through which we may follow some literary or public man to the scenes of his familiar resort; but the numberless goings on of life in the ancient world, its daily intercourse, its loves and hates, and domestic relationships, are all shrouded in the veil which time so speedily throws over the unrecorded events of the past. This veil, Mr. Ware, we think, has been eminently successful in lifting from the period of Roman history which he describes. As we read, the age seems to rise around us. We are not merely distant and idle spectators of its varied scenes, but stand in their very midst. We move with the rushing multitudes through the streets of Rome, we are present at the shows of the amphitheatre, at the assemblies of the Christians, and in the palace of the emperor. We catch

a portion of the spirit of those degenerate times, and look into the hidden movements of that vast machinery of empire which holds the world in chains.

To one feature, alone, in the author's portraiture of the early Christians, we have to object. And to this, our objections arise, not so much from different views of the history of the period, as of the character and meaning of Christianity itself. It is, that in these pages the religion of Christ wears too much the appearance of a mere ethical system, whose heavenly origin was attested by the holy life and martyr-death of its founder, and to which converts were won by the power of argument and the impulses of feeling alone. Not a few of the speeches and conversations, which are here put into the mouths of the Christians, present a striking contrast, in this respect, to the addresses of a similar character recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, or to the strain of lofty fervor that runs through the epistles of the New Testament. There is no recognition of the sacrifice for sin, of "God manifest in the flesh," of the divinity veiled in humanity, which, in our apprehension, so deeply impressed the minds of the early Christians and give to the teachings of the Saviour, and the ordinances of his religion, their awful significance and sanction. Christianity, as here presented, is little else than Judaism softened and made milder by the principles of universal love. The object of worship it presents is still an abstraction. It is the far off, unapproachable Deity, sitting apart in the solitude of his glory, and commanding only the cold and distant reverence of men. A faith and an object of worship like these could commend themselves to the mind of the philosopher alone. The multitude, among whom our religion won its greatest triumphs, would never have felt its power. The human mind is ever demanding images embodying the abstract principles it is called upon to reverence. It must have them, or the principles themselves soon lose their hold on the affections and consciences of men. We see this strikingly illustrated in the ancient Jews. Their whole history is the almost unvarying record of a constant alternation between the worship of the abstract and universal Deity, and of the forms of nature in which he was suffered to exhibit his character. Neither the recollection of the terrific scenes of Sinai, nor the constant presence of

their heaven-appointed ritual, was sufficient to curb this universal propensity of the mind of man to embody the object of its worship in the forms of visible and tangible images. Christianity, as it appears to us, has made provision for this weakness of our nature, and to this provision, at least, as among the secondary agencies, we must ascribe the hold it has, from the beginning, maintained upon the minds of men. The degradation of the Saviour to the rank of a mere mortal, even though he were a perfect specimen of incorrupt humanity, would render us unable to account for the rapid spread of his religion in the early centuries of the church. The philosopher might have admired the lofty morality it enjoined, and placed the name of its founder on the list of worthies higher than that of Plato or of Socrates. But the unlettered man would have found in it no quickening power, no fitness to supply the deep wants of his spiritual nature. "It was," as has well been said, "before Deity embodied in a human form, walking among men, partaking of their infirmities, leaning on their bosoms, weeping over their graves, slumbering in the manger, bleeding on the cross, that the prejudices of the synagogue and the doubts of the academy, and the pride of the portico, and the fasces of the lictor, and the swords of thirty legions, were humbled in the dust." Our author, we conceive, would have been far truer to the spirit of the early church, had he recognised this feature of Christianity as it was promulgated by the apostles, and almost universally received even amidst the heresies of the century to which these letters relate. We ought not, however, to be surprised, that he should substitute his own religious sentiments for those of the early Christians; and we draw our remarks to a close, with thanking him for these entertaining volumes, and expressing the hope, that we may meet him again in the same attractive field of literature.

ARTICLE IV.

MALCOM'S TRAVELS.

Travels in South Eastern Asia, embracing Hindustan, Malaya, Siam, and China, with Notices of numerous Missionary Stations, and a full Account of the Burman Empire; with Dissertations, Tables, &c. By HOWARD MALCOM. In 2 vols. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1839.

AMONG the incidental benefits, which the missionary enterprise has conferred upon the world, one of the most interesting is, doubtless, the additions which it has made to our knowledge of the globe, its productions and inhabitants. Missionaries are generally educated men. They become domesticated in a foreign land. They learn its language, become familiar with its people, and are enabled thus deliberately to compare it with the civilized country which they have left. And in intrepidity, in perseverance, in indomitable energy, they will not lose by comparison with any other travellers whatever.

In confirmation of these remarks, we need only refer to the missionary journals published by the various societies for propagating the gospel, both in this country and in Europe. We recollect nothing of the kind more valuable than those diaries, if they be considered merely as contributions to our knowledge of distant and uncivilized nations. But this has been, thus far, merely the first fruits, merely the mint, anise and cummin, of the knowledge which we are destined to receive from these sources. Let us remember that, from this country alone, there are educated missionaries permanently residing among almost all the tribes of our aboriginal Indians, in Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, China, the African slave-coast, South Africa, the islands of the Pacific, and we know not how many other foreign countries. The knowledge which has been thus collected must be immense, and, as

every one must perceive, incomparably greater than all that our countrymen have ever collected from all other sources whatever.

The volumes before us form a valuable contribution, made to American literature by the Baptist Missionary Society of this country. It will be proper briefly to state the circumstances which gave rise to the journey, of which these pages contain the record, and express our opinion of the manner in which the work is accomplished.

The Baptists in the United States commenced their missions in the East, in the year 1813. The first station was at Rangoon; and the first missionaries were Rev. Adoniram Judson and his wife. From this city, stations have been multiplied, until they are now found at Maulmain, at Amherst, at Tavoy, at Mergui, at Bangkok, at Madras, at Canton, at Assam, until quite lately at Ava, and in some other places. The work, in 1835, had become so extensive, the annual expenditure so great, and the field of labor was so distant, that it was considered desirable to send an active member of the missionary board to visit the posts which had been established; to converse with the laborers on the spot; to advise, counsel, and direct, as one who was intimately acquainted with the views of his brethren at home; and to bring back such information, acquired from actual residence on the spot, as might be of material utility, in the formation of future judgments.

The selection, in this case, fell upon the Rev. Howard Malcom, a gentleman who had, with great success, for several years, occupied one of the pulpits in the city of Boston; but who had recently been compelled to resign his charge, by reason of ill health. We have cause to believe, that the labors of Mr. Malcom were highly esteemed by those who commissioned him, as well as by those to whom he was sent. With this subject we have, however, at present, nothing to do. We take up the book merely as the record of the travels of an intelligent Christian gentleman, sojourning in south-eastern Asia, and as such merely, do we propose, on this occasion, to consider it.

Viewing the work in this point of light, we are decidedly of the opinion, that these volumes will hold a permanent, and a high rank, among the books of modern travel. Mr. Malcom has enjoyed peculiar advantages for making

a valuable work. At every principal place of temporary residence, he found persons perfectly at home in the language and manners of the country. Besides those who were, from religious sentiment, desirous of rendering him every facility for carrying forward his researches, he met, at most of the stations, gentlemen of the East India Company's service, who were able to furnish him with those various important items of statistical and political information, which have added so greatly to the value of the work. The official character, which our author sustained, as the commissioner of a respectable board of missions, opened to him many avenues of knowledge, which would have been closed to other travellers.

Mr. Malcom also possesses peculiar *personal* advantages for the task which he has undertaken. Few men of his age, in our country, have travelled more extensively. As general agent of the American Sabbath School Union, he visited every part of the United States. Within a few years, he has made the ordinary tour of Europe, and rendered himself familiar with the modes of life peculiar to established and long-continued civilization. He possesses, in the character of his mind, many of the most valuable requisites for a tourist. To great perseverance, unusual presence of mind, acute observation, and uncommon colloquial ability, he unites business habits of the first order, strong common sense, and much natural shrewdness. All these he has put forth in the present work. Nor is this all. He has not been satisfied with making a merely entertaining and readable book. His aim has been higher. He has endeavored to render his labor permanently useful to the cause of missions and of literature. We are happy to say, that, in our opinion, he has succeeded. Unless we greatly err, these volumes will become stock books of travels, and will remain as books of reference and entertainment, after many of their contemporary journals have been forgotten. We do not know of any other similar works in the English language, from which a reader will derive so much accurate and definite information respecting the manners, customs, trade, productions, and manufactures of southern Asia. The labor in preparing them must have been great, but we believe that it will prove to have been successfully expended. Mr.

Malcom has shed new light upon a large portion of the globe, with which we have been heretofore but slightly acquainted, and will, we doubt not, receive the thanks of the literary, as well as the religious public.

The style of the work is unpretending, direct, and calm; sometimes rising to eloquence, and frequently enlivened with graphic sketches, and original suggestions. It is also rendered uncommonly valuable, by a great number of engravings, taken from drawings made on the spot, and happily illustrative of the manners and customs of the East. A new, and to some extent, an original map accompanies the volume, more accurate, we are informed, than any which has before been published.

The work is comprehended in two volumes. The first contains travels in Burmah, with digested notes upon the country. The author sailed from Boston, in the ship *Louvre*, on the 22d of September, 1835, and on February 21st, 1836, arrived at Amherst, the harbor, at the mouth of the Salwen; and the next day proceeded to Maulmain, the principal seat of the Baptist missions in the East, and the residence of the governor, or commissioner for the provinces conquered by the British from Burmah. From thence he proceeded to Tavoy, and after spending a short time here, returned to Maulmain, to hold a general meeting of the missionaries, assembled to consult on various topics, connected with their different spheres of labor. When this conference terminated, Mr. M. sailed for Rangoon, ascended the Irrawaddy, stopping at the most interesting localities, and spent several weeks in Ava, the capital of the empire. Returning to Rangoon, he next visited Chittagong, and the coast of Arracan. This terminates the journeys recorded in the first volume.

The remainder, and rather the larger part of the volume, consists of digested, and very valuable notes on the Burman empire. Among the topics discussed in these notes, are such as the following: Burmah, its government, orders of nobility, magistrates and laws, population, manners and customs, diseases, medical practice, commerce and manufactures, features of the country, climate, minerals, rivers, productions, animal and vegetable, agriculture, animals, religion, priesthood, literature, degree of civilization, &c., &c.

We shall now present a few extracts from different parts of the work, selected with the intention of giving our readers specimens of the manner of its execution.

The following description of a squall at sea, seems to us unusually graphic :

"Thursday, 5. Reached the south-east trade-wind, and are going gayly, with a steady breeze, at the rate of seven miles an hour. Those who have not been to sea can scarcely realize the exhilaration of spirit produced by a strong favoring wind, after wearisome delays. We had scarcely made any advance for ten days, and were almost weary of delay. When we had wind, it was in severe squalls, accompanied with heavy showers. The majesty of a *few* sharp squalls, however, repays one for the danger they may involve, and tempts the timid passenger to brave the wind and a wetting, for the pleasure of the sight. Every sluggish sailor is converted instantly into a hero. Every order is obeyed on the run. The lofty display of canvass, which had been flapping against the masts, is rapidly reduced, as the threatening cloud draws on. Regardless of the huge drops which now begin to descend, the captain stands at the weather bulwark, peering, through half-closed lids, into the gathering gloom. Fitful gusts herald the approaching gale. More canvass is taken in; the waves are lashed to foam; the wind howls through the rigging; the bulk-heads creak and strain; the ship careens to the water's edge; and the huge spray springs over the weather-bow; then comes the rain in torrents; the mainsail is furled, the spanker brailled up, and the man at the wheel is charged to 'mind his weather helm.' Soon the whole force of the blast is upon us. '*Hard up!*' roars the captain. '*Hard up, sir!*' responds the watchful helmsman. The noble thing turns her back to the tremendous uproar, and away we scud, conscious of safety, and thrilling with emotions of sublimity.

"The rush is over! The dripping seamen expand again the venturous canvass,—the decks are swabbed,—the tropical sun comes out gloriously,—we pair ourselves to promenade,—and evening smiles from golden clouds, that speak of day-gladdened realms beyond. And now the rolling billows, disrobed of their foaming glitter, quiet themselves for the repose of night, while the blessed moon beams mildly from mid-heaven.

" 'Thou art, O God! the life and light
Of all this wondrous world we see;
Its glow by day, its smile by night,
Are but reflections caught from thee!
Where'er we turn, thy glories shine,
And all things bright and fair are thine.' "

Vol. I, pp. 19, 20.

A storm off Tavoy Point, is thus described :

"The present period of the year on this coast is the latter part of the dry season, and is marked by heavy squalls and showers. After

these, there are about six weeks of clear weather, increasingly hot, after which the monsoon changes to the south-west, with violent squalls, and the rains set in for six months. In this return voyage to Maulmain, we experienced three of these storms, accompanied by much thunder, each severely testing the power of our anchor and vessel. The rocky coast furnishes no harbor except Mergui, Tavoy, and Amberst; and the high mountains which skirt the shore seem to draw together the utmost fury of the elements.

"One of these storms, experienced off Tavoy Point, will be memorable to all on board. As night drew on, the thunder, which had been growling on the mountains, grew more violent. It was evident we should have a hard blow; and, the tide turning against us, we were obliged to anchor in an exposed situation. After dark, the wind and lightning increased, and we got top-mast, gaff, &c., upon deck, and, paying out much cable, waited the issue, uneasy. At length it blew a hurricane, and the lightning kept up a glare bright as mid-day. It was but at intervals that it was dark, even for a moment, the light flickering constantly like a torch in the wind. We were in the very midst of the electric cloud, and the sharp, cracking thunder was deafening. Torrents of rain drenched the poor fellows on deck (for there was room for only two or three below), and even in the cabin I had to gather my desk, &c., under an umbrella; for the neglected seams let in the water in twenty places. The little cutter pitched heavily at her anchor, and the loud roaring of a lee surf told what we should experience if she parted her chain. We left all in the hands of God, and were sitting in silence below, when a universal shout of terror brought us on deck, —a ball of fire rested on the mast-head! The consternation was universal; the captain and every one of the crew vociferating prayers, one to the Virgin Mary, another to Mahomet, &c., each in different language. They seemed frantic, and their voices rose on the tempest like the swelling wail of dying men. One declared it was the devil, and proposed to drive him away by burning a certain mixture to make a horrid smell. They seemed comforted, however, to see us confident, and aware of its cause. The Christian Karens were tranquil, but awe-struck, and lay on their knees with their faces to the deck, uttering prayer each for himself, in a low but audible voice. It staid clinging to the mast, amid all the rocking of the surges, till the lascars were nearly ready with their incantations, and then disappeared. It was an hour of great danger; but the good hand of the Lord was upon us, and our frail bark rode out the storm, which abated in its violence before morning."—Vol. I, pp. 51, 52.

Our readers will be amused with the following good-natured exhibition of the inconveniences to which our author was frequently exposed in his navigation along the coast:

"Aside from the danger of navigating this side of the bay of Bengal (except from September to March, when the weather is exceedingly fine), the inconveniences are not small, from the bad construc-

tion and management of the vessels employed, and the annoying insects, &c., with which they abound. My little cutter is superior in all those respects to the Burman vessels, which I expect generally to sail in from place to place. I can stand up in the cabin, while in those one can only sit, and that on the floor. I have a little quarter-deck, which they know nothing of. And we have an iron anchor, while theirs is but a piece of wood, shaped like a fish-hook. On the score of insects, too, I am informed that my condition is far better. In the latter point, however, I can by no means boast. Hundreds of ants, great and small, black and red, move in endless files every where. Cockroaches, flying and creeping, spotted, striped, and plain, walk over me and about me all night, but, through mercy, they do not bite, and are, withal, quite shy when there is a light burning, and so do not interrupt me when engaged. I now and then kill a forward fellow; but it is in vain to think of abating the nuisance, for their 'name is legion.' I have nice sugar-cane laid in a corner for the ants, to keep them away; but some of them are blood-thirsty, and bite me with all zeal. I sometimes watch a bold fellow, as he runs over my hand; and, when he finds a suitable spot, he raises himself perpendicular, and digs into me, kicking and struggling, as if he would go through the skin. The spiders I kill without mercy; and busy enough they kept me, the first day or two. Some of them have bodies as big as the joint of one's thumb, and occupy, as they stand, a space as large as the top of a coffee-cup. Mice nibble my clothes at night. I have seen but two or three centipedes, and succeeded in killing them; but there are, doubtless, more on board. But the musquitoes! They are a torment day and night. I am comforted with the assurance, that strangers suffer most with them, and hope they will not 'make a stranger of me' much longer.

"Among all these enemies, I have no auxiliaries but two or three nimble lizards. These I carefully befriend, and they consume as many of the vermin as they can. But what are these among so many? Beside their services in the butchering department, they interest me by their sudden and adroit movements on the walls and ceiling, and, withal, sing for me every night, as soon as the candle is out.

"The variety of costume on board is striking. My man is from Madras, and wears generally nothing but a pair of calico drawers. The captain has nothing but a piece of check wound tight round his hips, and drawn up between his thighs. The owner's agent, or supercargo, is a Mussulman, and wears, beside the waist-cloth, a muslin jacket with sleeves, tied in front, so as to discover the left breast. The *su-cún-ny*, or steersman, is a half-blood Portuguese, and wears drawers, and a short shirt or jacket, of red calico. One of the sailors has a regular short gown and petticoat, and the other, short drawers only. The Karens wear nothing but a long shirt without sleeves, made of substantial cotton cloth, ingeniously figured in the loom. Diversity in dress is still greater in the towns, arising from the great mixture in the population. I have, however, already become so accustomed to it, that it ceases to excite attention."—Vol. I, pp. 52—54.

Idolatry, in all its forms, has always been prodigal of labor and capital. In Burmah, though it is seen in one of its least objectionable shapes, yet even here it must have drained, most effectually, the means of the people. Without mentioning the fact, that all the gold which comes into the country is used for gilding the temples and royal edifices, how sad must be the waste of property in the construction of pagodas and images. The following description of the aspect of the country, in this respect, will give us a striking conception of the moral condition of a heathen land :

"The whole region immediately above Maulmain is alluvial ; the rocks chiefly blue limestone of excellent quality. The country is flat, fertile, and beautiful, but, though once populous, is now thinly inhabited. The scenery is rendered romantic and peculiar by small mountains, rising abruptly from the level fields to the height of four, five, and six hundred feet ; the base scarcely exceeding the size of the summit. In most parts, trees and shrubs cling to the sides ; but here and there the castellated and perpendicular rocks project above the foliage, like the turrets of some huge ruined tower. On the summits of many of them, apparently inaccessible to human feet, Boodhist zeal has erected pagodas, whose white forms, conspicuous far and near, remind the traveller every moment that he surveys a region covered with the shadows of spiritual death. Some of the smaller of these hills I ascended. My heart sickened as I stood beside the dumb gods of this deluded people, looking down and around on a fine country, half peopled by half-civilized tribes, enjoying but half the blessings of their delicious climate, borne by whole generations to the chambers of death. They eat, and drink, and die. No inventions, no discoveries, no attainments, no enjoyments, are theirs, but such as have descended to them age by age ; and nothing is left to prove they have been, but their decayed pagodas, misshapen gods, and unblessed graves.

"Most of these mountains contain caves, some of them very large, which appear to have been, from time immemorial, specially devoted to religious purposes. The wealth and labor bestowed on these, are of themselves sufficient to prove how great the population has been, in former ages. I visited, in these excursions, three of the most remarkable,—one on the Dah Gyieng, and two on the Salwen. They differed only in extent, and in the apparent antiquity of the idols they contained. Huge stalactites descended almost to the floor in many places, while, in others, stalagmites, of various magnitudes and fantastic shapes, were formed upon the floor. In each, the bats occupied the lofty recesses of the ceiling, dwelling in deep and everlasting twilight. In one they seemed innumerable. Their ordure covered the bottom, in some places, to the depth of many feet. Throwing up some fragments of idols, we disturbed their noon-tide slumbers, and the effect was prodigious. The flutter of their wings created a trembling, or pulsation in the air, like that

produced by the deepest base of a great organ. In the dusk of the evening, they issue from the cave in a thick column, which extends unbroken for miles. The natives all affirmed this to be the case every evening; and Mr. Judson himself, when here with Major Crawford and others, saw the almost incredible fact.

"This cave has evidently been long deserted, except that a single large image at the entrance is kept in repair, before which were some recent offerings. I might, therefore, have easily obtained images for my friends; but, Mr. J. being afraid of an injurious influence on the native Christians who were with us, I abstained, and afterward obtained a supply by regular purchase.

"The last one we visited is on the Salwen, about fifteen or twenty miles above Maulmain. The entrance is at the bottom of a perpendicular but uneven face of the mountain, enclosed in a strong brick wall, which forms a large vestibule. The entrance to this enclosure is by a path, winding along the foot of the mountain; and nothing remarkable strikes the eye till one passes the gate, where the attention is at once powerfully arrested. Not only is the space within the wall filled with images of Gaudama of every size, but the whole face of the mountain, to the height of eighty or ninety feet, is covered with them. On every jutting crag stands some marble image, covered with gold, and spreading its uncouth proportions to the setting sun. Every recess is converted into shrines for others. The smooth surfaces are covered by small, flat images in burnt clay, and set in stucco. Of these last, there are literally *thousands*. In some places, they have fallen off, with the plaster in which they were set, and left spots of naked rock, against which bees have built their hives undisturbed. No where in the country have I seen such a display of wealth, ingenuity, and industry. But imposing as is this spectacle, it shrinks to insignificance, compared to the scene which opens on entering the cavern itself. It is of vast size, chiefly in one apartment, which needs no human art to render it sublime. The eye is confused, and the heart appalled, at the prodigious exhibition of infatuation and folly. Every where, on the floor, over-head, on the jutting points, and on the stalactite festoons of the roof, are crowded together images of Gaudama,—the offerings of successive ages. Some are perfectly gilded; others incrustured with calcareous matter; some fallen, yet sound; others mouldered; others just erected. Some of these are of stupendous size; some not larger than one's finger; and some of all the intermediate sizes; marble, stone, wood, brick, and clay. Some, even of marble, are so time-worn, though sheltered, of course, from changes of temperature, that the face and fingers are obliterated. In some dark recesses, bats were heard, and seemed numerous, but could not be seen. Here and there are models of temples, kyongs, &c., some not larger than a half bushel, and some ten or fifteen feet square, absolutely filled with small idols, heaped promiscuously one upon another. As we followed the paths which wound among the groups of figures and models, every new aspect of the cave presented new multitudes of images. A ship of five hundred tons could not carry away the half of them.

"Alas! where now are the successive generations whose hands wrought these wonders, and whose hearts confided in these deceptions? Where now are the millions who came hither to confess their sins to gods that cannot hear, and spread their vain oblations to him that cannot save? The multitudes are gone, but the superstition remains. The people are left like the gleanings of the vintage, but the sway of a senseless, hopeless system is undiminished. Fewer bow in these dark recesses, but no better altars witness holier devotions. May we not hope great things from the effect of a full toleration secured by the present rulers, and a full tide of missionary effort set forward by American churches? Thanks be to God, that a Christian nation rules these provinces, and a Christian community sends forth light and truth. Happy and auspicious is the mental dawn which now begins to break. May Christians pray it into perfect day!"—Vol. I, pp. 60—63.

In contrast with *Heathen* Burmah, as it is represented in the preceding extract, it will be interesting to our readers, to obtain a glimpse of *Christian* Burmah, as it has been reclaimed from sin, by the preaching of the glorious gospel of the ever blessed God. It is a description of Mata, a native village inhabited by Christians, converted through the labors of the missionaries at Tavoy:

"Two days' journey from Tavoy, a considerable number of Karens, converted in different places, have been brought together, and formed into a Christian village; the heads of every family being members of the church. These Christians now amount to about two hundred, and conduct themselves with exemplary rectitude. By the aid of the missionaries, they have obtained goats, bullocks, oil-mills, seeds, &c.; and with these, and still more by the increased industry they have been taught to practise, they have been enabled to cease their wanderings, and acquire many comforts to which their countrymen are strangers. Cleanliness, in which Karens are universally deficient, has been attained in no small degree. The men have been exhorted to raise plenty of cotton, and the women induced so to apply themselves to spinning and weaving, as to furnish every one of their families with a change of raiment. They now wash their garments often, which before they scarcely ever did. Their ground, under their houses, which always used to be receptacles for filth and vermin, is all swept out clean every Saturday afternoon, and the rubbish burnt. On Sunday, they come to public worship perfectly clean, and, as their costume covers the person entirely, the sight would please the most fastidious American eye.*

"But it is the spiritual change visible at Mata,† which is most delightful. In this respect, they present a most attractive spectacle.

* Friends who wish to make little presents to the Karen Christians, might send fine-tooth combs, brown soap, writing-paper, slates and pencils, quills, strong scissors, cotton cloth, thread, large needles, and penknives. Garments of any description are not wanted.

† The name given their village, importing, literally, "Love." Sometimes they call it Mata-myu, or City of Love.

Punctual in all public services, they fill a large *zayat* on the Sabbath, and manifest a decorum and devotion far superior to any thing ordinarily seen in America. Being a musical people, and having a book of over a hundred hymns, composed by Mr. Mason, they, almost without exception, unite in the singing; and to my ear their psalmody was correct and sweet. After a prayer or a benediction, they all utter an audible '*Amen*,' remain silent on their knees for the space of half a minute, and retire in perfect silence,—a practice which would greatly improve our meetings. Mrs. Wade has been in the habit of holding daily a prayer-meeting with them at sunrise. Almost every morning, before day-light, many gather at the *zayat*, and commence singing hymns. As soon as Mrs. Wade is seen issuing from her door, at sunrise, they strike the gong, and presently the multitude come together. It is remarkable, that not one man or woman refuses to pray when called upon. On Sunday, a Sunday school is held in the morning, at which all the children of proper age attend; those that are not professors being formed into one company, and the others into another, superintended by the missionary and his wife alternately. Public worship and preaching are held morning and evening. The afternoon is often employed in baptizing, or administering the communion; and when this is not the case, prayer-meetings are held at the houses of the sick. Some fifty or more members of the church live at different distances in the country, as far round as five or six miles. These attend punctually, generally walking in on Saturday afternoon, that they may lose no part of the blessed day.

"It will of course be supposed, that this people, so lately wild and wandering, without books, without even the forms of religion, and furnished as yet with no part of the word of God in their own tongue, and but a single manuscript copy of the Gospel of Matthew, would be exceedingly ignorant of the claims of Christianity. They are indeed so. But it is exhilarating to see the readiness and cordiality with which they enter into the performance of every duty, as soon as it is made known to them. Time would fail to describe all the instances which illustrate this remark; but one or two may be named. Mrs. W. had on one occasion read to them that chapter in Matthew, which, describing the judgment, speaks of visiting Christ (as represented in his disciple) when sick or in prison, &c. They at once saw how regardless they had been of persons under sickness and sorrow; and the very next day began to perform services to the sick, such as they had never thought of doing before. A poor widow, who had a leprous sort of disease, and a child about two years old, similarly affected, were visited by many of them the very next day. They performed many repulsive offices for her and her child, brought water, cleaned the house, gave them rice and other articles, and so enriched and comforted the poor creature, that she was bewildered with delight. These attentions have continued constantly. Another, who was bed-ridden with loathsome sores, was attended to in the same way. Since that time, no one is suffered to want any thing which the rest enjoy. These kindnesses are done with studied concealment, and can be learned only from the beneficiaries themselves.

"On being told of the persecution of Moung San-lone and others at Rangoon, and how they had been chained, imprisoned, and excessively fined, they unexpectedly proposed subscribing toward paying his fine and releasing them from prison; and out of their deep poverty actually sent to Rangoon fifty rupees for this purpose. They have built, of their own accord, a sufficient house for the residence of their missionary and his family, and a *zayat*. A greater evidence of Christian generosity is seen in their missionary zeal. Those whose abilities, as assistants or school-masters, warrant the missionaries in sanctioning it, are ever ready to part with their families, and go wearisome journeys of six months at a time, among distant villages, where they are utterly unknown, carrying on their backs tracts and food, sleeping on the way in trees, or on the ground, and enduring many privations. Young men whose services are very important to their aged parents in clearing jungle and planting paddy, are readily spared, and go to various points, during the rainy season, teaching school, for which their salary is from two to three dollars a month, —half what they could earn in other employ. About twenty school-masters and assistants are now thus employed. Mr. Mason has, in his excursions, baptized many converts who were brought to the knowledge of the truth by these assistants. His last journey among the retired villages between Tavoy and Mergui, has been cheered by the reception of a number of such.

"The change in regard to temperance is not less remarkable. Unlike the Burmans, whose religion utterly forbids strong drink, and who scarcely ever use it, the Karens use it universally, and generally to excess: every family make arrack for themselves, and from oldest to youngest partake. Drunkenness, with all its train of horrors, is rife among them, of course. But no sooner do any become serious inquirers, and consort with the disciples for further instruction, than they totally abandon the accursed thing. In Mata, therefore, not a drop is made or drunk. The children of the very men who were sots, are growing up without having tasted or seen it. The consequences to domestic peace and general welfare may be supposed.

"It will be recollected, that they knew nothing of letters or books, till Mr. Wade reduced their language to writing, about three years ago. It is found that the system he has adopted is eminently philosophical, and so easy for learners, that, in a few weeks, pupils who have never seen a letter learn to read with facility.

"As evidence at once of the benefit of Mrs. Wade's school, and the piety of the young converts, I will here give translations of some letters received from pupils on coming away from Tavoy. The following is one of some twenty or more, and is a fair specimen.

"Letter from a female Scholar, aged 15 years.

"O Great Teacher!

"We put our trust in Jesus Christ, the eternal God. O great teacher, having heard that you have come to Tavoy, I have a great desire to see thy face. Therefore, O great teacher, when thou prayest to God, I beg thee to pray for me: when I pray, I will remember thee, O great teacher! When I heard of thy arrival, I had a great desire to go to you. I said to my father, I will go; but he did not give permission. My mind was cast down, and my tears fell much, O great teacher! O pray for me, and I, when I pray, will much pray for thee. A letter of affection from

"*"Naw Poo Moo."*

Vol. I, pp. 41—45.

Among the curiosities of this country, one of the most singular is the wells of petroleum. Our author's notice of the locality is as follows :

"Before sunset, June 28, came to for the night at Yay-nan-goung, a village important only for its trade in petroleum. The wells being but two miles from the village, I immediately set out to walk to them. The way was well beaten by bullock carts, often crossing the bed of the torrent (now dry), whence the village derives its name. A more rugged and desolate region can scarcely be imagined. The rocks are sand-stone, pudding-stone, and petrifications; the soil, sand and blue clay. Small hills on every side rise abruptly, like waves in a chopping sea, sterile and unsightly. One plant only seemed to find a congenial soil. It resembled a prickly pear, growing to the height of thirty feet, with stem a foot in diameter.

"The wells are very numerous, said to be more than 400, occupying a space of about 12 square miles. They are from 200 to 300 feet deep, of small calibre, and sustained by scantling. The temperature of the oil, when first raised to the top, is 89°. Men do not go down, but an earthen pot is lowered in and drawn up over a beam across the mouth, by two men running off with the rope. The pot is emptied into a little pool, where the water with which it is largely mixed subsides, and the oil is drawn off pure. It is exported in earthen jars, containing about 30 pounds. The price now, including the pots, is about a tical for 2½ viss, or about 50 cents for ten pounds. A well yields about 400 or 500 viss per day, and is worked by three or four men. Sometimes 700 are obtained. The amount depends on the quantity of water drawn up with the oil. A duty of one twentieth is paid to government.

"This most useful oil is very extensively used for lamps and torches, and is exported to all parts of the empire whither it can be taken by water. It is also used for preserving wood, mat partitions, palm-leaf books, &c., from insects and from the weather, and is an admirable article for these purposes. Even the white ants will not attack wood which has been brushed with it.

"For several days, we have noticed on the shore great quantities of petrified wood, and have gathered specimens, which exhibit the fibres and cells perfectly. Some trunks of trees, ten or twelve feet long, lie in the edge of the water, entirely petrified. Teeth, bones, &c., are found in the same state. The inhabitants assured me that they sometimes picked up petrified leaves."—Vol. I, p. 91.

The following remarks on Burman civilization strike us as indicative of unusual independence and originality of observation :

"Whether the state of society exhibited in Burmah be, on the whole, more conducive to happiness, than the species of civilization which we enjoy, is a question I leave to philosophers. It ill becomes us to scorn all states of society which differ greatly from our own, without inquiring how far our estimate may be formed by mere

education and habit. I would certainly prefer to engraft science and religion on the condition of man in Burmah, to having them accompanied by our forms of society, and social constitution. There, human wants have a definite limit, easily reached ; and leaving ample leisure to almost every member of society for the pursuits of religion and science. With us, it is scarcely possible for the great majority to fulfil the precepts of religion, or cultivate by science their immortal powers. The laboring man can only by incessant efforts keep himself and family supplied with what they think necessities. With every grade above, it is the same. Not only is religion, but reason and health, sacrificed, in our pursuits, exertions, and amusements. In vain do sacred teachers and philosophers cry out against the universal perversion. So long as society is so constructed, the evils must remain. Prisons, hospitals, poor rates, executions, poverty, disease, celibacy, and innumerable sufferings, grow up from these evils.

"On the whole, the Burmans are fully entitled to be called a civilized people. A regular government, a written language, an established literature, a settled abode, foreign commerce, respectable architecture, good roads and bridges, competent manufactures, adequate dress, gradations of rank, and the condition of women, conspire to establish their claim to be so considered. Their exact place in the scale of civilization is not so easily settled. In intellect, morals, manners, and several of the points just named, they are not surpassed by any nation of the East, and are certainly superior to any natives of this peninsula. Prior to the recent entrance of Europeans, the degree of civilization, whatever it was, seemed to be fixed and complete. No change in laws, habits, manufactures, food, dwellings, poetry, painting, or indeed any thing else, had been made for centuries ; or if made, yet so slowly as to impart no excitement to the public mind. Now, the case is decidedly different. They not only have contact with many Europeans, but confess inferiority ; and in some things are adopting our modes and manufacture. In the Tennasserim provinces, this is especially the case ; and should England resign those possessions, the effects of her dominion on the population will remain and extend. If the present king should retain the views of state policy which he expressed to me while a subject, and which he is the fittest man in the kingdom to execute, Burmah must rapidly rise in political importance.

"The introduction of the art of printing would, probably, do more for this people than any other in India. Active, intelligent, and persevering, the whole community would feel the impulse of diffused knowledge. All would read, all would be quickened, all would contribute to the general improvement. It would bring with it that stupendous influence, which is the wonder of these latter days,—the power of voluntary association. Men and women would form small communities for the accomplishment each of some favorite aim. Every improvement could be made general. Every useful project would find friends, and succeeding generations enjoy accumulating light.

"But in allowing myself these anticipations, I take for granted,

that missionary efforts will be hugely increased, and their effects fall upon the whole community. True religion can alone enable the press to produce its fullest blessings. Without this, it may elevate the arts, improve science, and advance the general wealth; but it leaves them a race of rebels against the eternal Lord,—a kingdom of Satan. Indeed, without religion, the press could not accomplish the worldly prosperity of the state. A press, directed by genuine, steady, and persevering benevolence, must operate for Burmah, ere she rise from the dust, and sit joyously among the nations. As yet, all the power of the press is in our hands. What a trust! How are the Baptists in America bound to follow up, with tenfold energy, the work they have so well begun! How should the friends of man lend their aid in disseminating among this people the rudiments of true science, the principles of right government, and the blessings of pure religion! Even now, she is the first native power in Farther India, and is second in all the East only to China. Within and around her, are a hundred tribes of people, over none of whom is her influence less than that of France over the smaller states of Europe. Let Burmah embrace the Christian faith, and she has at her command, money and missionaries for all their tribes.”—Vol. I, pp. 236—238.

Our extracts have already been copious. We must, however, make one more from this volume, as it gives us the only specimen which we have seen, of the ethics of Gaudama. It inculcates a pure and delightful morality, and teaches us, that even in heathen nations, God frequently does not leave himself without a witness, who shall proclaim the principles of duty to the consciences of men. The more we investigate the character of man, the more strongly are we convinced, that men perish not because they have not light, but because they despise and reject it:

“Know thou, that to keep from the company of the ignorant, and choose that of learned men; to give honor to whom it is due; to choose a residence proper to our station, and adapted for procuring the common wants of life; and to maintain a prudent carriage,—are means of preserving a man from evil doings. The comprehension of all things that are not evil, the exact knowledge of the duties of our station, and the observance of modesty and piety in our speech, are four excellent modes of renouncing wickedness.

“By ministering a proper support to parents, wife, and family; by purity and honesty in every action; by alms-deeds; by observing the divine precepts; and by succoring relations,—we may be preserved from evil. By such a freedom from faults, that not even the inferior part of our nature manifests any affection for them; by abstinence from all intoxicating drink; by the continual practice of works of piety; by showing respectfulness, humility, and sobriety

before all; and gratitude to our benefactors; and, finally, by listening often to the preaching of the word of God,—we overcome evil inclinations, and keep ourselves far from sin. Docility in receiving the admonitions of good men; frequent visits to priests; spiritual conferences on the divine laws; patience, frugality, modesty; the literal observance of the law; keeping before our eyes the four states into which living creatures pass after death; and meditation on the happy repose of Nicban;—these are distinguished rules for preserving man from wickedness.

“That intrepidity and serenity which good men preserve, amid the eight evils of life (abundance and want, joy and sorrow, popularity and abandonment, censure and praise); their freedom from fear and inquietude; from the dark mists of concupiscence; and, finally, their insensibility to suffering;—these are four rare gifts, that remove men far from evil. Therefore, O sir! imprint well upon your heart the thirty-eight precepts I have just delivered. Let them be deeply rooted there, and see that you put them in practice.”—Vol. I, pp. 250, 251.

The second volume opens with a description of Calcutta. The view here given of the moral and intellectual condition of this great centre of the British power in India, is, by far, more definite and comprehensible, than any we have before seen. Of the many things here worthy of notice, we can direct the attention of our readers to but one or two. The men of the world, statesmen and politicians, have often stigmatised, as foolish and simple, the Christian method of improving the condition of a people. They have accused us of ignorance of human nature, and have been very forward to teach us how the thing should be done. It seems that an opportunity occurred in Calcutta, some time since, for putting these notions into practice. By a provision of the government of India, 300,000 rupees per annum, were placed under the control of “the committee of education,” for the improvement and education of the natives. It is amusing to observe the manner in which this committee of *savans* proceeded to the accomplishment of their undertaking:

“Until 1835, the policy of the committee was to encourage the study of Persian, Sanscrit, and Arabic literature, as the best means of elevating the general intelligence of the natives. Hence the endowment of schools and colleges, expressly for these studies, and *paying* the students liberal monthly stipends. A great number were thus induced to study these dead languages, who felt no interest in them, and made no valuable proficiency. While modern science was enlightening all Europe, these students were learning

Ptolemy's astronomy, Aristotle's philosophy, and Galen's medical institutes, and reading the shockingly lascivious stories of the Mricchakata, and the Nol Damaynti. Bishop Heber examined some of these students at Benares, and says,* 'The astronomical lecturer produced a terrestrial globe, divided according to their system, and elevated to the meridian of Benares. Mount Meru he identified with the north pole, and under the south pole he supposed the tortoise "Chukwa" to stand; on which the earth rests. He then showed me how the sun went round the earth once in every day, and how, by a different motion, he visited the signs of the zodiac.'" Vol. II, p. 25.

"This policy of the committee led also to the expenditure of enormous sums in procuring translations of elevated scientific works into those languages, and printing original Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit works, hitherto unknown to Europe. Of the books printed by the committee up to 1832, there were of Sanscrit, thirteen thousand volumes, of Arabic, five thousand, Persian, two thousand five hundred, and Hindu, two thousand. A large proportion of these are quarto volumes, of seven hundred to eight hundred pages, and printed in editions of five hundred copies. Of course, were they ever so valuable, they could not be generally diffused over an empire of two millions of inhabitants. Not a single work was printed in the prevailing and spoken languages of India! The books thus brought forth as treasures of Oriental literature, were indeed such to some philologists of Europe; but false philosophy, fabulous histories, and impure romances, could do no good to Hindus, even supposing the mass of the people could have read them."—Vol. II, p. 26.

If *missionaries* had been guilty of so egregious a blunder, the whole civilized world would have resounded with laughter, from one end to the other.

We have heard so much, both in this country and in England, of the reformation effected in India by the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy, that we feel interested to learn the facts in the case, from an eye-witness. The following is the testimony of our author:

"We found the place to be a commodious hall, in a respectable Hindu dwelling-house. There was no idol, or idolatrous representation, of any kind. On a small stage, raised about eighteen inches from the floor, handsomely carpeted, sat, cross-legged, two respectable looking pundits. One side of the room was spread with clean cloths for the native attendants, who sat after the manner of the country; and on the other were chairs, for the accommodation of strangers. In the centre, and opposite to the rostrum, lay some native musical instruments, and a violin. The room was well lighted, and the punkas, of course, waved overhead.

* Travels in India.

"One of the pundits opened the services by reading Sanscrit, from a loose palm-leaf held in his hand, stopping at every two or three words, to expound and enforce. The subject was *knowledge*,—what it was, and what it was not, &c. Abstract ethical questions were discussed, not unlike the fashion of the old scholastics; but no moral deductions were made, nor any thing said to improve the hearers. The whole discourse must have been unintelligible to most of them.

"The other then read a discourse in Bengalee, consisting chiefly of explanations of their religious system, and encomiums on it. He particularly dwelt on its liberality; boasting that they quarrelled with no name or persuasion; and assuring us, that it was of no consequence whether we worshipped idols, Mahomet, Jesus Christ, or the Virgin Mary; that it was not possible to come to any certain knowledge respecting religious things; and that if any man believed his way to be right, that way was right for him. These discourses extended to about an hour; and the rest of the time, about another hour, was occupied with music. At the close of the preaching, professed musicians advanced to the instruments, and, seating themselves on the mats, put them in tune, with the usual amount of discord. Two of them then sang several hymns, with instruments accompanying it. The themes were, the unity of the Divine Essence, and the various attributes of majesty and power. No one joined the strain, nor were there any books to enable them to do so. Nothing could be less reverent or devotional, than the manner of the musicians. They looked about them with all possible self-complacency, making unmeaning gestures, bowing and blinking to each other, and vociferating with such a nasal twang, that it was a relief when they had finished. I thought it was literally such music as the poet speaks of,—intended 'to soothe savage breasts;' for certainly, no other could well endure it.

"On their retiring, a very different singer took the place, and proceeded for half an hour, with great power of execution, and not a little taste. His voice was uncommonly fine. He accompanied himself skilfully on the native guitar. The violin had been well played from the beginning, and the music was now truly excellent, furnishing, I was informed, a fair specimen of the best Bengal art. The singer, as well as the violinist, is distinguished at the nautch entertainments of the city.

"No female was present, nor do any ever attend. Most of the congregation came in only in time to hear the music, and stood near the staircase, not without disorder. The number of the regular attendants was not over twenty. I am informed, thirty is the largest number ever present. The spectators were somewhat more numerous.

"Few of the professed adherents are so confident of their rectitude, as to detach themselves wholly from the common religious customs, though more negligent in these matters than their neighbors. The very pundits officiate, not because converts to these opinions (for such they do not profess to be), but because regularly *paid* for their services. One of them, in his discourse this evening, expressly told us that there was no impropriety in worshipping

idols,—a doctrine which R. Roy would not admit. The musicians also are paid, and perform here for the same reasons that they do at a nautch, so that the whole concern is sustained by the money of a few friends, and descendants of R. Roy.

“Such is the boasted reformation of Ram Mohun Roy! Not another congregation of his followers is found in all India! Of his labors as a reformer, this is the sum:—Fifty or a hundred persons rendered negligent of the national religion, or gathered here because they were so before, without being a whit the better in their private life, or public influence; in some cases, adding the sins of Europeans to those of their countrymen; without being disentangled from the horrid system of the Shasters; without being ready, or without the moral courage, to restore to their own wives and daughters the rights of human nature. With all the superiority to prejudice and custom, boasted by Ram Mohun Roy, he did nothing for the elevation of the sex.—Vol. II, pp. 30—32.

Our readers are all, probably, aware of the opposition which the government of India, for a long time, manifested to the establishment of *Christian* missionaries, and to all efforts for the propagation of the gospel. The manner, in which this same government treats the vile superstitions of this most debasing idolatry, may be learned from the following facts. The public treasury pays out, annually, \$26,000, for the *support of Juggernaut*, and for the temples in the district of Tinnevelley, \$145,000 per annum. The following fact occurred at Surat:

“‘This Hindu festival [coco-nut day] was ushered in by a salute of guns from the honorable Company’s ship, lying in the river, opposite to Surat. The castle guns fired a salute at the same time. About four P. M., after the brahmin had consecrated the coco-nut with prayers, the European magistrate presented the offering to the river, amidst the poojas (worship) of the brahmins and other Hindus present. While this vain and idle ceremony was going forward, the ship, before alluded to, first moved down, and then up the river, displaying her colors, and firing salutes. The British flag was waving on Surat Castle all the day, in honor of the festival. In this way our rulers and their agents directly and publicly countenance idolatry and superstition in this place. The new moon, excepting twice in the year, when the Mussulmans are mourning, is regularly saluted by five guns, to please the Mahometans. Two thousand rupees are annually given to the same people by government, to assist them in the celebration of their Edes (festivals). When shall these practices be brought to a perpetual end?’”—Vol. II, pp. 73.

The government receives a tax from every pilgrim. In order to increase this tax, “pilgrim hunters,” or *idol missionaries* are sent out by hundreds, over the whole

country, and paid by government! A Christian native soldier is flogged; a heathen native is not subject to the lash! If a Mahometan or Hindu change his religion, he forfeits his inheritance, by their laws; those laws are enforced by *Christian magistrates!* Public offices are closed on *native heathen* festivals; but on *the Christian Sabbath*, native officers and servants are employed as usual! These things may well give rise to the following indignant aspirations, quoted by Mr. M. from the Oriental Christian Spectator:

“We trust that the time is now at hand when our rulers will cease to be the bankers and factors of the idols and their prototypes, the abortions of those who became “vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened;” when they will no longer grace heathen and Mahometan revelries by attendance, and participation in their unholy rites and ceremonies, nor rend the heavens, and provoke the thunders of Omnipotence, by firing salutes in their honor; when they will suffer no document dedicated to “the lord of devils,”* or profaning the name of Jehovah,† to leave the public offices; when they will cease to appeal to the “vanities of the heathen,” for rain and fruitful seasons; when they will neither in respect “make mention of the name of heathen gods, nor cause to swear by them,”‡ nor regulate the affairs of their worship, nor settle the rank of their deluded votaries; and when they will no longer bewilder the minds of the ‘twice-born’ youth, by the exploded and absurd science of the Vedas and Purānas, taught in Sanscrit colleges, and qualify them for dexterously poisoning the souls of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land, by compositions prepared under the auspices of the great Destroyer. We hope, we say, that this, the most happy day which India has seen, and the prelude of one still more glorious, will speedily arrive; and we invoke the blessing of God on all, in India and Britain, who, by remonstrance with man, and prayer to God, may seek to hasten it.’—Vol. II, pp. 75, 76.

As there seems just now to be a surplus amount of philanthropy among the reformers of Great Britain, we recommend them to turn their attention to the demand for the article, which exists in this portion of her majesty's possessions in India.

From Calcutta, Mr. Malcom proceeded to Madras, and thence to Singapore. Before leaving Madras, he visited Tanjore and Trechnopoly, the seats of Mr. Swartz's missions. Of these there are some interesting, though melancholy memoranda. After remaining some weeks at

* Ganesh.

† Or Hu.

‡ Josh. 23: 7.

Singapore, he proceeded to Bangkok, the capital of Siam, where his visit seems to have been of a very useful and most interesting character. Returning thence to Singapore, he sailed for Canton, and proceeded by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, to the United States. We should have been pleased to delay our readers with several extracts from our author's descriptions of manners, localities, &c., in each of these places, but our limits forbid. We must reserve all that remains for some remarks upon the fourth part of the work, which consists of dissertations, tables, &c., intended to present a summary of our author's observations on the present condition of the missionary enterprise in south-eastern Asia.

The first chapter of this part is devoted to China, the various points from which it may be reached, the comparative difficulty of the language, the books to be studied, and obstacles to be surmounted. On all these points, the information is various and select. The second chapter contains "the missionary field in and around Burmah." This is a synoptical view of the Burman and adjacent tribes. It is rather too brief to be attractive, and we cannot but wish that more had been said of some of these people, especially the Karens. There are many important questions connected with this latter tribe, which we should like to see discussed. Their religious traditions and their moral precepts all point to an ante-Mosaic origin. Take, for instance, the following :

"Various traditions prevail among them, which have a remarkable similarity to Scripture facts. The following is a specimen: 'Our race began with a married pair, who lived in happy innocence and abundance. Mo-kaw-le, or the devil, attempted to seduce them to partake of certain food which they had been commanded not to eat. They both listened and argued for some time, till the man, indignant and out of patience, would hear no more, and rising up, went away. The woman continued to listen. Mokawle assured her that if she would take his advice, she should know all things, and be endued with ability to fly in the air, or penetrate into the depth of the earth. That she might prove the truth of what he said, he begged her just to taste the least morsel, and she would know for herself. She began to hesitate, and said, "Shall we verily be able to fly?" Upon this, Mokawle redoubled his protestations of ardent good-will, and repeated the most flattering assurances, till the woman ate. Mokawle then praised and cajoled her, till she was induced to go and find her husband. He yielded reluctantly, and after much coaxing. They realized none of the promised advan-

tages, but felt no difference in themselves till next day, when God came and cursed them, saying, "You shall become old; you shall be sick; you shall die."

"The only religious teachers are a sort of prophets, called *Boo-khoos*, who predict events, and are greatly venerated by the people. They are always bards, singing with uncommon skill, sometimes extemporaneously, verses of their own composition. The uniform burden of the prophecies is, the coming of a deliverer, who is to gather their scattered tribes, and restore them to security and independence."—Vol. II, pp. 197.

We should have been pleased to see what light Mr. Malcom had been able to throw upon these interesting inquiries. The remainder of the chapter is occupied with an account of the names, numbers, and localities of about eighty different tribes of Asiatics. These are, of course, too brief to be interesting to ordinary readers; but the mere review of their numbers, and destitution of the gospel, furnishes affecting inducement to farther exertion. Many readers will pass by this chapter, but such as examine it cannot fail to be impressed with the inadequacy of our present force, in this important and inviting missionary field.

The two following chapters contain a large amount of matter, which, we think, must be invaluable to all those who are engaged, either in actual missionary labor abroad, or those who, at home, are charged with the direction of that labor. The first of these treats of the "measure of success which has attended modern missions." Our author here meets the objection, that very little has, thus far, been accomplished, by showing, that the number of laborers is small, in proportion to the magnitude of the work;—that much of their labor has been, from necessity, preparatory;—that the present missionaries encounter special difficulties from poverty of language, state of society, degraded condition of the natives, presence of nominal Christians, &c., and lastly, that much of the labor, of necessity, falls short of the field. He then turns to the good effected; and shows what has been done towards removing obstacles, translating Bibles and tracts, and preparing grammars and dictionaries; and closes with a striking view of the blessings which the missionary cause has conferred on our own churches. We commend this chapter to the profound consideration of the friends and enemies of missions. Rarely have we seen any thing more candid, judicious, or conclusive. How striking is

the following exhibition of the difficulties which must arise to a translator of the word of God into a heathen tongue:

"For terms, which are of primary importance in religious discourse, words must often be used, which are either unmeaning, or foreign to the purpose, or inaccurate. It is not easy to exhibit this difficulty in its true magnitude, to such as have not mixed with heathen. A few examples may, however, make the argument intelligible. Words equivalent to God, Lord, &c., must, in various languages, be those which the heathen apply to their idols; for there are no others. In Tamul, the word *pavum* (sin) signifies only 'exposure to evil;' or simply 'evil;' whether natural or moral; and may be applied to a beast, as well as a man. The word *padesuttum* (holiness) means 'clearness.' *Regeneration* is understood by a Hindu or Boodhist to mean 'another birth' in this world, or 'transmigration.' The *purposes of God*, they understand to be 'fate.' The word used in Bengalee for *holy* (d'harma), sometimes means 'merit' acquired by acts of religious worship, and sometimes 'that which is agreeable to rule or custom.'" When the compound word *Holy Ghost* is translated, it becomes 'Spirit of rule,' or some phrase not more intelligible. In the Episcopal Liturgy in Bengalee, it is rendered 'Spirit of existence,' (*sadatma*); and Mr. Yates, in his new version of the Scriptures, uses the word *pabitru*, 'clean.' This last, while it avoids the hazard of conveying a wrong idea, and seems to be the best rendering, is yet evidently imperfect. In Siamese, the word most used for *sin* (*tot*) means either 'guilt,' or the 'punishment of guilt,' or simply 'exposure to punishment.' The best word the missionaries can get for *holy*, is *boresut*, 'purified,' when people are spoken of; and *saksit*, 'or Spirit having power because of sanctity,' when the Holy Ghost is meant. There is no Siamese word equivalent to *repent*; and a phrase is used signifying 'to establish the mind anew,' or 'make new resolves.' In Burman, there is no term equivalent to our *heaven*, and a word meaning 'sky,' or more properly 'space,' is used; nor any word for *angel*, and the rendering of that term has to be 'sky-messenger;' nor any word for *condemn*, except the circumlocution 'decide according to demerit, or sin;' nor any word for *conscience*, *thank*, &c., &c. I might add scores of such cases, given me by missionaries. There is scarcely a theological term not subject to this difficulty.

"For a multitude of our terms there is no word at all. Among these are not only theological terms, such as sanctification, gospel, evangelist, church, atonement, devil, &c., but the names of implements, animals, customs, clothing, and many other things, of which ignorant and remote tribes have never heard, and for which entire new terms are obliged to be coined."—Vol. II, pp. 223, 224.

"The depreciation of morals is as great as that of intellect. We look in vain even for Spartan or Roman virtue. Except perhaps among the Cretans, it is hardly probable that the first preachers any where encountered such a spirit of falsehood and deceit as distinguish the heathen now. Truth is utterly wanting. Man has no

confidence in man. The morality is not only defective, it is perverted. Killing a cow or an insect, is more shocking than the murder of an enemy: lying for a brahmin is a virtue; stealing for real want is no sin: a few ceremonies or offerings expiate all crimes. Transmigration abolishes identity; for, if perfectly unconscious in one state of existence, of all that transpired in previous ones, identity is virtually lost. Sin is reduced to a trifle, the conscience rendered invulnerable, generous sentiments extinguished, and the very presence and exhortations of the missionary engender a suspicion destructive to his success. His reasons for coming are not credited; and the fear of political treachery is added to a detestation of his creed. The best supposition they can make is, that he is seeking religious merit, according to his own system, and careful, not so much for their conversion, as for his personal benefit in a future state."—Vol. II, pp. 226.

The following allusion to the hostility of Christian governments to the propagation of the gospel is enough to draw a sigh from the breast of every thoughtful man. Our author speaks of it, also, we regret to say it, in the very mildest terms in which the truth could be spoken:

"Where Christian governments have borne rule, and where his own life has been most secure, he has found those very governments arrayed against his success. When Buchanan would have given forth information touching the abominations of Hinduism, not a journal in Calcutta dared publish his communications! When he made them from the pulpit, his friends were not allowed to publish the sermons. When he returned to England, and published these things, his statements were denied, and his character assailed. The East India Company long opposed the introduction of missionaries, or kept them under a surveillance which defeated their object. Had not the Danish settlement at Serampore afforded an asylum, till an experiment was made, evincive of the political harmlessness of evangelical labors among the natives, it is doubtful whether India would have been opened to this day. It is only necessary to refer to the periodical accounts, to the Calcutta newspapers, and to the occasional pamphlets of that time, to show how wilfully and effectively the messengers of mercy were hindered, for many years; and how large deductions ought to be made, on this account, from the fruits which might otherwise have been produced. Though the Indian government no longer exerts a direct opposition to missionaries, it does many things, some of which have been named in a previous chapter, to sustain paganism and Mahometanism throughout its dominions.

"The Dutch government has been even more inimical, and still maintains its hostility. When Mr. Bruckner, after many years' labor, had translated the New Testament into Javanese, he went to Serampore, and at great expense got types cast, and printed it. But he no sooner returned (in 1832), and gave away a few copies, than the government seized the whole edition, and placed it in the public

stores, from whence it has never been restored. I could mention other facts of a similar character. Their own chaplains and other clergy are under such restraints, as tend to nullify or obstruct their labors to convert the natives.

"The Spanish and Portuguese colonial governments in India have avowedly opposed us from the beginning, on the ground of our Protestantism."—Vol. II, pp. 228, 229.

We should be glad to add several other extracts on these topics; but must content ourselves with the following excellent remarks, which strike us as singularly appropriate:

"That captains or merchants visiting the East often say, 'We read animating missionary accounts in the papers, but see no such things on the spot,' is not surprising. How should they? What means do they take to get information? Have they gone to the native chapels; or accompanied the missionary in his daily rounds; or visited the converts' homes, or the schools; or seen Bibles and tracts given away? Have they so much as visited the missionary himself, except at meal-times, or other intervals of labor? What would a gentleman know of the state of religion in London or New York, who had merely walked about the streets, or conversed with those who make no pretensions to piety; or with such as are hostile? Without taking pains, even residents at a station may remain almost perfectly ignorant of a missionary's operations.

"Instead of naked assertions, that nothing has been done, we have a right to expect objectors to come forward with the religious statistics, past and present, of specified places. They should fairly show, that the work said to be done is not done, or, that the effects said to have followed have not followed. If they merely point to things left undone, we concur in lamentation; and only ask larger means, and further time, to show greater results.

"There is reason to suspect, that those who most loudly assert the failure of missions, are those who would have it so. There are, in foreign countries, many who would shelter their vices in the gloom of surrounding paganism, and are impatient of the restraints of missionary influence. And there are many at home, who, being inimical to Christianity, impugn its benevolent operations, for want of talent or learning, to attack its fundamentals. And there are many, who, without being unfriendly to religion, are glad of a cloak for covetousness, and, in declining to contribute on the score of conscience, can save their money, and at the same time claim superior piety, or keener insight into abuses.

"It is quite certain, that the great body of those who complain, are not persons who have most right to do so. They are not those who have given their money, their children, or themselves, to the work; and who, if there be fraud or folly, are of all others the most interested to make the discovery. They are not those who have seen most of the field, or who have most diligently read the reports of the societies. They are not those who have had the most exten-

sive and intimate acquaintance with the men who have gone forth, and who might infer what is done from a knowledge of the agents. They are not the men best acquainted with the managers and management of the different boards. All these classes of persons are friendly.

"Such considerations should restrain the uninformed, from impugning our motives, or disparaging this great work. They should hear the voice of reason, addressed to some in a former age, who opposed what they did not understand. 'Let these men alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.'"

The next chapter is of still graver interest. As the author remarks, "more than forty years' experience in modern missions ought to furnish data for an intelligent revision of the system." Yet, until this work, nothing of this kind has been attempted, in any reasonable manner. Writers have, we know, broached new theories, and have advised, like Edward Irving, that all missions should be modelled on their plan. But, to such teaching, no man of practical sense would give a moment's heed. We want now to look at the facts which forty years have brought to light, and from a comparison of these, to deduce principles which may guide our subsequent efforts. The views presented in this chapter, seem to us, the result of much candid, and yet searching observation; guided by a heart fervently attached to the missionary cause. Our author considers, 1. that the proportion of time and money bestowed on schools should be less; 2. that, at some stations, at least, less time might be devoted to translation and tracts. The reason for this latter is, that the missionaries, for a long time, could not translate so as to be understood; that but a very small portion of the natives can read, and that the success from this labor has been small. The following paragraph shows us, into what whimsical errors an imperfect knowledge of a language may lead a translator:

"The anxiety for an immediate production of books has caused the publication of Scriptures and tracts so imperfect, as to be almost, if not quite useless, and in particular passages quite erroneous. To prove this, and at the same time show the sort of errors to which I allude, I will give a few instances which were mentioned to me, taken from distant and different versions. John 1: 1, 'In the beginning was the word, and the word was with the Lord God Boodh,

and the word was the Lord God Boodh.' Exod. 3: 2, 'The Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire in the knot of a tree.' Acts 1: 8, 'Ye shall receive the power of life and death.' Matt. 5: 3, 'Blessed are the destitute of life.' 1 Cor. 5: 6, 'A little crocodile crocodileth the whole lump!'—Vol. II, p. 255.

The number of those who can read, so as to understand a passage, is incomparably less than we had supposed. "There are," according to our author, "probably not five hundred persons, not taught by Europeans, in all India, who could take up a translation in their own character, of any work in philosophy, morals, or religion, and read it extempore, with understanding." If such be the case, and it is fully supported by the smallness of the success which has attended this kind of labor, our author's position is fully established.

Mr. Malcom is of opinion, next, "that there should be less preaching in English;" "that less time should be spent on periodicals;" "that, in reducing languages to writing, the Roman letters only should be used;" "that the plan of sending missionary physicians should be but sparingly prosecuted;" "that every unnecessary extreme in living should be avoided;" "that there should be more direct preaching of the word, publicly, and from house to house;" and "that regular churches, with pastors and deacons, should every where be constituted, at the earliest possible period." All these opinions are sustained by an array of facts, which, to us, seem decisive of every important point. We think that every one will perceive how exactly all this coincides with the directions of our Saviour. He ordained that men should be converted by the *preaching* of the gospel, that is, by bringing a sanctified Christian mind *into contact* with a heathen mind. We imagine, that he who knew the end from the beginning, did this advisedly. We would willingly extract many passages from this chapter, but, to do so, would be injustice to our author. No one interested in missions, or desirous of enabling himself to form a correct opinion on missionary operations, should neglect to examine this part of the book with deep attention. It will well repay the most diligent perusal.

We are compelled here to take leave of our author; and we cheerfully commend his instructive pages to the atten-

tion of our readers. We hail the work as a valuable addition to our knowledge of the East; and, specially, as throwing much and valuable light upon the missionary field. We trust its success will equal its deserts.

ARTICLE V.

REMARKS ON ROMANS 8: 18—24.*

WE introduce our remarks on this passage with the following translation:

For I consider that the sufferings of the present time are not worthy of comparison with the glory which is about to be revealed to us. For the longing desire of the creation is awaiting the manifestation of the sons of God (for the creation was subjected to frailty, not of its own will, but on account of him who subjected it), in the hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious freedom of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groan, and are in pangs together, until now. And not only so, but ourselves also, having the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan in ourselves, awaiting our filiation [the sonship], the redemption of our bodies.

It is not our purpose, in this article, to review the various opinions which have been entertained respecting this passage, by different interpreters. It has not only called forth the resources of industry and learning, but given ample scope to the vagaries of fancy. When the right interpretation shall be given, it will probably carry with it its own evidence,—an evidence obviating the necessity of exposing all the absurd theories and whimsical conjectures of all who have shed the darkness of

* In publishing this article, we would not be understood as expressing an opinion in respect to the meaning of the passage in question. If it involved important *doctrines*, either in theology or ethics, the case would be different. As an essay towards the elucidation of a confessedly difficult passage, we regard it as highly deserving of publication; and we venture to express the hope, that the gifted writer, who can make such a beginning in biblical criticism, will be induced to turn his attention more directly to sacred literature.—ED.

their own false reasonings upon the illuminated pages of inspired truth. Already, we believe, this passage has yielded, in a great measure, if not entirely, to the sober and searching methods of modern investigation,—to that diligent examination of words and phrases, which, however humble an employment it may seem to furnish, is yet our only avenue to a certain and satisfactory knowledge of things,—the portico of the grand temple of religious truth. The biblical student, of comparatively humble acquisitions, can already smile at many of the fanciful conjectures, and fruitless, because ill-directed, efforts of men, with whom, in ability or learning, he would be far from challenging a comparison. With the degree of unanimity which exists, at present, among German critics, in regard to the passage under consideration, we are not acquainted. We believe, however, that, both in this country and in Germany, there is a gradual approximation towards harmony of views. It could not, perhaps, be expected, that a passage like the present, of difficult and long-contested import, should, in all points, be satisfactorily settled by the efforts of any single mind. One will, perhaps, strike out the general idea,—will seize upon the clew, by whose guidance others will thread the labyrinth, until, at last, all its intricacies are unravelled, and its recesses explored. If the present effort shall make its own separate contribution to a full understanding of the passage, our object will not be lost.

We do not propose to comment separately upon all the words and phrases of the passage, but to touch lightly upon those on which there is no difference of opinion. We shall aim rather to dwell upon those portions which are essential to a right apprehension of the general scope of the passage. It will be obvious to all, that the keynote of the passage is struck in the verse immediately preceding that with which our translation commences. "And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ; if we suffer with him,* that we may be also glorified with him."† Thus bringing the sufferings‡ of Christians into immediate contrast with their future glorification,|| the mind of the apostle instantly takes fire. In a manner strikingly characteristic, he

* συμπάσχειν. † συνδοξασθῶμεν. ‡ παθήματα. || δόξα.

proceeds to give utterance, as far as he is able, to the conceptions by which his soul was filled and overwhelmed. But what is the point of view, from which he contemplates the glory that is to be revealed to the sons of God? On what stage in the career of the sons of immortality does he fix, as furnishing the most full and perfect contrast to the weight of suffering, that bows them in this vale of tears? In other words, what is the period referred to, when they were to be glorified together* with Christ? For, that one and the same period is indicated by this and the following expressions,—the glory which is about to be revealed to us,†—the manifestation of the sons of God,‡—the glorious freedom of the children of God,||—and finally, the sonship,—the ransom of our body,§—that all these expressions, we repeat, point to one and the same occasion, does not, we think, admit a doubt. And what is that occasion? Are we not pointed, most distinctly, to the general resurrection? Overleaping all the intervening period, and overlooking, as it were, all preceding and minor displays of the Christian's glory, does not the mind of the apostle fasten upon the time when the glorified body, raised from the dust in renovated youth and beauty, shall be reunited to the glorified spirit, and the relation of the children of God shall be recognised and announced before an assembled universe? Let us recur, for a moment, to the expressions as they occur,—when, according to the representations of the New Testament, are Christians to be glorified together with Christ?¶ When, in the only sense, acknowledged by the Scriptures, is to take place the manifestation** of the sons of God? Compare, here, Col. 3: 4. "When Christ, our life, is manifested, then shall ye also be manifested with him, in glory." Compare, too, 1 Thess. 4: 13, a passage directly relevant to our subject. And to what period, again, may we so justly refer the glorious freedom of the sons of God, as to that which witnesses their triumph over death, the last enemy, and emancipates their

* συνδοξασθῆναι. † τὴν δόξαν μέλλουσιν—ἡμᾶς.

‡ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.

§ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ θεοῦ.

|| τὴν υιοθεσίαν, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν.

¶ συνδοξασθῆναι.

** ἀποκάλυψις.

entire nature from the thralldom to which sin had subjected it? But if the above expressions left any doubt, it is dissipated by the final, most explicit statement of the apostle himself, in which he couples the filiation* (evidently another expression for the manifestation of the sons of God,†—the full and public recognition of their relation, and their investiture with the glory which belongs to it) with the redemption of the body,‡ making the two circumstances, if not identical, at least coincident, in time.

Here, then, it seems to us, is an important clew to guide us in the interpretation of the passage. And we cannot avoid the conviction, that here all the interpreters, whom we have seen, have more or less failed. Some throw the resurrection entirely out of view. Others, who admit a reference to it, yet fail to give it due prominence,—to make it the fore-ground of the picture,—to let it occupy that place which it manifestly occupied in the mind of the apostle. We think the phraseology of the passage, especially taken in connection with the general tenor of the New Testament representations, forces upon us the conviction, that the apostle here refers definitely to the period of the resurrection, and that, not so much because this was the most advantageous view from which to draw the contrast, but because this was ever uppermost in his mind, when he reflected on the future glory of the people of God. Indeed, it cannot have escaped the attentive reader of the apostolic writings, how frequent and striking are the allusions to that period, and how it pervaded and colored all their religious hopes. The passage which we have quoted from Col. 3: 4, is full of significance, and furnishes a striking commentary on that under consideration. “Ye are dead,” says the apostle, “and your life is hid with Christ in God.” The Christian life is now *hidden, concealed*. In his separate existence, and real character, he is scarcely recognised. When, then, is he to be manifested? Where honored with the title, and clothed with the glory, that belong to his station. When, in other words, is his manifestation,||—his filiation,§—to take place? “When Christ, our life,” proceeds the

* νιοθεσία.

† ἀπολύτῳσιν τοῦ σώματος.

‡ ἀποκάλυψιν τ. ν. τ. θ.

|| ἀποκάλυψις. § νιοθεσία.

apostle, "is manifested, then shall ye also be manifested with him in glory."

In 1 Cor. 15, this topic furnishes the theme of one of the most animated and eloquent discussions found on the pages of this always animated writer. He shows how it follows from, and presupposes the death of Christ, how it involves the very cardinal doctrines of the gospel, and is a vital element of the Christian's faith and hope. He dwells upon its proofs, its scenes, and its practical uses, with a minuteness, a variety, and a fulness, which show that it absorbed the energies and interests of his soul,—that it was with him an ever-present and inspiring truth, held not merely as a tenet, essential to the completeness of a scheme of doctrines, but as a truth fruitful of practical influences, and heavenly consolations,—pressing on his heart, with the might of a new and overwhelming reality,—the consummation, and the glory of the gospel,—the grand object of Christian hope,—the grand incentive to Christian faithfulness.

It will not, we trust, be irrelevant, in this connection, to present a passage of some length, from 2 Peter 3: 10—16. We shall give it nearly in the words of the common version. "But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth and the works in it shall be burnt up. Since, then, all these things must be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness,—looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God, in which the heavens, being on fire, shall be dissolved, and the elements melt with fervent heat. But we, according to his promise, look for new heavens, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent, that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot and blameless, and consider the long-suffering of the Lord salvation. As also our beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you, as also in all his epistles speaking concerning these things." This interesting passage needs no comment, compared with Rom. 8: 19; 1 Cor. 15; 1 Thess. 4: 13—18, it sheds a flood of light upon the uses which the apostles made of the doctrine of the resurrection.

If we have succeeded in settling this point, the way is opened for deciding, satisfactorily, upon the meaning of the much contested *κτίσις*. We need not dwell upon the origin and possible signification of this word. Derived from *κτίζειν*, to create, it denotes primarily *the act of creating*; secondly, as synonymous with *κτίσμα*, *the thing created, the creation*. It has, we believe, in its ordinary use, about the same latitude as the word, creation, and may, according to its connection, refer chiefly to inanimate nature, or include sentient beings. That it is ever, or could be, without the utmost harshness, employed to denote Christians, there is no evidence. The expression, *καὶνὴ κτίσις*, *a new creature, or a new creation*, furnishes no ground for such a supposition. The question, then, is between that view of it which includes and refers chiefly to sentient beings, and that which refers exclusively to inanimate nature. Does it, in other words, in the passage under consideration, denote *men in general, mankind, or inanimate existence, nature*? If the view which we have taken above be correct, the question is easily, nay, is already decided. The *κτίσις* is introduced as looking with earnest longing for the period when the sons of God shall be manifested, in the hope of showing them their glorious deliverance. Is this true of the world of unconverted men? Could the heathen, of or before the age of the apostle, be said, in any possible sense, to be anticipating the resurrection period, with the hope of being themselves participators of its benefits? This point is too plain to need argument. Of all the doctrines or facts unfolded in the word of God,—of all the truths, undiscoverable by reason, of which the gospel is the depository, and which, none, perhaps, bears so decidedly as this the impress of its super-human origin,—none is so far from having visited the loftiest visions of the sublimest speculators. The Pythagorean metempsychosis bears to it no analogy. Theologians have fancied, that in the Platonic triad, they could discover the germ of even the mysterious doctrine of the trinity. The sacrifices of the pagan world have been regarded as embodying a dim conception of the atonement. But the resurrection of the dead is, we had almost said, the one great fact, that belongs exclusively to Christianity. It is certainly a fact, of which there is no evidence, that it had ever entered the conception of man,

until "life and immortality were brought to light through the gospel." And had it occurred to the minds of the pagans, it could not have come as a welcome doctrine. Plato states it as the prerogative of those who had purified their souls by philosophy, that they were exempted from the necessity of reëntering a body, when they had once "shuffled off this mortal coil." The body was regarded as always and necessarily an enemy to the freedom and purity of the soul, and the pagan could have conceived no process, as either probable or possible, by which the spiritualized body should become at once the handmaid of its virtues, and the promoter of its enjoyments. And, keeping distinctly in view the scriptural doctrine of the resurrection, all references to that "longing after immortality," which agitates the breast of universal man,—those high aspirations which indicate at once his origin and destiny,—become entirely irrelevant. However true in point of fact, they have no bearing on the case before us.

The only meaning, then, which remains for *κτίσις*, in the present case, is, *the inanimate creation,—nature*. By an animated,—we do not say bold,—*prosopopœia*, the writer introduces universal nature as longing for the period of the complete emancipation of the sons of God. The argument, then,—for it contains the substance, though not the form of an argument,—is used *a fortiori*. It reasons from the less to the greater. If the benefits to be reaped by irrational existence from the scenes of that day are so great as to justify it in earnestly expecting them, what shall be its results to the immortal intelligences,—the sons of God,—who are to be the principal participators in its glories? If its subordinate and incidental results are so unspeakably desirable, what may they anticipate, on whom it shall confer its "weight of glory?"

The sentiment derived from this interpretation is amply sustained by other declarations of Scripture. We will not go back to the prophetic writings, although it is certain, that among the Jews there existed a belief in the future renovation of the earth. Neither would we lay much stress on the "renovation,"* of Matt. 19 : 28, or the restoration of all things,† of Acts 3 : 21, as these expres-

* *παλιγγενεσία*.

† *ἀποκατάστασις πάντων*.

sions are too general to be a safe foundation for argument. When, however, the fact is clearly made out from other sources, they may justly be regarded as corroborative evidence. We need but appeal to the passage already quoted from Peter, in a similar connection, to place the matter beyond a doubt. "Nevertheless, we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." The words, "according to his promise," decidedly oppose our interpreting this as the mere figurative language of prophecy. It points us to some specific promise made by the Saviour, while on earth, and a general expectation as the result of that promise. Here is no evidence of a state of prophetic rapture, but a declaration of a universally pervading belief, founded on the explicit testimony of Christ himself. But, even conceding the representation to be a *μυθος*, and that they had no expectation of a literal renovation of the heavens and earth, still, inasmuch as Peter has employed this mode of representation, why may not Paul have done so, when treating of the same subject? Especially as it is in connection with this general topic, that Peter quotes Paul, as having treated largely upon these subjects in his epistles.

But this general view receives still further confirmation from a right understanding of the clause contained in the parenthesis. We have connected *ἐν' ἐλπίδι*, *in hope*, not with *ὑπετάγη*, *was subjected*, but with *ἀπεκδέχεται*, *is awaiting*. It thus introduces the reason of the anxious longing of the *κτίσις*, *creation*, for the period in question. The construction seems thus more simple and unembarrassed, and will, we think, commend itself to the judgment of the reader. The clause in the parenthesis, then, intimates the reasonableness of the expectation entertained by the *κτίσις*, *creation*. The reason is, that it had no agency in the act which subjected it to its state of bondage, but, guiltless itself, was so reduced solely on account of another. We give to *διὰ*, its ordinary meaning, with the accus., viz., *in consequence of*, *on account of*, and thus refer the *τὸν ὑποτάξαντα*, *him who subjected it*, to man, as it seems difficult to see in what sense it could be referred to Jehovah. If we give to *διὰ*, the signification of *ὑπο*, *by*, with the gen., thus representing Jehovah as the agent, a meaning sufficiently correct is, indeed, made out, but one

having no obvious relevancy to the design of the apostle. That of the other is clear and striking. The earth was not brought into subjection on its own account. "Cursed is the ground for *thy* sake," is the emphatic declaration of the Judge, to guilty man, and one which sets in a striking light the truth of the passage before us. As it was not, then, by its own agency, or for its own guilt, that it was subjected, but solely as the innocent participator in the punishment of another, the creation may rationally hope (such is the tacit implication), that when the last vestiges of the curse are removed from the offender, the unwilling and unoffending sharer in the curse shall receive a like liberation. There is a tacit appeal to the justice of the Deity,—an implied assertion that he will not suffer the innocent victim to remain involved in evils, from which their guilty author has been liberated. This idea might receive a much more extended elucidation than we can now give it, and one which would go far to establish, on independent grounds, the probability of the future restoration of the material world. And the natural period of such a renovation would be the time when it had ceased to be the repository of the sleeping dust of sin-ruined, but ransomed man,—when death, the final enemy, was utterly annihilated by the resurrection of the bodies of the believers to life and glory. What, we repeat, more natural, what more consonant with all we know of the divine economy, than that, in that moment, even physical nature, which was moulded by the plastic hand of its Creator, into innumerable forms of beauty and perfection, and, scanned by the Omniscient eye, was pronounced "good," shall spring forth from the bondage of its corruption, be freed from the stains of sin, and, renovated and beautified, become the meet abode of righteousness? Christ was revealed, that he might destroy the works of the devil. One of these works was the subjugation of the natural world to natural, as a faint type of moral, evil. The curse, which was laid upon the earth, was as much a result of the malignant efforts of the great adversary, as the death, temporal and spiritual, inflicted on Adam, and his posterity. And does not, we ask, the full accomplishment of the avowed purpose of the Son of God's appearing,—his complete triumph over death, and him who has the power of death, that is, the devil,—

require, that he rescue the earth, also, from the evils which it shared, in common with its guilty inhabitants.

We have dwelt so long upon the main topics involved in the passage, that we have room but for a brief comment upon a few of the particular words that have not been already noticed. *λογίζομαι*, *I reckon, compute, estimate*,—a weighty term, and peculiarly forcible, where the writer is about to balance the future glory of the saints against their present sufferings. *Γαρ*, *for*. Prof. Stuart translates it, in this case, *moreover*. We see no reason, here, for departing from the ordinary import of the particle. Indeed, we can scarcely conceive a case, in which the English word, *for*, is more appropriate and exact as a particle of connection.

Ἀποκάλυψιν—*θεοῦ*, *the manifestation*, not of the glory of the sons of God, but *the manifestation of the sons of God*; that is, the public recognition of their relation. See Matt. 25: 31, seq. Col. 3: 4.

Ματαίωται, *emptiness, vanity, frailty*, as appears from the *δουλείας φθορᾶς*, to which it is equivalent.

Ἀυτὴ ἡ κτίσις. We should not notice this simple phrase, but for a mistranslation of Prof. Stuart, who renders it "*the same creation*," as if the reading were *ἡ αὐτὴ κτίσις*, and proceeds to urge against Prof. Tholuck,* an objection, whose force depends entirely on his erroneous rendering. Tholuck infers justly, "that *αὐτὴ ἡ κτίσις* indicates a descent from the noble to the ignoble part of creation," as much as to say, that the *κτίσις* longs for the full deliverance of the children of God, in the hope that even the *κτίσις* itself may share in the same glorious freedom. To this, Prof. Stuart replies, "that such an exegesis would necessarily imply that a higher and nobler *κτίσις* had been already mentioned, in the preceding context, with which the inferior one is now compared." This would be true, were the reading *ἡ αὐτὴ κτίσις*, but as it stands, "even the *κτίσις* itself," the very form of expression, implies that no other *κτίσις* had been mentioned, but some other object, for which the *κτίσις* regards the event as principally to take place, while itself shall have a subordinate and humble share in its results.

Πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, *the whole creation, all nature*, an expression,

* Bib. Rep. Vol. I, No. 2, p. 38.

rising in emphasis, and perhaps more extensive in signification than *κτίσις* alone. We submit the question to those whose more immediate province it is to decide, whether, while *κτίσις* generally, in the New Testament, refers to the material creation, *πάντα ἡ κτίσις*, comprehends also sentient beings. There is nothing in the present passage to oppose this view. The *πάντα ἡ κτίσις*, is not represented as looking forward to the resurrection, but only as involved in common pain and anguish; nor will any one who knows the force of the connective, *οὐ μόνον δὲ*, draw from them an opposite conclusion.

Αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες, that is, not the apostles, it would seem, but Christians generally. Christians are all alike partakers of the Spirit, and yet alike groaning in their present state of imperfection and suffering, and looking forward to the period of their complete emancipation. As at the commencement of the passage, the apostle couples himself with his brethren,* so he does at the close.

We have thus given our general view of this difficult, interesting, and sublime passage. We willingly leave it to be compared with that which makes *κτίσις* refer to mankind in general. It is readily seen what a stoop this latter requires us to make from the elevation to which we are raised on the glowing wing of apostolic faith and hope. It in fact perfectly *unchristianizes* the whole passage. It degrades "the manifestation of the sons of God,"—their glorious deliverance from bondage,—their *νιοθεσίαν*, the public and solemn ceremony of affiliation, into a something or a nothing, which has been anticipated with earnest longing by the whole heathen world! Tell us not that the apostle brings forward such a view to cheer his Christian brethren in their state of trial and infirmity. Ask us not to believe, that he has led their minds away from their own glorious resurrection,—a reality with whose truth and importance his mind was all imbued and glowing,—to a heathen expectation, which never existed, and which, if it had existed, was never to be realized! Not only is there no inexplicable "*lacuna*" in the omission of the heathen world, or the race of men in general, but such an allusion would have been wholly inappropriate. True,

* *συνπάσχοντες, συνδοξασθῶμεν.*

they are no less in bondage to frailty and corruption, than the natural world ; but it is not true that they, like that, can with any propriety be represented as looking forward to the resurrection, as their period of deliverance. And why? Because it will bring no deliverance to them. The world of mankind, so far from welcoming the gospel intelligence of a general resurrection and judgment, shrink from it, as a period to them of superlative woe,—in which wrath is to come upon them to the uttermost,—which, while it consummates the blessedness and glory of the righteous, shall fill the measure of their misery and ruin. On the contrary, there is the utmost propriety in asserting this of inanimate nature. And why? Simply because it is a fact,—at least, because it was the current opinion of Christians of that age, an opinion sanctioned, or rather originated by the express promise of the Messiah himself. No good reason, then, can be shown for denying to Paul the license employed by his colleagues in composing the sacred canon.

With those who regard the figure as unwarrantably bold, there will be, we believe, few to sympathize. We will not dwell upon the accustomed boldness of oriental and prophetic imagery, in which the sea, the earth, the mountains, the valleys, are made not only fraught with intelligence and emotion, but by a still greater stretch of imagination, are endowed with hands, eyes, *feet*, and made to perform acts corresponding to these endowments. The figure in question hardly allies itself, in this respect, to oriental imagery. It is a figure, such as in every nation and age would spontaneously suggest itself to a vivid and powerful imagination, in the contemplation of such facts. Whose bosom does not thrill with the conception,—what taste does not readily admit, at once, the propriety and awful grandeur of the figure, in which Robert Hall represents creation as clothing herself in sackcloth, and a shriek of unutterable agony rending the frame-work of universal nature, over the perdition of a single soul? But when the theme is the general resurrection,—with all the weight of glory which will be bestowed on the people of God,—when Omnipotence itself shall lavish its treasures of grandeur and of glory, how immeasurably greater the propriety of representing universal nature as instinct with life, and awaiting, with earnest longing, the happy period, in whose

results, in themselves inconceivably glorious, it is so largely to participate. Bold as the figure seems, to a superficial contemplation, it sinks into tame propriety, by the side of the mighty subject which it is designed to illustrate.

And, finally, may we not find in this passage another instance of the use which the primitive Christians made of the doctrine of the resurrection? With what vital energy, and animating power, it came home to their hearts!—how it prompted them to labor, supported them in trial, and consoled them in affliction! May not the modern church inquire, how far, in this respect, she has partaken of the apostolic spirit? The doctrine of the resurrection is, indeed, incorporated in our articles of faith, and occasionally dwelt upon, in our preaching and contemplations, as a sublime truth, a glorious reality. But has it due prominence in our reflections? Do we look and “hasten forward” to the coming of the Lord? Does the Christian preacher avail himself of the utmost efficiency of this instrument, as a means of keeping alive and spreading a deep-toned and active piety? Does it press upon Christians in general its motives to obedience? Is it cherished as a vital, cordial doctrine of the gospel, intimately connected with the resurrection of our Lord, livingly intertwined with all our hopes of future blessedness, and animating us to be steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, inasmuch as it conveys to us the assurance and the pledge, that our labor is not in vain in the Lord?

A. C. K.

ARTICLE VI.

THE MARTYR SPIRIT.

AMONG the various objects which excite human admiration, few are comparable with the high achievements of man himself. In the world's history, the brightest page is filled with the record of those who have nobly dared, and nobly done, and nobly died. Perhaps it was hardly to be expected,—while obtuseness or indifference to moral dis-

tinctions was so generally prevalent,—while the moral sense was so little exercised and cultivated,—while so much disguise was intentionally cast around the purposes of the more prominent actors,—that much accuracy of just discrimination should be manifested, in meting out to each his righteous award.

The present period seems, in some respects, favorable, for attempting a candid and just estimate of one class of moral achievements, to which, naturally enough, a very inadequate consideration has of late been given. When war, with its maddening rage, kindles the passions, and concentrates on itself the high regards of nations, too deeply interested in its results not to have their thoughts and feelings, their hopes and fears, almost entirely absorbed by it, vain would be the hope for much regard to be extended to those who only purpose to conquer by meekly suffering. The world, if not really wiser than formerly, has of late been more fortunate; and the repose of almost a quarter of a century, since extensive warlike movements have convulsed its more civilized portions, enables us to look forth upon the moral horoscope, as the anxious mariner, after many a cloudy and dark day, hastens to catch an observation in the first moments of sunshine, lest some obstruction should again hide the great way-marks from his view. We may now cause to pass before us those noble traits and developments of human nature, which were exhibited more frequently, indeed, in other ages of the world, but for which opportunity will not be wanting, while truth is resisted, and virtue is depressed. Could the encouragement be ours, that the *martyr spirit*, even in the inadequate portraiture and defence which it may now receive, would be in any degree honored as its importance and moral dignity require, our highest desires would be accomplished.

The word, *martyr*, originally meant only a witness; and the corresponding derivative words had a signification equally definite and limited. In process of time, as the circumstances under which the act of witnessing became scarcely less interesting than the testimony itself, the two became combined, and, by a natural and easy transition, this adventitious idea, in the end, usurped the place of the primary. In many minds, the term, martyr, now suggests only the idea of a sufferer, not a witness. In

others, the two ideas are still combined. To guard against misconception, we would with explicitness state, that it is this compound idea of testimony to truth, involving suffering, which is uniformly intended by the term, martyr, in this article.

Testimony, from its very nature, is the voluntary attestation of one who is free,—who feels at liberty, or only constrained by moral considerations, to set forth, by words or actions, his own convictions of truth, in the matter under consideration. Such suffering, therefore, as is in every sense involuntary, which could not be avoided by the individual exposed to it, cannot be embraced in our definition, as an element of the martyr spirit. Instances, almost innumerable, are continually occurring, where suffering, in various degrees, is involved, or results from the position assumed, or the conviction embraced, with a supposed regard to truth, which position would at once be abandoned, if thereby the suffering could be avoided. This limitation also sets out of the account, at once, all those sufferings, however great, which have been inflicted in a manner so summary and unexpected, that opportunity for deliberate consideration, or indeed any volition in the case, was impossible. It may, indeed, be said, in a vague and general way, that sufferings, in this manner inflicted and endured, evince the spirit of martyrdom; but it is only the analogy, the resemblance in some points, and not the identity, which is thus shown.

It must also be admitted, that other motives than a regard to truth, may sometimes induce even a voluntary and deliberate adherence to an attestation, in words or deeds, which involves suffering. But every known and established principle of human nature, and of the laws of testimony, would require that these "other motives" should be obvious, or, at least, the presumption in favor of their existence should be great. Otherwise, that kind of suspicion, which rests on the most vague and unnatural surmise, might be allowed to set aside testimony the most important, corroborated fully and variously, and entirely uncontradicted.

In settling the above-mentioned points, not a little regard is manifestly due to the circumstances under which the martyr testimony is given. If in the heat of passion, or on sudden impulse, or if under any overshadowing

influence, which must naturally, and almost necessarily, give to the mind a bias unfriendly to a just appreciation of truth, and the motives by which testimony in its favor should be elicited; it will deserve less confident reception, and reliance on it cannot be equally challenged, as when these circumstances had been reversed. For a like reason, the age, temperament, character for probity, and the strict regard to integrity on the part of the witness, deserve to be taken into account. The youthful, the ardent, who have distinction yet to secure, the burning intensity of whose desires for self-elevation would be likely to melt away the barriers which obstruct their accomplishment, who have given no bonds to truth, which might assist them in adhering to her dictates, in adverse circumstances, are more naturally the objects of suspicion than the aged, the habitually deliberate, whose whole life has given pledge of their rigid adherence to integrity.

It is obviously, then, not mere suffering, but suffering for the sake of truth, and as its witnesses,—and this, in such circumstances as allow it to be voluntary,—as raise no violent presumption against the purity of the motives assigned as prompting it, which is requisite to the claim of martyrdom. It may also be freely admitted, that where all these favoring circumstances conspire, they only prove the sincerity, the honest integrity, of the witness. His competency they do not even attempt to establish; and for that we must, of necessity, look elsewhere.

To relieve, somewhat, the dull and dry detail of definitions, and principles, and discriminations, which our purpose would not allow us to omit, and which, for those accustomed to consecutive thought, we have been unwilling to interrupt, by interspersing separate illustrations, permit us now to present instances, exemplifying the above-mentioned principles. This might, indeed, be desirable for other, and more important reasons, than that just stated. Since it is easier to trace our way up from the concrete to the abstract, and, from the individual, to develop the generalized constituents, or elements of this character, than to reach it by the contrary process, we shall be justified in bringing forward an instance, illustrative of the spirit which it is here proposed to delineate. For obvious reasons, the illustration is selected from a

period so remote, that no exception need be taken to its full and free exhibition; and from historical records not so familiar as to have entirely lost the charm of novelty.

Towards the latter end of the second century of the Christian era, under the reign of the younger Antoninus, whose philosophy, much as it has been extolled, did not preserve him from the caprice and cruelty of becoming a *persecutor* of a portion of his subjects, the imperial decree for this purpose was again issued. Imagination may follow the pretorian guard, which bore this rescript from imperial Rome to her subject cities of Asia Minor. The swift galley, freighted with the deadly mandate, may be followed, as she swept her proud course along the shores of classic Greece, and, threading her way between the smiling islands of the Archipelago, entered a long, winding bay, upon its eastern boundary. As the evening sun gilded its peaceful waters, how little in harmony with the murderous purposes of that noble galley, are all the surrounding objects! At the head of that bay, on the declivity of a mountain, running down to its very shore, there then stood (and still stands, after destruction ten times repeated) the city of Smyrna, the queen of Anatolia, extolled by the ancients under the title of "*the lovely*," "*the crown of Ionia*," "*the ornament of Asia*." "Chosen," says our countryman, Stevens, who recently visited it (and whose charming volumes, depicting it and innumerable other objects of interest and instruction, who has not read?)—"chosen with that happy taste which distinguished the Greeks in selecting the sites of their ancient cities, its bold slope, which extended quite down to the bay, covered by tiers of houses, rising one above another, now, but not then, interspersed with domes and minarets, the monuments of the Moslem faith; and crowned on the summit of the hill by a large and solitary castle." That galley, so deeply freighted with destruction, reaches the shores, and the officer in charge hastens to the pro-consul's palace, with the bloody mandate in his hands. The next day's sun shall begin to witness the execution of this stern decretal.

"Search out these doomed men," said this appointed executioner of Rome's authority. "In the meantime, let no means be spared, to prepare, to excite, to exasperate the minds of all the populace, against those who are to

be the subjects of imperial vindictiveness. Let the Jews be embittered against the votaries of that Messiah, who is by them so much abhorred. Let the artisans, whose craft has been endangered by the deserted shrines of our temples, be invited to exterminate the sect which threatens their overthrow. Let all the inveterate, long-smothered prejudice against these innovators, be now aroused and rekindled. With all these means, see to it that the love of excitement, of games and gladiatorial sports be turned in the same direction. Let the multitude be stimulated to crave fresh victims, and applaud even the most sanguinary execution of the laws." When prejudice is thus backed by unlimited power, it is easy to see with what fearful celerity such orders might be executed.

We must pass over, with slight notice, the events which transpired during the first few days of the pouring forth of this persecuting fury. Why should we dwell on the anguish and torture inflicted, by scourging the flesh, till its power of endurance was exhausted; then stretching the mangled and swollen frames of these victims on the rough points of sea-shells, or upon the alternate heads and points of spears; then casting their gory bodies, while life yet remained, to the most voracious wild beasts? But these forms of torture, revolting and horrid as the bare mention of them may seem, were, in reality, among the mildest which their ingenuity exercised itself in applying to these unoffending, unresisting subjects.

One of these victims, a young man of unusual distinction and promise, named Germanicus, was particularly eminent, as a martyr. And though the proconsul,—moved, it may be, by his youth, his noble family, and lofty bearing,—strove earnestly to persuade him to have compassion upon himself, and, by complying with the idolatrous practices required of him, save himself from the tortures and cruel death which otherwise awaited him, he hesitated not, but even irritated the wild beast which was let forth against him. Upon this "glorious death," as subsequent historians denominated it, the whole multitude, amazed at his courage, and at the fortitude of the whole race against whom this persecuting rage was directed, began with one voice to call for the aged patriarch, as a more distinguished victim than those who had already

suffered. He had not, amid these scenes, presumptuously courted persecution and danger, nor did he timidly shrink from it. By the warm persuasions of his friends, he was at first induced to retire before the furious storm. But now, that the public voice thus called for him by name, and the officers came to arrest him, though a further opportunity of escape was open to him, he nobly rejected it, saying, with the spirit of willing self-sacrifice, "The will of the Lord be done." With a benevolence worthy of the disciple of him who prayed for his murderers in death, he ordered suitable refreshments to be set before those who came to arrest him. Then, when he had offered up an humble prayer,—remembering in it, with minute particularity, all that had been connected with him,—breathed forth with such fervor and humility as melted the iron-hearted soldiers who had seized him, they led him to the city. But who are these, in a chariot of state, that come to meet the venerable prisoner by the way? They are no less personages than Herod the Irenarch, or head officer of the police, with his father Nicetes. They persuade him to take his seat by their side, and with insinuating deference to his gray hairs, they strive to win him from his steadfastness of purpose. "What great harm can there be in addressing divine honors to Cæsar, and offering, at least, one grain of incense upon the idol's altar?" At first he remained silent, and they, encouraged, renewed their solicitations. Perceiving their misconception of his feelings, with great dignity and calmness, but so firmly as utterly annihilated their hopes of success, he answered, "I shall never do what you advise me." Then they turned their flatteries to the coarsest abuse, and thrust him from their car with inhuman violence. Injured by the fall, he bore the indignity with uncomplaining meekness, and, fast as the tottering steps of age would bear him, he hastened to the stadium. The proconsul was already there. To the question, "Who art thou?" he fearlessly replied, "I am Polycarp." The renewed attempts of this vice-regent of Rome, to induce the venerable man to swear by Cæsar, or perform some other act, incompatible with the sacred dictates of his conscience, he steadily resisted.

"Revile Christ, and swear; then will I dismiss you," said the proconsul.

Polycarp replied, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he never did me wrong; how, then, can I now blaspheme my king that has saved me?"

The governor still continuing to urge him to swear by the genius of Cæsar, Polycarp said, "Hear my free confession: I AM A CHRISTIAN; and if you would know what Christianity is, grant me a day and listen to me."

The proconsul said, "I have wild beasts at hand; I will cast you to them, unless you change your mind."

He answered, "Call them; for we have no reason to change from the better to the worse, but it is good to turn from wickedness to virtue."

Again he urged him. "I will cause you to be consumed by fire, should you despise the beasts, and not change your mind."

Polycarp answered, "You threaten fire, that burns for a moment, and is then put out; but you consider not the coming judgment, and the fire of eternal punishment, reserved for the wicked."

The governor, astonished at his confidence,—that he not only refused to retract, but continued undismayed, his countenance brightening with joy,—sent forth the herald to proclaim in the middle of the stadium, "Polycarp confesses himself a Christian." This was equivalent to pronouncing the sentence of death against him; and that bloodthirsty populace, idolaters and Jews, with united vociferation, cried out, "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of Christians, who causes our gods to be forgotten, teaching the multitude neither to sacrifice nor worship them."

"Burn him alive!" "Burn him alive!" was now shouted and reëchoed through the throng. Fuel was collected from every side, with surprising avidity; their victim stood bound before them. He required no fastening to the stake, but calmly said, "He that now gives me strength, will enable me to remain unmoved, even upon the pile."

Then breathing forth an humble prayer, more full of lofty virtue and true piety than heathen philosophy ever conceived,—in which, be it remembered, his privilege of bearing witness, in this martyr death, for the truth of the religion of his Lord, was distinctly and gratefully recognised,—he was made to suffer the cruel punishment prepared for

him. His brethren and fellow-disciples then gathered up his bones, and deposited them in an appropriate sepulchre.

In this case, if we mistake not, we have a fair and full illustration of the martyr spirit as above defined. The suffering in this instance was distinctly and obviously *for a testimony*. It bore decided witness to the truth of Christianity; and it did this, in a manner perfectly voluntary, deliberate, with ample opportunity for reflection and consideration. And this was not the act of an ambitious youth, panting for distinction, and willing to overleap the bounds of discretion or of truth, in his eager desire for notoriety. On the contrary, this witness was chastened by age and experience; his regard for truth, the firmly settled habit of integrity in him, was proverbial, and his reputation for virtue was unsullied. Then, too, the competency of this witness (and there were many others similarly situated) may be as conclusively shown as his fidelity. His position as the contemporary of one of the apostles, and eye witness of the leading facts of the Christian system, must have given him opportunity to *know* that, of which his testimony so solemnly affirmed the truth.

The fair laws of evidence, applied to such testimony as that now exhibited, would certainly exonerate it altogether, from the covert and insidious attacks of one of the most learned and eloquent of modern historians.

Had the celebrated author of the *Decline and Fall* of the Roman Empire composed his sixteenth chapter of that history with other views than the disparagement of the claims and evidences of Christianity, then, most assuredly, some of the glaring inconsistencies and sophistries, which now deform it, would have been avoided. Then we should not be compelled to peruse, on the same pages, the high eulogies of "the mild indifference of antiquity," and sneers at the rigid adherence of Christians to their convictions and their vows.

Then, too, the insinuations of a want of honesty in the martyr Cyprian (whose case very nearly agrees with the one above given) might well have been spared; and the palpable *non-sequitur*,—that since *some* of the martyrs were poor and distressed, therefore the testimony of *all* is to be attributed to weariness of life, as its leading motive, —would not have deformed his pages. Nor would the

equally illogical assumption,—that high honors of a posthumous character were the leading inducements to their constancy in a death of violence,—have been here brought forward; false as it certainly is in fact, in reference to the *early* martyrs, and unfounded as it must be admitted, in the true philosophy of human motives. The high honors paid to the memory of martyrs, and the assumed sacredness of their relics, originated, as all know, in a subsequent age; nor did the life or death of Gibbon himself evince any such disregard of the enjoyments of an earthly existence, as would warrant his thus wantonly trifling with the natural love of life by others. Candor, perhaps, should dictate the admission, that undue assumption for this species of testimony, in many cases where suspicion of its genuineness is not unreasonable, had excited in this historian *the habit of suspicion*. It thus happens to the defenders of Christianity, as to many other over-anxious advocates of a good cause, that they injure what they would promote, by undue solicitude to press into its service corroborations of a doubtful character, whose aid is neither necessary, nor much relied on, even by those who employ them. Their opponents, however, by one of the fallacies so fully exposed, and so justly condemned by Whately, assume to triumph, because they have overthrown an out-post,—injudiciously chosen, and not deemed worth defending,—while the entire walls, and the stronger citadel remain unscathed.

Many a good cause has thus suffered, by the combination of indiscretion in its defenders, and artful sophistry on the part of its assailants. This injudiciousness is in no case more likely to evince itself, than in attempts to perpetuate and extend, unduly, that which was perfectly legitimate and available, in its original and narrower application. Thus, because miracles were efficient, in the first establishment of Christianity, they have been feigned, counterfeited, and boastfully appealed to, as conclusive witnesses in favor of the assumption of the different sects in controversy with each other. How inconclusive to every ingenuous mind the hasty postulate, that if these modern miracles can be invalidated, the genuineness of all miracles, however conclusive their evidence, may equally be questioned! Martyrdom, too, when conspiring circumstances gave a high authority to its testimony, would

not be unlikely to call forth this reproduction of its semblance, where neither its spirit was felt, nor opportunities for testing its validity are afforded. But the most which a candid opponent could claim from the overthrow of these undue assumptions would be, that *these* (not others having nothing in common with them but the name) were inconclusive.

To return from this incidental digression: the more welcome, because in no sense invidious, part of our subject, next requires us to consider the *elements of real greatness evinced by the true martyr*. Wisdom, benevolence, self-control, a firm tenacity of purpose, which remains unshaken in most adverse circumstances, and cheerful, generous self-denial, for the accomplishment of any noble end, especially one which is widely promotive of human happiness, have pretty uniformly received the approval, as they deserve the homage and the imitation, of mankind. But where else will these be found in such perfect combination and harmony, as in the character of him who bears witness for the truth, on some topic of transcendent interest and value, and who is willing to seal that testimony with his blood? He sees the truth clearly. Its value, its adaptedness to promote the happiness of those around him, is obvious to his view: and when he sees that truth assailed, its illuminating influence checked, its power and progress impeded, he is also called, it may be, to abjure it. How many opposing influences conspire to bar up his way, and turn him from the high and holy purpose of bearing his "witness of sufferings," in behalf of that truth! Self-preservation, the love of life,—that strongest of our impulsive principles,—conspires with fear of suffering, or of shame, while a temporizing expediency, which puts on the garb of prudence, joins in the effort to cause him to falter. But all these combined do not outweigh his regard to truth, and his benevolence to those who need its salutary influence. How noble, too, that exhibition of firmness, which preserves from irresolution, when motives and impulses so powerful, would incline him to hesitate! What self-control, to hush the commotion within, and, undaunted, survey the accumulated terrors without!

This spirit evinces its superiority, not only by the principles which it develops, but by the circumstances and

concomitants of its exhibition. Viewed in comparison with some of the objects of highest admiration, as they are usually regarded, this claim will be made more obvious. The *warrior* has personal courage; but how low a rank would justice award to it, under the circumstances of its usual exercise! Maddened by a passing excitement,—lured on and sustained by the high-wrought sympathy of the hour,—almost every sense taken captive by some specious or powerful hallucination,—how little, at such a moment, is requisite to carry him onward in the current, even to the peril of life! Very little, surely, more than mere animal impulse, and that not of the noblest kind. Those who have willed the contest, and who set the opposing masses in hostile motion, do not generally share the personal peril. These master-spirits, who play the desperate game of war, have long since discovered, and many of them have honestly testified, that high moral excellence is quite incompatible with those fighting qualities which are most estimable in those who are compelled to be pliant instruments of the unhallowed ambition of their masters. The common soldier may sometimes *think*; and the sober exercise of even a few moments' reflection will be sure to unfit him for his employment. Like that private, who was observed musing in melancholy mood, after one of the bloody battles of the Peninsular war, and when asked the reason of his dejection by his commander, replied, "to think how many widows I have this day made for six pence." A score or two of such *thinking soldiers* would be more dreaded in the army or the camp, than the united influence of the most debasing vices. *These* fit men to be the supple tools of arbitrary power. Reflection throws barriers insurmountable in the way. How unlike the courage which needs such appliances and concomitants, is the heroism of the martyr! No maddening passions carry him on in thoughtless frenzy. No confused din of martial music, and the cannon's roar, with shouts, and groans, and bustling strife, make him forgetful of duty and of right, but in the calmness of the soul's collected powers, with a moral vision purified and exalted, he sees *truth, immortal truth*, to be more valuable than life, and nobly makes the exchange.

The *philosopher* may exhibit a sincere and ardent love

of truth, both in its pursuit and its manifestation. But will the love of it, which bears him on so serenely in the closet, and in his silent inquiries and observations,—will this rise to an adequate height to make him *the suffering witness* in behalf of that truth to others? How many of the amiable and distinguished votaries of science, to whom she has unfolded her choicest arcana, and laid bare her richest gems, have, with cowardly timidity quailed before the array of determined opposition! Galileo could demonstrate the revolution of the earth; but he could not, or did not, bear an unhesitating testimony to this truth, when prejudice, backed by power, demanded his recantation. Nor does this case of mental or moral imbecility, stand alone in its class. Under similar severity of trial, it would probably be the rule, rather than the exception. Indeed, it may reasonably be doubted, whether abstract, scientific truth, unconnected with the moral nature of man, has power or adaptedness to elicit, and attract to itself such a degree of benevolence, as the martyr spirit requires.

Statesmen may give proof of decided sagacity; their plans of government and their codes of laws may indicate vast and profound researches after truth, in the science of government, and high appreciation of its worth. But how few of them have been willing to leave their own *testimony of suffering*, to carry conviction to the minds of those for whom they legislate, of their own love, ardent, strong, immovable, for “the useful,” and “the beautiful,” which their own codes and constitutions evince! True, there have been patriots, who, for their country's cause, to promote in some way its welfare, have nobly given themselves up to death. But the number of such, especially of those who have done it in a spirit allied to martyrdom, is exceedingly small. For, assuredly, by no fair construction, can we include in this number, those who take arms of offence, and wield them for the destruction of their fellow-men. Hopes of personal success, and of consequent domination, the spirit of self-aggrandizement, and in fine, the low, base aims of mercenary warfare, are generally the preponderating elements in the character of your fighting patriots. The true martyr never dies with arms in his hand, for the plain reason, that the most successful battle can never settle a disputed matter of right. As Newton said of a fine poem, “it

proves nothing." Nor can it be made to occupy the place of testimony for the truth.

From the number of those who would ordinarily, perhaps, be reckoned martyr patriots, our definition removes another class, by no means small, viz., those who have suffered not voluntarily,—who have been unexpectedly overtaken by the arm of power, and, without having seen that their position exposed them to danger, or having any opportunity to escape from that danger by forswearing their principles, they have been compelled to suffer however unwillingly. Such sufferings can scarcely be considered as allied to the spirit of the martyr. As in the case of Algernon Sidney, the obvious purpose may be to retain the evidence of their views unpublished, in their own hands, and not, of course, to bear a public and decided testimony. This, surely, is not to be a martyr. Is it, then, claiming too much for this spirit, to assert its decided superiority, in the scale of desert,—in the grade of moral qualities, which are illustrated in human achievements?

But, besides these claims for its intrinsic merit, its utility may also be fairly regarded as one of its enhancing qualities. If we task ourselves to form an estimate of the comparative value of this spirit for the diffusion of truth, and for accelerating and perpetuating its final triumphs, we shall at once see its superiority over every other influence hitherto relied on for the accomplishment of this result. The aid of physical force in extending the influence of truth,—the power of armies, or of racks and tortures, either to aid the human mind in perceiving the agreement or disagreement of the subjects of its contemplation, or to increase its love of what is admitted as truth, is now very generally and justly rejected. But while the dungeon and the rack are no longer relied on to maintain or advance the cause of truth, let us beware lest influences scarcely less unpromising, be still put in requisition, and still, to a greater or less degree, confided in. Truth, or what is held and inculcated as such, is so often dressed out in meretricious ornament; any of its features which are thought unwelcome to the prejudices or selfishness of men, are studiously concealed, while the attention is most carefully diverted from them to something extraneous to its nature, and then, when the truth,

under these circumstances, is communicated, and its trappings and embellishments only are regarded, perceived, and remembered, it is still set forth as a mighty achievement in her behalf. Like silly children, who admire the casket, and neglect the diamond which it contains, we are often amused, excited, enraptured, by that which is altogether extraneous, if not opposed, to the truth. Its own peerless value not only fails to be appreciated, but *the love of the truth for its own sake*, which is an ennobling and purifying exercise of the mind, is effectually precluded,—thus perpetuating a positive and irreparable evil.*

Thus, if we mistake not the signs of the times, we are now egregiously misconceiving the application of the sentiment, that "intelligence is the life of liberty," and that nothing but its wide diffusion is requisite, to perpetuate our republican institutions. Too general is the disposition to rely on the mere illumination of the intellect, or rather, its excitement. What methods are now resorted to, for stimulating and overloading, with the mere lumber of acquisition, those minds which are left almost entirely destitute of moral culture! Because "knowledge is power," it is eagerly grasped by those whose chief danger is, an excess of power, without integrity to control it. The martyr spirit, by checking this undue regard to self, this ambitious thirst for personal preëminence, and by exalting truth, especially moral truth, with which, we have seen, it is chiefly conversant, will tend to arrest this evil.

From its very nature, it is easy to conceive how the martyr spirit, by improving him who exercises it, becomes a mightier instrument for the overthrow of cherished and entrenched error, than any other power which can be brought into requisition for this purpose. Nor is it difficult to see how it is adapted to awaken interest, and conciliate esteem for the cause of truth, even among those

* The duty of ministers of the gospel, as witnesses or heralds of divine truth, is hence a clear and imperative one. They must exhibit the truths of that message which they bear, so distinctly, with such uncovered clearness, as to make its outlines and proportions obvious to every mind. What would be thought of the skill of an exhibiter of any unequalled work of art,—a picture, or a statue of one of the great masters, who should strive to set it off by the attractions of finical drapery, and superadded, extraneous embellishment! But such conduct would be *wisdom itself*, compared with the infatuation of him who, by striving to adorn, really disguises the truths of the gospel.

who are least predisposed to favor her votaries. By arousing public attention, and turning the full tide of gushing, irrepressible sympathy in favor of truth's suffering witnesses,—by repressing envy, which success in other spheres of a more ostentatious character so naturally engenders,—and finally, by erecting, as does its very nature, barriers so mighty, against the abuse, the perversion of the truth thus established,—it manifests its fitness to be the great moral fulcrum, on which benevolence may act, to elevate a fallen world.

These deductions from its nature are abundantly confirmed by the history of its achievements. We pass over, as too sacred for analysis in this connection, the testimony of suffering evinced by the founder of Christianity, in his own person. It will not be forgotten, that from his own lips fell the declaration, in circumstances of solemn and affecting interest, on his arraignment before Pilate, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." That witness he voluntarily sealed with his blood. The same reason need not prevent a fuller reference to the history of his followers. For the first 300 years, they preserved, with almost inviolate sanctity, those principles of peace, and of unresisting sufferings, which, by an example so endeared, and by precepts so authoritative, had been made obligatory upon them. And can any other period of equal prosperity be pointed out, in the whole record of Christian achievement? Without wealth or power, and, for the most part, without learning or eloquence, the leaven of truth, by the influence of this *suffering testimony*, was more rapidly extended, and made to affect more deeply and thoroughly the whole mass of mind, than at any later period.

Gibbon, while acknowledging the fact of this rapid extension, does not fail also to perceive and admit the efficiency of this agency, while, at the same time, he most unphilosophically seeks to derogate from its just claims. While admitting the effect, and assigning its true and adequate cause, he would suicidally depreciate that same efficiency. This is only one of the innumerable illustrations of the difficulty of making error consistent with itself.

The same historian again complains of the peaceful

and unwarlike disposition so extensively diffused by Christianity; and attributes to this, in no small degree, the facility with which the Goths and Vandals overran the Roman empire. But it would surely seem but the part of candor, to inquire, "what was the result?" The meek and unoffending disciples of Christ excited no prejudice, nor fear, nor suspicion, in the minds of those invaders; who soon laid aside the aspect and bearing of *masters*, and became *learners*. They quickly imbibed the spirit, and partook of the blessings which Christianity had spread before them. Conquerors, indeed, they were, by arms and in name; but, in truth, they were conquered. They rapidly became incorporated with those whom they came to pillage and lay waste. As beasts of prey, they rushed forth from their lair, to raven and destroy;—but, changed to lambs, they fed and lay down with the flock which they had purposed to devour.

How different was the result, when the same empire, some centuries afterward, was invaded by the Saracens. Christianity had now become so corrupted, by alliance with, and dependence upon the state, as no longer to evince its original distinguishing spirit. She met these invaders, not with peace and love, but with arms less congenial to her heavenly character; and her experience verified the striking prediction of her Lord, "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Christianity received the former as the furrowed field of summer receives the copious showers;—imbibes, incorporates them, and thus makes them conducive to her greater fruitfulness. But she received the latter as the frozen earth meets, but resists with rigid stubbornness the rain of heaven, till its accumulating torrents, in swollen, turbid rage, burst these congealed obstructions, and spread wide, wasteful, terrific destruction around them.

How strikingly manifest, in these instances, is that ordering of Providence, which, *rightly improved*, shows the wrath of man subordinated to purposes in perfect harmony with the benevolence of the great Ruler of all things, and the happiness of his intelligent creatures,—shows how he,

"From seeming evil still educing good;"

and, better still, in infinite progression, deserves the

homage and the love of those whom he has endowed with powers to appreciate these beginnings of infinite wisdom. And we see, too, how consonant with the wisdom of his ordering, is the invariable result,—that distrust in him, and reliance on forbidden efforts and methods of our own, clothe their authors with misery and shame.

The track of all authentic history, ancient and modern, though its great purpose has seemed but to chronicle the deeds of war and violence, presents an occasional gleam,—a bright and cheering and warming ray,—of that spirit which is here contemplated. We may not *now* linger, to gather them from the distant past, since the remaining space but meagrely suffices to glance at some of its more recent fruits.

The martyr spirit may be exemplified in various degrees; and, though the occasions for its most obvious and distinct manifestation have happily passed away from us, we trust for ever, still its exercise will continue to be required while truth has to struggle for the mastery, and while power remains in hands disposed to abuse it. In a degree it may be found in the domestic circle, and all associations and communities will more or less give occasion for its exercise. To this very hour, *woman*, throughout two-thirds of the world, is a suffering witness, and bears her martyr testimony to the wrongs which her sex is forced to endure, and the baseness of those who inflict them.

There have been martyrs in the cause of benevolence. Such was Howard. The truth, in reference to one great branch of human reform and melioration, shone upon his mind, and with the true spirit, he gave himself up to the great duty of bearing a suffering, self-denying testimony to that truth. With what benign effect upon the wide field of human happiness, the doomed prisoner of almost every civilized country can already testify. Such, also, was Clarkson. The iniquity and cruel baseness of the slave-trade, stood out as a truth, before his view, in characters so bright, that misapprehension or indifference was impossible. For more than twenty years, through toils and reproaches, sacrifices and privations, of which it is scarcely possible to form an adequate conception, he persevered in bearing a testimony of sufferings, which in the end triumphantly prevailed.

The Christian missionary, also, who goes forth unarmed, on his divinely appointed errand of love, and lies down to rest in the hut of the cannibal, and, by that very act of unconscious heroism, bears witness to his purity and benevolence of purpose, and thereby wins the savage heart to confidence, and hope, and heaven, is another exemplification.*

Such, also, was the disposition evinced by the Puritan settlers of New England. In the spirit of suffering witnesses for the truth, they tore themselves from their beloved homes,—the place of their fathers' sepulchres, for a hundred generations;—they braved the rigors of the icy shores of Plymouth, the fury of unknown savages, and grappled with hunger, disease, poverty, death, that they might show their estimate of the peerless value of that great culminating truth, around which their affections had so long, so closely entwined,—“freedom to worship God.”

And when, subsequently, a portion of these same Pilgrims, forgetful of the errand on which they came, or blinded by the prevailing spirit of the age, became persecutors and oppressors in their turn,—when Roger Williams was banished, and, in the depth of winter, was compelled to take his cheerless way through an untrodden wilderness, and, in his own significant and graphic words, “was sorely tossed, for one fourteen weeks, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean,” he laid the foundations of a state, holding forth the lively example of entire liberty of conscience in religious concerns. Nor were his days of martyrdom then completed. His perse-

* How deeply it is to be deplored, that all protestant evangelical missionaries have not invariably evinced the martyr spirit! It is very doubtful whether bearing weapons of offence has in any instance been promotive of their personal safety; nor will it fail to be remembered, that, in one melancholy instance, beloved missionary brethren, yielding to bad advisers, were left to die, with arms in their hands. Perhaps it would be unreasonable to expect so superior a manifestation of Christian principle and practice, in missionaries, to what is ordinarily exhibited by professed Christians at home. But if the light of their consistent example, in this respect, should be reflected back upon us with a lustre which the blindness of prejudice and perversion on our part can no longer resist, it would be another of the blessed triumphs of the benign results of missions. The disciples in the South Sea Islands, when they first received the gospel, believing the testimony which it bore against rendering evil for evil, immediately converted their fighting spears into some useful appendages to their chapel. The missionaries, seeing them cutting their spears in pieces for this purpose, began to expostulate with them. With surprise, they asked, “Did not the Lord Jesus mean what he said? ‘Resist not the evil, but if smitten on one cheek, turn the other.’” What a lesson was here! The Rev. Mr. Ellis confesses that these simple disciples converted him to the principles of peace. Is it wonderful that God has not given larger measure of success to the efforts of churches for evangelizing the heathen, when these very churches are but beginning to free themselves from the incubus of intemperance, in its many protean forms; and have scarcely begun, as yet, to cast off the unholy panoply of war?

cutors were endangered by the attempt of a coalition among several of the powerful tribes of Indians around them. When it came to his knowledge, instead of yielding to the bitter spirit of retaliation, he exposed his life for those who had treated him with such unmerited severity. He thus describes his personal agency in this business:

“Upon letters received from the Governor and Council at Boston, requesting me to use my utmost and speediest endeavors to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequods and Mohegans against the English, the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and, scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself alone in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the sachem’s house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequods’ ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also. God wondrously preserved me, and helped me to break to pieces the Pequods’ negotiation and design.”

Following onward the current of events, we may trace the prevalence of this same spirit, in those wary and far-seeing determinations of the Colonists not to yield themselves up to the caprice and injustice of a lawless despotism. The matters in dispute between them and the parent country were small in amount, but immeasurably great, in the principles involved. While they cautiously abstained from all violations of law, and held forth the language of firm and dignified remonstrance, while they cheerfully submitted to privations, and ingeniously evaded both collision and the abandonment of rights dearer to them than life, they were evidently and rapidly gaining ground against their unjust oppressors,—were so clearly putting them in the wrong, and showing their own position to be defensible and irreproachable, that it only seemed requisite for a few months more of determined and unyielding consistency, to work their complete effect, and change the counsels of the parent state. Unfortunately, or, as the ultra peace advocates would say, wickedly, an act of violence (the destruction of three cargoes of tea, in Boston harbor), committed by them—

selves, for what they doubtless thought a most justifiable cause, brought violence in return; and the bloody, protracted strife of nearly eight years succeeded. So far as the events of war are concerned, that struggle does not fall within the range of present considerations. But we may, with truth, appeal to every patriot,—yes, to every human heart,—whether, in all that eventful period, there are any scenes so moving, or so well adapted to fix an indelible impression of the greatness of that cause,—that *truth* which was then sustained,—as the scenes of suffering there evinced. We can but allude to a single one, nor does it need a minute delineation. It was the time when Philadelphia was possessed by the army of the enemy, the Congress of the Colonies dispersed, and the miserable huts of Valley Forge contained all that could be relied on as defenders of the country, and they were in circumstances such as beggars the power of language to describe its wretchedness. Starving for food, shivering in unclad nakedness, and leaving at each step their tracks of blood, from feet bared to the rough, frozen ground! Let the father, who would give to his children some deep and abiding sense of the estimated worth of civil liberty, lead them to view the scenes of Valley Forge; and a more salutary effect will be wrought by it, than by the spirit-stirring chronicle of glorious war, its battles, victories, and triumphs. There will he see the *American Fabius*, in that darkest hour of the night which gave a nation birth. He, too, the noble, princely Virginian, born and nurtured in affluence, with the bright scenes of wealth and honor all opened to him in another direction, voluntarily turns from them all, and, with the humblest of his soldiers, grapples with privation and suffering, bearing thus his *martyr testimony*. To our eye and heart, he is then more dear, more noble, than when the proud Cornwallis was humbled at his feet, and the exulting shouts of a young and grateful nation hailed him as conqueror and deliverer. We will produce but one instance more; and that,—so unpatriotic is our present mood,—shall be taken from a foreign land. He was the son of one of England's valiant and noble lords, distinguished for deeds of high renown in the bright annals of the proud mistress of the sea. This princely scion of a noble stock begins his career in acts of goodness; and, wonderful insatiation!

he seems bent on martyrdom in its promotion. Persecutions, imprisonments, the royal frown, and, what would be more keenly felt by an ingenuous mind, a father's reprobation, cannot deter him from the strange frenzy, that "it is better to save men's lives than to destroy them." His plan of life, and all his enterprises, seem formed on the same wild infatuation. Can it be credited? he even lavished an ample patrimony, in the quixotic scheme of planting a colony in a remote region, and among a race of men reputed, by most, ferocious. So great was his short-sightedness, and his ignorance of human nature, that he seems to have expected, or perhaps barely hoped, that half naked and blood-thirsty savages would understand his benevolent disposition, and not molest him and his followers. He actually gave up his own life to this danger, to leave a beacon monument to deter the rest of the world from ever acting on his impracticable and absurd principle "of not fighting, but suffering." That man was William Penn. Near where we pen these lines, stood the venerable elm, *the treaty tree*. The second city of this great nation, in all its beauty, and order, and incipient magnificence, was the scene of his peaceful counsels; and the noble Commonwealth that bears his name, with her million and a half of free, prosperous, and happy citizens, is the tangible memorial of the wisdom and efficiency of the *martyr spirit*. B.

ARTICLE VII.

CHINA.

1. *Die Erdkunde von Asien, von CARL RITTER*, Band I, pp. 1143; Berlin, 1832. II, pp. 1203; 1833. III, pp. 1244; 1834. IV, — 1838.
The Geography of Asia. By CHARLES RITTER. 4 vols., 8vo. Berlin, 1832—1838.
2. *Taschen-Bibliothek der wichtigsten und interessantesten See- und Land-Reisen durch China, mit Landkarten, Planen, Portraits, und anderen Abbildungen, verfasst von Mehren Gelhrten und herausgegeben, von J. H. JÄCK.* Theil I, Nurnberg, 1827—1829. Theil II, 1830.
Pocket Library of the most important and interesting Travels and Voyages in China, with Maps, Plates, &c., prepared by several Authors, and edited by J. H. JÄCK, Royal Librarian at Bamberg. 2 vols. 1827—1830.
3. *The Chinese; a General Description of China and its Inhabitants.* By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F. R. S., &c. In 2 vols. pp. 383—440, in Harper's Family Library. New York. 1836.
4. *China; its State and Prospects, with especial Reference to the Spread of the Gospel, containing Allusions to the Antiquity, Extent, Population, Civilization, Situation and Religion of the Chinese.* By W. H. MEDHURST, of the London Missionary Society. pp. 465. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 1838.

THERE are three general sources of information respecting China,—the accounts of early travellers and the Jesuit missionaries, those of modern ambassadors, protestant missionaries and Canton merchants, and the newly opened treasures of native Chinese literature. In mentioning the last by itself, we do not intend to imply, that it has, in point of fact, been entirely distinct from the two former; but that the modern French and Russian schools

of Chinese literature under such men as Remusat, Klaproth, Humbolt, and Schmid, have a depth, variety, and completeness in their researches, to be found no where else, and have thrown a flood of new light upon China, not afforded by the incidental and insulated labors of their predecessors. It is to the joint results of these three classes of productions, that we are indebted for any clear and comprehensive views which we may entertain of China. We ought not, as inquirers after truth, to be prejudiced against either of these sources of our information; and, for ourselves, we are far from sympathizing with any of those residents or missionaries, at Canton and its vicinity, who affect to smile at the laudatory strain of the Jesuit accounts of China. It should be remembered, that those great men, who carried science, if not religion, to Peking, were so kindly received, and so highly honored at court, as to lead them naturally, and even necessarily, to see the bright side of things. Later observers at Canton and Macao have been treated with such indignity, and have suffered so much odium among that part of the Chinese with whom they have had intercourse, as to cause them to charge *their* picture of China with far deeper shades. From what we know of human nature, we may assume it as true the world over, that travellers or residents in a foreign country will interweave, in their descriptions, blessing or cursing, very much according to the treatment they have personally received. The two English writers under review are among the few nobler spirits which can rise above those influences that generally produce an unfavorable bias.

There are many respects in which the early travellers and missionaries had a decided advantage over those of the present age. Nor must we allow ourselves to be blinded by the remark, that some of our recent authors have been residents in China for more than twenty years. It would be as true, were it said that they were *excluded from China*, during those twenty years. Have not they, in common with all other Europeans, been kept from the heart of the empire, and confined, under very great restrictions, to Canton and a few small islands? Even the embassies to Peking are nothing but a repetition of the same journey on the imperial road from Canton to the capital; and when voyages have been made along the coast,

nearly all the intercourse with the inhabitants has been at brief intervals, and by stealth. Besides, the vigilance of the whole government, with an unparalleled system of police, is concentrated upon that single point of contact with Europeans at Canton. What can be learned of China, as a whole, and especially of the interior and western parts, by those who are thus kept in a constant state of quarantine? Shall an estimate be made of Chinese character, from such a specimen as the Hong merchants, those licensed speculators, who are authorized to regard the barbarians as fair game? As well might a foreign traveller make his estimate of our social condition, judging by the boatmen he might see on our great western canal. Another kindred error is, that of having intercourse with intriguing mandarins,—a most extraordinary, and altogether unique class of individuals,—and of applying epithets that are descriptive only of them, to the whole nation. There is no more resemblance nor sympathy, between the artificial and fraudulent mandarins, and the plain, simple, and honest-hearted people, than there is between the nobility and the common people of Europe.

These errors have generally arisen not so much from the fault of the writers, as from the infelicity of their position. Now compare all this with the opportunities of Marco Polo and the early catholic missionaries, who were treated by the government as favorites, who travelled in all directions, and observed every form of society and *lived in the interior of the country*; and it will appear obvious, that their accounts of China would naturally be the fullest and most satisfactory. A proof, that the facts are as might be anticipated, appears in the circumstance, that there has not been information enough respecting the interior, even *to follow and understand* M. Polo; and after all that Marsden, the ablest of his commentators could do, it remained for Klapproth to learn the truth from Chinese and other oriental authors, and thus confirm and illustrate the statements of the noble Venetian, and refute many of the *conjectures* of the English commentator. The fact here stated, is but a fair sample of the relative state of Chinese learning in England, and on the continent of Europe. France and Russia have had their schools of Chinese literature, and have raised up native and German

disciples, who take decided precedence of all Europe, whereas England appointed for that object her first university professor during the last year. And those who are acquainted with the facts well know, that no Englishman in the East has made attainments in this study equal to those of Remusat and Klaproth. We wish not to disparage the labors of those men, who have within a few years published their observations respecting that part of China which they have seen. We are grateful for what they have contributed to the common stock of knowledge respecting China. Still, it cannot be denied, that with all their many excellences, they have less personal knowledge of the Chinese than the Jesuits had, and less Chinese scholarship than the French, Russians and Germans. In proof of the former part of the assertion, we may allude to the remark, so frequently made by the best judges, that he who has learned all that Polo, Mailla and Du Halde can teach him, will find little that is new in the recent books on China. As it regards the latter, it is but too evident, that even in such men as Davis and Medhurst, there is an ignorance of nearly all the new light that has been cast upon Chinese geography and history, by the living oriental scholars of continental Europe. Still there is a very high value to be attached to this class of productions. They form an important link between us and Chinese authors, without which the latter would hardly be intelligible to us. Even the Jesuits' accounts would seem to belong to a remote age, and would have a foreign air, were it not that our conceptions are aided by the reiterated descriptions of living men, who observe and feel and judge as one of us. Where they agree either with Chinese documents or with the Jesuits' accounts, they render that certain, which was before doubtful. Still more frequently do they clear up what was obscure; and, in regard to the east and south-east parts of China, they give us no very small amount of information that is altogether new.

Now what the English and American public greatly need, and as yet do not possess, is some thorough work which shall bring all these materials together; and, by supplying deficiencies, adjusting differences and correcting mistakes, present a clear digest of the whole. For the

Germans, Ritter, in his *Geography of Asia*, has accomplished this in a masterly manner.

Charles Ritter, born in 1779, and, since 1820, professor of geography to the university of Berlin, is the founder of the science of comparative geography, or geography in its relations to nature, and to the history of man. After presenting some general views, drawn mostly from his great work, we shall give, in an abridged form, a translation of select passages, as a specimen of his manner.*

China is, by its geographical position, almost as much secluded from the rest of the world as America. On three sides it is bounded by lofty and impassable mountains, and thus separated from the other parts of Asia. Though the Chinese have an ocean on one of their borders, they are not a seafaring people, and have never acquired the cosmopolitan character of a commercial nation. The rivers of this country are surpassed only by those of America; and, notwithstanding the north and south and west, including three-fourths of the whole country, are mountainous, the remaining fourth, stretching across the lower parts of both the great rivers, presents the greatest Delta land in the world, being a perfect Holland on a Chinese scale. Here the population and wealth and power of China are chiefly concentrated. The inland water communication, too, which is not confined to the alluvial territory, is like that of Holland, again, in respect to distribution, and like our own in vastness of extent. Besides the two great streams, there is a direct inland water communication from Canton to Peking. South of the Kiang, it is by means of two rivers, with a passage between them by land of only twelve or fourteen miles; north it is by the imperial canal. This great national canal pervades the whole extent of the Chinese Delta, cutting the two great rivers at right angles, and receiving innumerable branches.

Except at Canton, which is approached by water, there are but three ways of access to China,—that on the north, from Asiatic Russia, through the wall, to Peking; that on

* Our common maps of China are not to be much relied on for accuracy. The most critical work at a moderate expense is the *Atlas of Asia*, by Ritter and O'Etzel, Berlin, 1833. The most complete and satisfactory in all respects, is the following: *Asia*, by Dr. H. Berghaus. 18 large Maps, with a copious Text. Gotha, 1837—38. The great work of Klaproth on Asia, which has been many years in preparation, and as precursors to which several single maps have already appeared, will, in all probability, surpass every other. Such, at least, appears to be the opinion of Ritter.

the north-west, from central Asia, through the narrow passage between the mountains of Thibet, and the great desert of Tartary; and that from Burmah, on the south-west, into the province of Yunnan. The preëminent importance of the place, and its connection with the history of the empire, require us to commence with "the north-west passage" of China. It touches upon the main part of China, between Sining in Thibet, and Ninghia on the Hoangho. It is here that a part of the great wall west of this river takes a north-western direction, following the pass. It is a little south of this, that the Hoangho leaves Thibet, and enters China; and a little north of it, that the wall, cutting the bend of the river from the east, strikes the western arm. From the gates near Pekin, on the north and west bank of the river, all the way up to Ninghia, there is an unbroken range of mountains. The wall here is needed only as a defence against the Ortos, *within* the bend of the river. From Ninghia, near which that range of mountains terminates, it is some little distance south, before you reach the mountains of Thibet. Passing from that city, south-west, towards Sining, and then turning directly to the north-west, you have on the right the great desert of Gobi, or Shamo, and on the left, the gigantic range of the Himalayan mountains. South of this pass, there is no opening through the mountain to the west, till you reach Yunnan, near Tali, where there is a passage into Burmah, a little above Ava. Thus, a line drawn from the gates near Pekin, to Ava, would leave all the Chinese boundary west of it with but one single passage to central Asia. This narrow passage, with mountains of perpetual snow on the one side, and the desert and a branch of the wall on the other, fortified for many hundreds of miles with strong military towns, is the key to all that part of the empire. Here the fate of many kingdoms has been decided; and near this point the present empire of China took its origin.

The military defence of this part of the empire must appear preposterous to any one who has not an accurate knowledge of the country. That extremity of the Chinese wall designed to be a barrier against central Asia, instead of running north and south, as would be expected, runs, as artillery would be pointed, directly towards the enemy. Besides, it would be supposed, that at this point,

—the only one where invasion directly from the west is practicable,—the territory should be as compact, and the line of defence as short as possible; and yet the western province of Kansu here crosses the river, and runs out in a narrow neck of land, nearly a thousand miles, in a north-westerly direction. For more than a thousand years, Kiayakuan, not far from the longitude of Pekin, and the latitude of Ava, formed the western boundary of China; but now, the jurisdiction of the province of Kansu extends in that direction, beyond the longitude of Calcutta. Now the Chinese historians inform us, that it was the policy of the government to shape this frontier province just in such a way as to include the whole of the passage. By this means, it holds in its own hands a position which commands all that part of Asia. But there are two natural enemies of China in this quarter, the Mongolians on the north, and the Thibetans on the south, both of which,—the former, to be sure, making their way over deserts, and the latter over mountains,—would naturally enter China by this pass. If both should happen to unite, and pour in upon the empire at that point, the latter would inevitably fall a prey to them. To prevent such a junction, the wall was built, and fortified with military stations. Thus a double purpose was answered; and, with the natural barriers of the mountain on one side, and the desert beyond the wall on the other, it may be said, that no ordinary power can wrest that important passage from the hands of the Chinese.

Near Ninghia and Sining, is the point to which three routes from northern, western, and southern Asia converge, leading to China. The western, or central one, coming from the Caspian sea, by way of Samarcand, Kashgar, Hami, or Chamil, and the passage above described, is the one of principal travel; the southern route is from Lassa in Thibet, over high mountains, to Sining, a distance of about twelve hundred miles, according to the journals of some of the catholic missionaries, who passed that way from India to China; that from the north comes from lake Baikal, and crosses the great desert, and is sometimes travelled by the Russians, but chiefly by the Tartars. Such are the difficulties attending a journey by both of these last routes, that no European can travel them with any degree of comfort.

We can now perceive why Genghis Khan, no mean calculator of important positions, in his attempt against China, directed his whole attention to the frontier of Ninghia. His last great victory was the capture of this place, and his successors reaped the benefits of this master stroke of policy, and Kublai Khan soon swayed a Tartar sceptre over all China.

Of the entrance to China by the gates near Peking, we need say but little here. This is the ordinary channel of Russian and Chinese intercourse. Besides the route from lake Baikal, directly south to Ninghia, reaching China on the west, there are two which are more frequented, leading from that lake to Peking. The older one is the more easterly, and takes a circuitous course, going around the great desert of Shamo, or to the east of it, and following the general direction of Nerchinsk, Argunsk, and Tsitsicar. The new route, now more commonly travelled, and followed by Lange, Bell, Klaproth, and Timkowski, leads directly from Baikal to Peking, by way of Selinsk, Kiachta, Urga, and the desert. According to the treaty of 1689, between China and Russia, the boundary between them was to be passed only by triennial caravans, and any attempt to enter China during the intervals, was to be regarded as an aggression. As a party of Russian traders once crossed the line, and ventured to form a settlement on the Amur, a hundred and fifty miles beyond the boundary, they were captured by the Chinese, and carried to Peking. This at length led to a Russian colony in the Chinese capital, in which the Russian religion and Russian schools are tolerated. The Chinese emperor allows the colony to have six clergymen and four teachers, to be succeeded by others, once in every ten years. The Russian government takes advantage of this arrangement, suggested by Chinese jealousy, and sends, every ten years, a new set of men, to study Chinese and Mongolian literature, and after their ten years of service have expired at Peking, to return to Russia, as professors of Asiatic literature! This is one of the reasons, that so much Chinese literature comes to us by the way of Petersburg.

The entrance to China on the south-west, from Burmah to the province of Yunnan, is one of great interest to us, as it seems to point out a connection between our Burman

and a new Chinese mission. The passage is from Bhanmo on the Irrawaddy, above Ava, by way of Santa, Tengye, and Yung tchang, to Tali. The route is mountainous, and crosses the Salwen and Cambodia rivers. There is another way, by going directly east from Ava, till you cross the Cambodia river, and then following its course up towards Tali; and others still, between these two, all, however, leading to nearly the same part of Yunnan. The first is described by M. Polo, who probably accompanied the Chinese army under Kublai Khan into Burmah, and also by the Burmese embassy to Peking, in 1833; the second, in the journal of a similar embassy in 1787; the others, in a communication made by Lieut. MacLeod, in 1836. Col. Burney, in three successive numbers of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of 1837, gives an account, drawn from Burmese annals, of more than a dozen large armies that passed and repassed this route during the wars between China and Burmah. Klaproth has proved, from various oriental documents, as well as from M. Polo's account, that the inhabitants of the Chinese province of Yunnan are by descent *Karens*; and that this people are spread through the mountainous country between that province and Canton. The province itself, in M. Polo's time, was called *Karaien*, and the Mohammedans now call it *Karayen*.

The mountains of China receive their direction from the great Himalayan system, running east and west, and forming a broad belt across the centre of Asia. That part of it, which enters China, proceeds from the borders of Thibet to the Chinese coast. There are four parallel ranges, of which the most southerly runs along the coast, south of the river of Canton. The second, which is the largest, pursues a south-easterly course along the 26° N. L., directly towards the island of Formosa, and is, in the western part, the retreat of the *Miao tse*, an independent, aboriginal race. In this range, the rivers Kan, Yan, and Yuen, which flow north into the Kiang, take their rise, as also the Pe kiang, which flows south, to Canton. The short pass between these head waters is the only interruption of water communication between Canton and Peking. The third range, in latitude 32, is the most elevated, where it forms the boundary between the western provinces, Szechuen and Kansu; the fourth, two degrees further

north, runs between the two great rivers of China. On the west side of China, where these mountains leave Thibet, they form a series of impassable, snowy peaks, which serve as a barrier between the two countries.

The gigantic twin rivers of China, rising near each other, in Thibet, then receding, and finally approaching again near the ocean, are much larger than our school geographies represent them. The Hoangho, according to Ritter, stretches about one tenth the way round the globe, being half as long again as the Danube. It flows 800 miles among mountains of perpetual snow, before it reaches China; from that point to the right angle at the east termination of the great bend, its course is 1100 miles; from thence to the ocean, it is 650 miles, making in all 2550 miles. The upper course is very mountainous; the middle is on high table land; the lower is a low alluvial country. The Kiang is still more gigantic, having a course of 3000 miles.

It is well known, that the eastern part of the Chinese wall is now nearly useless, not only because it was, in many places, prostrated by the Tartars, who conquered China, but because it is no longer a border wall, lying, as it now does, within the empire. For the Manchous, now on the Chinese throne, were originally in possession of the territory to the north-east of Peking. In this direction, therefore, the present dynasty need no defence; from the land of their fathers, from their own homes, they fear no danger. Not so with respect to the Mongolians, who live farther west, and who remember that they were once masters of the empire. There is a short distance, from Peking west to the Hoangho, where they are not shut out by impassable mountains. This is along the direct route from Peking to lake Baikal. But the wily Chinese have converted all that mountainous country through which one must pass to reach the great desert, into a kind of Mark, or military colony. The territory is mostly owned by the nobles, and is partly cultivated by the wild mountaineers, and partly by the state criminals, who here find their Botany Bay, or Siberia. This untamed, and untamable population supply the empire with cavalry, and, situated as they are, between China and Mongolia, they form the bulwark of China at that point. The annual chase in these wild regions by the emperor,

his court and the whole army answers a threefold purpose. It inures the court and army to hardship; it furnishes an opportunity to review the military condition of the colony; and awes the people of the country into subjection, by the imposing exhibition which it makes of the military power of the empire.

The imperial canal consists of three parts, the northern from Pekin to the Hoangho, a distance of 675 miles; the central, between the two great rivers, 95 miles;* and the southern from the Kiang to Hang tcheou, 350 miles, making the whole length of the canal 1120 miles. The northern part was built first, and was commenced in the thirteenth century by Kublai Khan. The work begun at the height of land in latitude 36, in the year 1289. Here the waters of the Wenho, a river flowing from the east and then turning south to the Hoangho, were so divided, that a certain part of the stream took a new direction towards Pekin. Here stands the celebrated temple of the Dragon King, the divinity of the canal. The new channel towards the north, receives at Lin tsin, the river Weiho from the south-west and passes into the province, Pe che le, and, after receiving another small river and passing several large towns, it reaches the Peho, which comes from Pekin and passes by to the ocean. Here the Peho itself is used as a canal and may be ascended to Pekin or descended to Tiensing, a commercial city on the coast. Lord Macartney, when he returned from Pekin to Canton, was nine days in coming from that seaport town up to the point where the Weiho enters the canal. Thus far the channel of this river (that is, its lower or northern part) was converted into a canal, comparatively with little labor; the country here is level, and its appearance very monotonous. In four days more, the embassy passed through that part of the canal, which is entirely the work of art, up to the dividing of the waters. "The high artificial banks," says Ritter, "the temples, the conical sepulchres of the priests, the forest of masts, the fortifications, the throngs of boatmen, the great breadth of the channel, all combine to give an air of sublimity to the scene. At the floodgates, seventy-two in number, bridges are thrown over the canal on account of its narrow at

* It will be seen that this account differs from that of the English embassy.

those places; here also the government receives toll." After passing the eminence, there is a pretty rapid current to the south, and the canal passes by lakes and large cities through a fertile country, and crosses the Hoangho 140 miles from its mouth. "Through this whole distance,"—we quote again from Ritter,—“the canal often passes through lakes, ponds and marshes, with which they communicate by floodgates for letting off or receiving water, as occasion requires. It has been found necessary to have large reservoirs of water, so that in time of drought there might be a supply. All these lakes and pools are so covered with floating villages and the boats of fishermen, with their fishing cormorants, and all the dry land is so perfectly cultivated, as to render this whole section of the country highly productive.”

The Chinese authors inform us, that the canal between the two great rivers was made between 1490 and 1584, and that it followed the course of a stream which ran to the south. A little below the large lake that is situated here, at Yang tcheou, where M. Polo was governor, the canal is divided into two branches, the left one going directly south and crossing the Kiang, and thus continuing the main route to Hang tcheou and Ningpo, the one on the right bending south-west and striking the Kiang farther up towards Nankin, and forming the passage to that city and to Canton. The canal from the Hoangho to the Kiang has an average breadth of 200 feet, and being twenty feet above the level of the country, necessarily exposes many cities to inundations. On account of the great prevalence of the waters, the land is less cultivated here than elsewhere; but the waters themselves teem with the *lotus* and with fishing villages. The crossing of the Kiang is very different from that of the Hoangho. Though the current is much less rapid, it being only two miles an hour, whereas that of Hoangho is five, it is not less than two miles wide, and is supposed to be from three to four hundred feet deep. Tsing Kiang, further down towards the ocean, is called the “key of the empire.” It has an immense, though unknown, population, and being a maritime emporium, its harbor exhibits a perfect forest of masts. Europe is almost as ignorant of the country along this great river from the canal to the ocean, as it was

recently of the centre of Africa. Some discoveries are just beginning to be made.

The south branch of the canal, from the Kiang to Hang tcheou, was commenced near this city in the seventh century, but was not completed till 1181. It runs through a very populous territory, which is intersected by innumerable branch-canals, and in its northern section is divided into three large parallel arms. "The names of the colateral branches," says our geographer, "which are very numerous,—for the land is completely covered with populous cities all of which stand connected with the grand canal by branches,—we must pass over, because, without more accurate maps than we possess, they would be unintelligible to our readers. To be well versed in the complicated canal network of this Netherland, Lombard, or Babylonian territory, is the first duty of the mandarins who are stationed here. Some idea of the immense population of this canal and river territory may be gathered from the imperial census of 1813, which gives in round numbers twenty-eight millions for the province of Pe che le, twenty-nine for Shautung, twenty-three for Honan, seventy-one for Kiangnan, and twenty-six for Chekiang, making for these provinces alone one hundred and seventy-seven millions, more than two-thirds the population of all Europe."

We subjoin a sketch of the route from Canton to the Kiang, and thus place before the reader, at one view, all that European ambassadors to Peking generally see of the Chinese empire. From Canton to the mountain pass (Meiling), a distance of about 250 miles, the route is by water on the river Pe kiang, which comes from the north, and empties in at Canton. Large boats can ascend as far as Chao tcheou, a distance of 170 miles, and small boats can go as far as Nanyong, 75 miles farther up. Near Canton the appearance of the country is like one continuous garden; next follows, for a distance of several days' journey, an unbroken plain, fertile, but not so highly cultivated. At Tsing yuen, about one degree north of Canton, uncultivated patches of ground begin to appear, though in general, the vale of the river is covered with crops of rice and tobacco, and the hills on each side with cotton and camomile. At Chao tcheou, are multitudes of vessels, laden with goods destined for Canton, Macao,

India and Europe. Nanyong is the last town in the province of Canton and the head of navigation. Here the river is narrow, with steep, rocky banks, and travellers leave their boats to cross over the mountain to Nanyang, the first town in the province of Kiangsee, a distance of twelve or fourteen miles, where boats are again taken on the river Kan to lake Poyang, at its junction with the Kiang. Though the ascent of the mountain is steep, the road is well paved, and at the summit or the gate, it is cut through solid rock thirty or forty feet deep. This passage is so crowded with drays and carts, or rather with asses, and men acting as beasts of burden, in transporting goods from river to river, that it resembles Pearl street more than it does a highway. This is the only convenient place of crossing the mountain, and consequently it is made the great thoroughfare for transporting the silks of Nankin, the porcelain of Yao tcheou, and the cotton of Hounan and Houpe. From the splendid prospect towards Canton and the ocean, the traveller now turns his eye, and sees on the other side nothing but a wild mountainous district, threaded by a silver stream. The distance now to the Kiang, is about 400 miles. A little down the Kan, at Kan tcheou (*tcheou*, a town, like *Charlestown*, *James-town*, &c.), are bends in the river and rapids, not unlike the Highlands on the Hudson, with mountains of ~~fir~~ trees overhanging, and rendering the scene highly picturesque. Here a tow-path is hewn out at the river's edge, to work the barges and endless trains of timber-floats through the narrow passage. After passing through a flourishing district, spotted with cities and villages, the traveller reaches Nan tchang, the splendid capital of the province, where hundreds of imperial barges lie at anchor. Here the vale of the river begins to open, and spreads into a broad plain, reaching to lake Poyang. On the east side of this lake, which is 70 or 80 miles in length, and is specked with many beautiful islands, is the porcelain district, where the whitest and most delicate China-ware is made. Yao tcheou is the porcelain emporium, and is one of the wealthiest cities of the empire. The ware is prepared a few miles northeast of this city.

After these details, it would be interesting to hear at length the general remarks and philosophical reflections of this prince of geographers. But we must content our-

selves with the following summary, condensed from his work.

The great ocean current, which finds an outlet among the Ladrões, beats directly against the coast of China, producing a tide that flows more than 500 miles up the Kiang. This maritime part of China is filled with bays, lakes, streams, canals and marshes; and the periodical succession of dry land and water by the tides, produces an effect upon the soil and its millions of inhabitants, to be observed in no other country on the globe. The relation between the coast and the ocean is highly characteristic of China, having no parallel in the northern hemisphere; and even that of Brazil, in the southern, has only a distant resemblance. The natural inland communication of this part of China is so much improved by art, that no part of the world can be compared to it. Such facilities for intercourse have a wonderful influence upon its myriads of inhabitants, by resisting the tendencies to individuality which exist in unconnected provinces. The action and reaction of mind upon mind, brought thus in contact, give a great uniformity of character to the whole population.

Nearly all the rivers of China come in parallel lines from the mountains in the west. But the canals run north and south, cutting these rivers at right angles. The smaller streams supply the canals, and the larger serve as drains to carry off the superfluous water. The whole coast, from Peking to the mountain near Hang tcheou, is traversed by the imperial canal, which is like the trunk of a great tree sending out innumerable branches. Such a canal in Europe would connect the Baltic with the Adriatic and this with the Euxine. In magnitude, this compares only with the great wall, and far surpasses it in utility. Only in a country, where despotism controls the labors of millions, would it be possible to construct either; and only in a country of so uniform a water level could such a gigantic canal be formed without a single interruption. It winds its crooked course around elevations, and, with a considerable current, in a channel from 200 to 1000 feet in breadth, makes its majestic way sometimes through large bodies of standing water, often above towns and villages, and occasionally through mountains.

The chief influence of the canal on the condition of China arises from its opening a communication, not only

between the individual provinces, but between the north and the south of China. In no other way could the barren province of Pe che le and Pekin be furnished with the abundance of rice produced by the rich soil of the Delta. The insecurity of the coast navigation, the sand-banks and currents and tornadoes of the Yellow sea, the miserable construction of the Chinese junks, the common dread of the wide ocean, and, above all, the want of nautical skill, present to the Chinese such obstacles, that comparatively few voyages are made by sea. An attempt by Kublia Khan, in 1292, to transport by the coast the productions of the south to the capital, was attended with the loss of 10,000 lives from the single harbor of Canton. If, as has often happened, pirates interrupted the transport vessels, famine in the north was the inevitable consequence. For these reasons, all the business between the north and the south of China centres on the canal. On the short route from Pekin to Tiensing, on the bay, the English embassy met 1000 barges with 50,000 men, besides innumerable small boats, so that this branch had, reckoning the barges going in the opposite direction at the same rate, a constant floating population of 100,000. It is estimated that the imperial transport vessels, employed on the canal in collecting the tribute, always in rice, is not less than 10,000, and the men employed in them not less than 200,000. Add to this the swarm of merchant boats, that almost touch each other in the central portion of the canal, and you can form some notion of that busy scene of action.

One fourth of China lies constantly under water, or is so marshy as to be incapable of tillage. Over this whole territory there are annual inundations, as on the banks of the Nile and the Ganges. All this would take place by means of the great rivers coming from Thibet, even though not a drop of rain were to fall here, and though no swelling tide were to rush in from the opposite direction. The building of dams, repairing damages of floods, opening or completing canals, are recorded as among the great events of history. In the Imperial Geography, the descriptions of the canals in the several provinces, constitute one of the principal chapters; and, in treating of Shensee, which is least provided with them, 350 pages of this work are occupied in describing them. No man-

darin can make any pretensions to learning, who is not perfectly acquainted with those of his province, and the governor of the province must know their history, their measurement, and all the mathematical reckoning for dams, sluices, and branch canals. With all the details of this branch of knowledge, the imperial ministers are as familiarly acquainted as our professors of botany and conchology are with the details of their science.

But the influence of the hydrographic system of China is still greater on the modes of life among the industrious classes. Of those productions which depend on this system of irrigation, we will mention that of rice alone, the staple article of food for three hundred millions of inhabitants, and which grows only on the coast south of the Hoangho. It yields regularly two harvests in a year, the one in May, the other in October. Not only all the other parts of China, but the Manchows, and even the Mongols of the barren Gobi, as far back as to Siberia, are all dependent on the rice crops. The great army of the emperor, as well as the army of civil officers, in that complicated government, from the highest to the lowest, receive half their pay in rice. All the taxes of the nation are paid in rice; and hence the number of revenue vessels. Rice-dealing is thus the basis of Chinese trade; and the Delta, where this article is grown, is the centre of business, and the seat of the densest population. Whenever the rice crops fail, millions die of famine.

The inhabitants are not all so fortunate as to have land to stand upon; many must be content to lead a kind of nomadic life, on the water; for in such extensive lowlands, a large part is necessarily in a middle state between land and water. Many lakes, and marshes, and channels, as in Shantung and Kiangnan, are covered with dwellings, as much as the land. All the waters of China are free, no tax whatever being paid for fisheries, and the peculiar culture of this floating soil. Whole tribes of fishermen, in floating villages, without country and without home, wander about from place to place, like the fish of the sea, or the fowls of the air. Their vessels are connected into large floats; in the rear are small artificial gardens; and thus the backyards of these sailing farmers are covered with vegetable products, and are alive with ducks and swine.

In dwelling so long on the first work which we proposed to notice, we have consulted the wants of the English reader, attempting, from a rare and foreign production, to furnish him with a useful introduction to those English works which we are yet to recommend. Partly in pursuance of the same design, and partly for other considerations, which can easily be divined, we now turn to Jäck's charming Pocket Library of Travels, so far as they relate to China.

This is an admirable work, both in its plan and its execution. Various methods have been adopted to give to the public, in a cheap form, the substance of numerous and costly books of travels. A favorite method with the English, at the present day, is to prepare a manual on a particular country, including history, political divisions, natural productions, &c., &c., arranged in separate chapters, and in a didactic form. Egypt, Palestine, and other volumes in the Family Library, may be taken as specimens. But here, as in all cases where *every thing* is professedly taught in a compendious way, superficiality is necessarily the most distinguishing characteristic. Another and better plan is that pursued by Conder, in the *Modern Traveller*, of introducing into geographical descriptions, travellers' routes, and historical notices. But here all the charm of personal narrative and incident are sacrificed, and the book can have no soul, no internal bond of unity. Our author, in his *Pocket Library*, has chosen the more attractive form of a series of personal travels, keeping up a lively interest in the fates and fortunes of each traveller, retaining the most entertaining, as well as instructive parts, and abridging what is dull and unprofitable. We do not pretend that all the value of the original works is retained; that would be an absurd pretension. And yet we believe it is precisely in this way, that the object proposed can be best attained. Not only does the reader accompany the traveller, and see all the various scenes through which he passes, and thus learn both the country and the people by observation, but in the successive travels in the same country, he visits them from century to century, and witnesses their progress in the various stages of modern history. Nor is the reader wearied by repetition in the successive narratives. The routes vary; one traveller gives him one specimen of

the country and people; another gives him a different one. They travel in different periods, have different talents and tastes, different occupations and connections. One is a missionary, another is engaged in the haunts of business, and a third resides at court.

The author has prefixed a notice of all the books of travels on China that are extant, and a brief geographical description of the empire, and has inserted maps and plates as they appeared to be necessary.

The first traveller that appears in the book is *Carpini*, who, with another monk, was sent in 1246, by Pope Innocent IV, as an ambassador to the Tartar emperor, with the twofold design of dissuading him from making further inroads upon Europe, and of preparing the way for the introduction of Christianity into Tartary. The two travellers went first directly to the court of Bohemia, where the king interested himself much in their behalf, and provided a conveyance for them to Silesia, and thence to Massovia. Here they learned that it was necessary to be provided with presents, and here, too, they met Wasilik of Russia, with whom they travelled to Kiew, then the Russian capital. At this place they were obliged to dispose of their horses, because they were not accustomed to dig under the snow and feed on the steppe grass. Consequently, they took post horses, and on the 4th of February, 1246, they reached Kanow, the first Tartar town, a little below Kiew on the Dnieper. Here they were introduced with oriental ceremony to one of the princes, who sent them forward still farther east, with guides to the camp of the khan Batu. From thence they set out, under new guides, for the emperor's tent, or Golden Horde, which they reached on the 27th of July, the very day that a new emperor was elected. This gave them opportunity to witness the rude splendor of that nomadic court. All the countries between Russia and China, both of which were then conquered by Tartar arms, sent their princes or ambassadors to the election and coronation; and the number present was said to be 4000. All these, as well as our travellers, were obliged to approach the person of the emperor on their knees. In the following winter, the two papal ambassadors returned, and travelled for two or three months through trackless steppes, on which not a tree was to be seen and slept upon the snow, with which

the winds often buried them during the night. They arrived, at length, on the 8th of June, at Kiew, after a profitless journey of unexampled difficulty and danger.

The next is a brief account of a similar embassy, in 1247, by four Dominican monks, of which *Ascelin* was the principal individual. They went by way of Persia to the Tartar camp, had endless disputes about presents and acts of homage, were detained an unreasonable length of time, barely escaped torture and death, and finally returned by way of Syria, the northern border of which was thirty days' journey from the "Horde," and reached Rome after an absence of three years and seven months.

The third traveller in this work is William of Rubruck, sent in 1253, by Saint Louis, king of France, then in Cyprus. He went by way of Constantinople, the Euxine, the Don and Wolga, to the camp of the same Batu mentioned above. From this place, across the Mongolian desert to Karakorum, was a journey of five months. As the emperor Mengho was in China, Rubruck was obliged to continue his route to that country, taking his course to the south-east, and proceeding through Tangut, Thibet, and Solanga. He accompanied the emperor and his court back to Karakorum; from thence he returned, by Astracan and Aleppo, to Acre. We have not room for more particulars.

Next comes the most celebrated and important book of travels which has ever been published respecting China, —we mean the travels of *Marco Polo*, the Venetian, from 1272 to 1295. Of no similar work have there been so many editions and translations. The English edition, with learned notes by Marsden, is by far the best. For a long time, his accounts were ridiculed, and he was named Mr. *Million*, from the incredible population which he gave to the large Chinese cities. But modern investigations show, that he was the most exact and faithful of all the European travellers in China. Respecting the interior of China, we owe more to him than to all the modern ambassadors, merchants and missionaries put together.

The two brothers, Nicholas and Matthew Polo, of a noble Venetian family, sailed, in 1260, in a merchant vessel to Constantinople; from thence they proceeded across the Euxine to Armenia. From Armenia they travelled,

by way of Sudak and Guthakha, to Bochara in Persia. After residing there three years, they became acquainted with an ambassador of the Tartar monarch, who, struck with their familiarity with the Tartar language, and their talents and general knowledge, proposed that they should accompany him to his court, thinking that his sovereign would be pleased if he should introduce them to him. They accepted the proposal, and made the long journey through a cold and snowy region, and in 1265 were received with great favor by the emperor. Five years from the time of their arrival, they were solicited to accompany one of the Tartar nobles on a mission to Rome, to request the Pope to send to Tartary a hundred Christian teachers. They set out on this mission, under the most favorable auspices; but the distinguished nobleman soon sickened and died. They, however, continued their journey to Armenia, and here took ship and arrived at Venice in 1272. When they had spent two years in their native city, they called to mind the wishes of their generous benefactor, and, accordingly, after obtaining letters from Gregory X, to Kublai, the emperor, they returned to his court, accompanied by two monks, and by Marco Polo, son of Nicholas, then but fifteen years of age. When they landed in Armenia, there were civil commotions there, which so terrified the monks, that they fled and took refuge with one of the Knights Templar. The three Polos continued their journey alone, and the emperor, hearing that they were on their way back, sent a military escort of 4000 men to meet them at a distance of forty days' journey. The evidences furnished of their having done what they could to gratify his wishes, satisfied him of their fidelity, and he showed them so much favor, that it excited the envy of the court.

The young Marco Polo soon made himself master of the four Tartar languages, and of the usages of the court, and thereby so won the favor of the monarch, that at the age of twenty-one he was sent on important public business to a distant province. Such were the extraordinary talents and knowledge he displayed, that he was promoted to higher offices, and often sent into the provinces charged with responsible duties. It was during these oft repeated and extensive travels that he kept those accurate journals, which have been so instructive to subsequent

ages, and whose character is rising with every revolving year. China was never more flourishing than under the Tartar emperor Kublai Khan; and this was the very time of Polo's residence in Tartary and China. It is interesting to trace his journey from Venice across central Asia to Pekin,—for Kublai had now fixed his capital here. The route, from Ancona through the Dardanelles and the Euxine, to Armenia has already been indicated. It continued through Georgia, Bagdad, Kermania, Heret, Balk and Badakshan (i. e., from Georgia south-east along to the entrance of the Persian gulf, then north-east across the desert to Belur Tag); through Kashgar, Hami, Sha tcheou, Champion (Kan tcheou, where he remained one year), Sining and Ninghia. Thus, from Persia to the borders of China, he followed the great route described at the beginning of this article, the only one leading from central Asia. From Ninghia he followed the left bank of the Hoangho through Tenduc (along the north and east of the great bend), and passing the great wall, entered Cathay (North China), and at length arrived at Cambalu (Pekin). It is amusing to see how these places are laid down in our older maps. Cathay is represented as an immense empire between China and Kanschatka! and Cambalu on the river Amur, 10° north of Pekin! One of Polo's early journeys in China, was from Pekin directly south-west through the whole extent of the country to the borders of Burmah. No modern European traveller has seen any of this immense region, and the noble Venetian and a few Jesuits are our only guides. It is here that Polo speaks of the passage from China to Burmah, through which the armies of both countries passed, in a war that raged between them at that time, and through which Chinese caravans passed at stated seasons. That part of Yunnan which bordered upon Burmah was then called *Karayan* (the country of the *Karens*), and the people spoke a *different language*. From this part of China, he passed through the central or rather southern provinces to Yanghui (Yan tcheou), on the canal, a little north of the Kiang, where he resided as provincial governor for three years. The minute account which he gives of the numerous cities near the heart of the empire where he so long remained as governor, renders his work invaluable, even at the present time, 600 years after it

was written. But we must break off from this fascinating topic, by remarking, that after a seventeen years' residence in China, our traveller longed to see his native Venice, and having with difficulty obtained the consent of the magnanimous emperor to return, he was conveyed by a fleet, in great splendor, to India, whence he went by land to Constantinople, and reached Venice in 1295, loaded with riches and honors.

The fifth in this collection is an account of a Persian embassy, sent by Shak Rokh, to China in 1419. The route was from Herat, by way of Samarcand, Turfan, Hami and Su tcheou, where the caravan, consisting of 860 persons, were examined, and then received with great splendor by the Chinese authorities stationed at this outpost. The city is described as strongly fortified, and as being a place of considerable trade. It is near the western extremity of the wall in the mountain pass, leading from China to the west of Asia. The armed forces here were exactly on the plan of the Russian military colonies. After nine days' journey the embassy reached Kan tcheou, the capital of the Chinese territory west of the Hoangho. Here, as in every city, the ambassadors who, with all their retinue, had been gratuitously supplied with lodging and provisions, received 450 horses, 56 carriages, and more than 600 men, to convey them on their journey. In every city they were received into a public hall, having a curtained throne, directed towards Pekin, in the midst, with carpets for all but the servants, who were placed in the rear, and at the signal, given by the guard, who stood near the throne, the Chinese magistrates and ambassadors all bowed their heads, and were then seated at their repast. In general, they found imperial inns every night, and cities at the end of every week. As they approached Pekin, the splendor of their accommodations continually increased. We pass over the ceremonial at court, the costly presents given and received, the tardy and solemn forms of audience, the allotment of places of residence, public dinners and daily provisions, the imperial chase and dramatic exhibitions, and the honors and perils of ambassadors; for, in all these respects, every embassy, Persian, Russian, Portuguese, Dutch and English, see the same wonders and tell the same tales. Rokh's embassy returned by the same route, and in 1421 arrived in safety at his capital, Heret.

The journey of Göz to China, which follows next, is conceived and executed in the spirit of the middle ages. People were very much puzzled to know what to believe respecting Cathay. Some thought it was China, others thought it was a more northern country, and a third and more numerous class doubted its existence. The distinguished Ricci in his letters from Peking, had declared that Cathay was but another name for China; but, then, the accounts of Mohammedan merchants, representing the Cathayans as Christians, from the resemblance of their forms of worship to those of the Catholics, threw an air of mystery over the whole subject. The head of the Catholic establishment at Goa resolved to search out those sheep, so far away from the shepherd's care, and to bring them, if indeed they were as represented, under the papal protection and guardianship. The pope and the king of Spain approved of the design, and the latter ordered the governor of India to provide for the expense. Göz, a Jesuit of enterprise and talent, then at Lahore, as an assistant of Jerome Xavier, was selected, on account of his extraordinary acquaintance with the Persian language and with Mohammedan usages, and directed to go, in the double character of merchant and Persian ambassador to China, with the next regular caravan. It was customary for merchants to assume, for the sake of the imperial hospitality, this character when they went on the great route to western China; and even after the Chinese understood the trick, their national vanity made them wink at the imposition, which honored the empire by multiplying embassies from unknown tributary nations.

In 1603, Göz started from Lahore, with a caravan of five hundred merchants for Kashgar, about five hundred miles in a direct line to the north. In passing from the borders of India to the borders of Tartary, it was necessary to go through the east of Persia, in order to avoid the mountains of Thibet. One month after leaving Lahore, they reached (in a north-westerly direction) Attok, on the Indus. After travelling three or four months, often hindered by brigands, they obtained, finally, a military escort, with which they moved slowly on to *Cabul*, a place of great trade. Here the caravan changed; many forsook it on account of its dangers; others, after some delay, joined, and Göz gained much by lending six hundred crowns to a Kashgar princess,

whose money had failed her in returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca. They proceeded through Badakshan (north of Cabul), till they reached nearly the fortieth deg. north latitude, where they fell in with the great Persian route from Bochara and Samarcand, passing directly east into Kashgar. Thus the caravan went around Belur Tag, and from that point their way was mostly through plains and along the skirts of deserts, till it reached the Chinese entrance. It was a year before a new caravan could be made up at Kashgar for Cathay. Here Göz purchased ten horses for himself and Isaac his Armenian servant, provided himself largely with a species of precious stone highly valued in China, and in January, 1605, he reached Aksa. A fifteen days' journey east brought him to Kuche, where they remained a month to recruit their horses which had sunken under the fatigue of a stony and sandy route. In twenty-five days more they reached Chalis, where the caravan was to assemble. Tired of the delay in order to obtain a full company for the proposed caravan, Göz resolved to venture on with a few merchants; and at this moment he met the return caravan from China, which though made up of private merchants had, as usual, announced themselves as ambassadors in China, and, as such, resided three months in a palace at Pekin, where they became acquainted with the Jesuit missionaries. Göz was overwhelmed with joy at these tidings, and at the assurance given him, that Cathay and China was one and the same country. Proceeding by way of Turfan, Göz and his little company came to Hami, on the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Chalis (extending from this point west to the kingdom of Kashgar). After nine days more they reached Kiayakuan, the entrance into the Chinese line of fortifications. In one more day he came to Su tcheou, where, after various fortunes, having been abused and cheated by the Mohammedan merchants, on the one hand, and on the other, having received in reply to his letters to Ricci in Pekin, not only fraternal epistles, but a messenger who was a native Christian, he died on the borders of China in March, 1607. He found this a great place of trade from the west, and one portion of the city was inhabited by Mohammedans, many of whom had married Chinese wives. The native Christian, who met Göz only eleven days before his death, took his papers and conducted Isaac,

the Armenian servant, from this border town to Pekin, where Ricci made out the book of travels, partly from the journal of Göz, and partly from the oral account of Isaac, who had made the whole journey from Lahore to Pekin. We must not forget our faithful Armenian. After remaining a month at Pekin, he was sent safely back to India by way of Macao.

We may here pass over the next interesting work, N. Trigault's account of the missionary tours of the Jesuits in China from 1579 to 1609; because not only Du Halde, but Gutzlaff and Medhurst have given the substance of it to the public.

But we must despatch the remaining half of this interesting book in a few words. The Travels of Lambert, written by De Bourgas, we pass over entirely, since they are connected with China more in name than in reality.

In 1730, several Danes sailed from Copenhagen for China, and landed at Macao. The chaplain of the ship published a tolerably fair account of the Chinese.

In 1750, a Swede, by the name of Peter Osbeck, a disciple of Linnæus, was appointed chaplain by the Swedish East India Company. He made a similar voyage, and published a similar account, which was translated and abridged for the Pocket Library. In the same year, another disciple of Linnæus, by the name of Foreen, also chaplain of a Swedish merchant vessel, visited China, and published his observations in a series of letters. A third of a similar character follows. Next come Barrows' Cochin-China, and Anderson's account of the British embassy, both in 1792. The Voyage of Thunberg, a disciple and afterwards successor of Linnæus, to Japan, in the same year, is highly important for his botanical discoveries. Van Braam's account of the Dutch embassy to China in 1794 has a permanent value, for it rich geographical descriptions. Of the later English accounts nothing need here be said.

We have reserved but little room for noticing the valuable works of Davis and Medhurst. These we would have every reader, interested in China, peruse for himself. Although neither of them is perfect, we hesitate not to give them the preference over any thing we have seen in English. Gutzlaff's history is less valuable. Particularly is the greater part of his first volume a most unhistorical production. When he comes down to modern history and

European intercourse, he is less unskilful in the selection of his materials and the management of his subject. He excels only as an enterprising traveller and shrewd observer; and hence his journals are his best productions. But Mr. Davis has a more comprehensive mind; has more power of generalization; is more statesmanlike and scholarlike; knows better what it is that constitutes the character and condition of a people; has more various information; selects the right topics; gives them their due proportion, and weaves them into his various and charming narrative, so as to make his work as attractive and symmetrical as it is instructive. In no other book of equal size can we learn so much respecting the civil and social condition of China. It is a work of equal research and candor. There is no gaping at tales of wonder and prodigies; no European complacency and prejudice. To praise or to censure is not a matter of choice, but of duty. There is one thing, however, which seems not to be in keeping with his general character; and that is, the exposure of many disgraceful acts of European merchants and masters of vessels, in which the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the French and the Americans act a conspicuous part, while the *English* appear to be no sharers in this game! We cannot,—such is the spirit of the book,—believe that is the effect of national vanity, or odium; but we set it down to the fact of his delicate official and personal relations. To us it seems that his frequent classic allusions and quotations were not inspired by the occasion, but put on, like useless buttons upon a garment, because it is the mode. In speaking of his learning, we must not suppose he is a Remusat or a Klaproth; he is not to be regarded as a profound oriental critic.

But it must not be supposed that the high excellences of this work render that of Mr. Medhurst unnecessary. On the contrary, they mutually complete each other. The latter had a single object in view; to present the prospects of the missionary enterprise in China. In sketching the history, the institutions, the character and condition of the Chinese, he has selected every thing with reference to his object, and nobly applied it. Mr. Davis wrote for the mere man of the world, Mr. Medhurst for the Christian: both are necessary to a complete view of China and her prospects. This writer does not aid us so much by learned research, as by his

personal information. With a sound and vigorous understanding, with extensive opportunities for observation,—different, indeed, from those of Mr. Davis, but not less favorable,—with a searching eye, and with a great amount of practical knowledge, he has given us,—what we greatly needed,—a picture of truth, to guide Christians in their efforts for China. His chapters on the population and the civilization of China are particularly valuable, as also his remarks on Chinese laws and literary examinations. The account of the Catholic missions is very judicious and candid, though it displays no great historical tact. We might select innumerable paragraphs of value and interest, for our pages, but it will be more satisfactory to the reader, if we dispense with imperfect specimens, and refer him to the work itself.

We cannot close, without directing particular attention to the importance of preparing missionaries to approach China from Burmah. That is one of the two best points for reaching China. The most difficult are those by Canton and by Peking. Though the Chinese government is every where vigilant, yet its argus eyes are no where turned so steadily as at the great European mart. All attempts to penetrate the heart of the country from that quarter will be resisted unto blood. The time will probably come when the great road from central Asia to the province of Kansu, so much frequented in the middle ages, will be again resorted to; and then, of what service would it be to us to have a mission among the Mennonites, that are settled in large colonies on the Azof and Caspian seas? Such a mission, if successful, would lead directly to the heart of Tartary, and thence to China, through the agency of a prosperous people, whose religion is not only tolerated but protected by the Russian government. But a prospect of speedier success seems to be opened in that part of Burmah bordering upon Yunnan. A regular and comparatively easy caravan route exists there, and has always been travelled, from the earliest times to the present. Through this, many of the earliest invasions from the west were made upon China; through it, numerous Burman and Chinese armies have passed and repassed in modern times. The route is minutely described in several recent itineraries of Burman ambassadors to Peking. Besides, the inhabitants of the province of Yunnan are, in part, *Karens* by descent,

and this numerous tribe is scattered all along the mountains among the Miao tse, who, though living in China, have never submitted to its government. We have a host of Karens, already converts to the Christian faith, and living, too, in the vicinity of their Chinese brethren. Our Assamese mission will probably spread into the same neighborhood; and Ava itself is not so much separated from the Chinese borders by distance, or by mountains, as by present political disturbances. Hitherto, there has not been enough of law and order in that quarter to render it advisable that missionaries should be planted there. But if we may draw conclusions from the past, if we may calculate on the tendencies of things, if, from the signs of the times, we can foresee the future in any respect, we may predict, that at no distant period, the English rule in the East, spreading with every new collision, will reach to the Chinese boundary line. Should such an event transpire, and bring our missionaries under English protection, at the very point where Chinese Karens and Christian Karens can come in contact, and where our missions would most naturally spread out, it is easy to perceive, that it will open by far the most favorable way for carrying the gospel to the vast empire of China.

EDITOR.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.*

1. *A Discourse, delivered at the opening of the Providence Athenæum, July 11, 1838.* By FRANCIS WAYLAND. Published at the request of the Directors of the Athenæum. Providence. 1838.

We sat down to this discourse, with pencil in hand, resolved, without fear or favor, to magnify our office as critics. It was not long before we came to a capital fault, the return of the old familiar phrase, "But this is not all," and its cousin german, "Nor is this all." We took umbrage, too, at the expression, "whatever of true or beautiful or good," and determined to maintain, at all hazards, that it was neither true, nor beautiful, nor good. But we read on; and begun to feel the influence of the author's power and the impor-

* Two or three of these notices were prepared for a former number, but were necessarily omitted.

tance of his subject until we were ashamed of our petty criticisms. Compared with the author's earliest productions, this Discourse betrays less solicitude and sensitiveness in regard to the delicacies of language, but greater mental resources and more manliness of bearing. The former seemed to be the author's very best; and in measuring his stature, we had the impression that he was standing on tiptoe: in the latter, his position is firm and easy and his mien natural; and when his discourse is finished, there is a strong conviction left in our minds, that,—to use a Yankee phrase,—“there is more where that came from.”

We confess that, in the discussion of practical subjects of momentous interest, we cannot admire mere prettiness of style and lady-like ornaments, nor respect the man who seems to make them his aim. In elegant literature, where an author's production is designed to please as a work of art, we are charmed with beauty not less than others. Nor do we object to it in any case, provided it comes unsought. But to require it on all grave subjects, or even to regard it as a special merit, is as absurd as it would be to require that a military commander should have a pretty face and a genteel form. In the celebrated contest between Demosthenes and *Æschines*, we despise the feeling, that could accuse an opponent of neglecting the graces of Attic diction; but we venerate the high-minded patriot who could reply, that his mind was occupied with weightier concerns.

On the occasion of opening an Athenæum in one of our flourishing cities, nothing could be more appropriate than an exhibition of the advantages which would result from the universal diffusion of useful knowledge. In discussing the subject thus happily chosen, the author has, in a vigorous and earnest manner, poured forth golden sentiments, which we could wish might be heard in every city and village in our land. The first part of the Discourse, which breathes throughout a generous patriotic spirit, exhibits the *economical* advantages resulting from the diffusion of knowledge; the second treats of the *social* benefits arising from it. From the third, which discusses its *political* importance, and the political evils resulting from the sensuality of the rich, we select the following passage:

“Since the tendencies to sensuality are so strong, and their results so deleterious, it is surely of importance to present something else which may temper the eagerness for organic pleasure, and allure the soul, even for a while, from the gratification of the appetites. It is surely useful to place before the eyes of men, the fact, that they are not *all carnal*; that they have an immaterial nature, which, little as they may have thought of it, is capable of holding communion with the wise and good of other ages; nay, of holding intimate communion with the Creator himself. The mere knowledge of this fact will frequently suffice, at the outset, to determine the choice, for life, in a mind of high natural aspirings, and turn it off for ever from the beholding of vanity. And, at a later period, when the soul has drained the cup of sensual pleasure, and has discovered the tastelessness, if not the bitterness of its dregs, the means of intellectual gratification being placed within its reach, may

crimson the cheek with the blush of ingenuous sorrow, redeem many a lost one from the slavery of the senses, and restore him to the dignity of a thinking, independent, reasonable being.

Not only, however, do we propose to substitute for the gratification of the senses something else; we substitute something which the reason and conscience of men themselves confess to be better. Sensuality degrades a man in his own estimation. His spiritual nature scorns the indignity to which she is subjected. Alone, the man dare [s] not think upon himself, and in society he shrinks from a comparison with high-souled, independent purity. And even the lighter forms of frivolity, though they be not chargeable with the atrocity of vice, yet cannot escape the confession of their own inherent littleness. On the contrary, intellectual cultivation restores the man to his true place in the creation of God. He learns to rejoice that he is a thinking being. His mind becomes to him a kingdom. Delivered from the thralldom of the senses, he can look with pity on the gilded manacles which are ostentatiously displayed around him, and rejoice, that, except from the commission of wrong, it is not possible that he should ever be despicable."

Again:

"It can have escaped the observation of no one, that one of the greatest political dangers to which this country is exposed, arises from a feeling of estrangement between the rich and the poor. I do not suppose, however, that the capitalist and laborer will ever be here arrayed in arms against each other. In a country where neither entail nor primogeniture can exist, the conditions of men change so rapidly, that a contest between these two classes, by physical force, is scarcely to be apprehended. We have, however, reason to fear, that this feeling of estrangement may lead the different classes of society to look with indifference upon the rights of each other. The majority, for the time being, will then trample upon the rights of the minority; constitutions, and law, and equity, will be forgotten, and the only rule recognised, will be the will of the strongest. Each party, as, in the mutation of politics, it comes into power, will improve upon the example of its predecessor; and thus, each in turn will suffer and inflict the most aggravated wrong. The result of this may be easily predicted. All men hate injustice when they themselves are the sufferers; and, as all in turn suffer, they will all in turn lightly esteem that form of government under which injustice may so easily be perpetrated. A growing disaffection toward republican institutions will thus be engendered, and all will consent to submit to the tyranny of one, in order to be delivered from the tyranny of many. This, I hold, to be the danger, to which, at this moment, we are in this country exposed; and I almost fear, that, from this very cause, some symptoms of a want of confidence in the permanence of our free institutions have already become apparent."

We close with one more extract:

"Intellectual cultivation opens to men a new path to social distinction. So long as men are merely occupied with the accumula-

tion of wealth, the possession of wealth confers the only title to eminence. Hence, society is divided, horizontally, into two classes, the rich and the not rich, the capitalist and the laborer. But, so soon as men begin to reflect, and, by reflection, to expand and invigorate their own intellects, a mighty change of opinions is immediately effected. The man discovers within himself a new element of value, and he discovers that the same element exists, in different degrees, in the other men around him. A new order, the order of merit, is created, and its distinctions are cheerfully conferred on every one who is worthy. Poverty here works no exclusion, and wealth furnishes no recommendation. The man who is denied admission to the aristocracy of property, is welcomed into the prouder and nobler aristocracy of talent. He feels that he may occupy a position in society according to his deserts, and the aspirations of his soul are satisfied. Now, the benefit of all this is twofold. In the first place, it moderates the insolence of wealth, by setting at naught its exclusiveness, and teaching that distinctions more permanent and more illustrious than it can possibly confer, are open to all. And, on the other hand, by reducing the value of wealth to its true level, it becomes in a less degree an object of envy; and thus, by making it less exclusively desirable, makes the possession of it vastly more secure.

But, while intellectual cultivation opens a new path to distinction, its tendency, far from setting men at variance with each other, is directly to bring them into harmony. The intellectual gifts of the Creator are impartially bestowed upon the rich and the poor. Wealth presents few, if any, peculiar opportunities for development of mind. The capitalist of twenty thousand a year has no more leisure for study than the industrious mechanic. And thus we find, in fact, that the names which have done the most to render our country illustrious, the Franklins, the Rittenhouses, the Bowditches of science, have sprung from the industrious classes of society, and have laid the foundations of their fame in the hours redeemed from the labors of a toilsome profession. Hence, when men meet together as *intellectual* beings, the rich man has nothing whereof to boast, and the poor man nothing whereof to be ashamed. Every other distinction fades away before the distinctions of knowledge and virtue. Here, it is a wise man that is strong, it is a man of understanding that increases strength. In such society, the palm is always awarded to the wisest; artificial distinctions are forgotten, and no man can claim superiority over his fellows, except it hath been freely awarded to him for the reason that he hath deserved it."

2. *The Personality of the Deity. A Sermon preached in the Chapel of Harvard University, Sept. 23, 1838.* By HENRY WARE, JR., Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral Care. Published at the request of the members of the Divinity School. Boston. James Monroe & Co. 1838.

This is a timely and valuable discourse. At a period when the ravings of a frantic philosophy, destructive alike of sound sense and of pious feeling, are promulgated, it is cheering to see such a chain-

pion come forth to demolish the theory of a God, made up of abstract principles, on the very spot where it had been proposed. No mystification can conceal the absurdity, as well as impiety, of divesting the Deity of those personal qualities and feelings, which alone can call forth, sustain or justify our filial love. To speak of loving a mere abstract law of order, were a solecism; and to worship an impersonal infinity, would be irrational in theory, and in practice impossible.

In opposing the sentiment alluded to, Dr. Ware maintains, 1, that what is first and chief in the universe, is conscious, active mind; and that abstract principles are but the laws of its various relations; 2, that disrobing God of his personality amounts to a virtual denial of his existence; 3, that it destroys the object of worship, and thus annihilates that essential duty of religion; 4, that it removes the sense of responsibility; 5, that it contradicts the Bible; 6, that it destroys the possibility of a revelation, in any intelligible sense.

We will give the reader a brief specimen of the author's manner:

"The doctrine amounts to a virtual denial of God. Indeed, this is the only sense in which it seems possible to make that denial. No one thinks of denying the existence of principles and laws. Gravitation, order, cause and effect, truth, benevolence,—no one denies that these exist; and, if these constitute the Deity, he has not been and cannot be, denied. The only denial possible is by this exclusion of a personal existence. There can be no atheism but this; and this is atheism. If the material universe rests on the laws of attraction, affinity, heat, motion, still all of them together are no Deity; if the moral universe is founded on the principles of righteousness, truth, love, neither are these the Deity. There must be some Being to put in action these principles, to exercise these attributes. To call the principles and the attributes *God*, is to violate the established use of language, and confound the common apprehensions of mankind. It is in vain to hope by so doing to escape the charge of atheism; there is no other atheism conceivable. There is a personal God, or there is none."

We feel no disposition to stop and inquire whether there be any deficiencies in this discourse, arising from the writer's theology. We are not in pursuit of heretics at present, and even if we were, we should have to argue chiefly from silence, or resort to other evidence to make out a very bad case. We choose rather to welcome the appearance of such sermons from whatever quarter they may come.

3. *An Address delivered before the Peithessophian and Philoclean Societies of Rutgers' College, on the literary character of the Scriptures.* Delivered and published by request of the Peithessophian Society. By ALEXANDER H. EVERETT. New York. 1838.

This Address, which we had the pleasure of hearing, and which we are happy to see in its present form, is, as might be expected from its distinguished author, appropriate, tasteful and rich. We

feel a sincere pleasure, when such talent and learning, in a man, too, who has seen more of the world than almost any of our writers, are employed to persuade the youth of our academic retreats to give the Bible a high place among their literary pursuits. "These ancient records," to use his own language, "are venerable and interesting, under every point of view. Their most important aspect is that under which they are considered as the symbols and assurances of divine truth; but, regarded merely as literary monuments, they are not only the most ancient and curious, but I may safely say, the most extraordinary and valuable in the whole compass of literature. 'Independently of the divine origin of the Scriptures,' says the accomplished and clear-headed Sir William Jones, 'I have found in them more true wisdom, more practical good sense, a warmer benevolence, and a higher strain of thought and poetry than I have met with in any other work that I have perused, or indeed all other works put together.' In this opinion I entirely concur." The character of the Bible is viewed under three aspects, its philosophy, its poetry, its history. Instead of describing, in language of our own, the author's train of thought and style of execution, we will present him in his own person and garb to the eye of the reader:

"The philosophy of the Scriptures is at once sublime and simple. It satisfies the highest aspirations of the highest minds, and it falls within the comprehension of the humblest inquirer, who honestly seeks to understand it. It embraces the material universe, with its glorious and complicated system of

—'planets, suns, and adamantine spheres,
Wheeling unshaken through the void immense';

the moral world, where the ruling spirits of good and evil carry on a perpetual warfare, with alternate and apparently not unequal advantage;—the great problems that have attracted, exercised, and defied the severest study of generation after generation:—it embraces them both with unshrinking grasp, and solves them with a single word. It carries home the sublime truth to the simple heart of the common believer, with a clearness of conviction, that Socrates and Cicero in their happiest hours of inspiration never knew. This word of power that solves these mighty and momentous problems, that carries home this cheering conviction to the believing heart,—need I say to you, gentlemen,—is God!

"When from the merely spontaneous exercise of our intellectual and physical powers, we first turn the mind inward to reflection upon its own nature, and outward to an inquiring contemplation of the objects around us, we find ourselves part and parcel of a vast system. We ask, with intense curiosity, with agonizing interest, 'What am I? Whence came I? What means this glorious panorama of ocean, air, and earth, that I see around me,—these splendid orbs that illuminate the day and night,—these lesser lights that twinkle and burn around them,—the seasons with their everchanging round? Who can tell me the secret of the being and working of this wondrous machinery? Did necessity fix it firmly as it is, from all eternity? Has accident thrown it together, to remain till some other accident shall reduce it to nothing, or did some master-workman adapt it, with intelligent design, to some great and good end? If so, what means this dismal

shade of evil that overshadows with its dim eclipse so large a portion of this good and fair creation? What relation do I bear individually to the grand whole? Am I a mere ripple on the boundless ocean of being, swelling into life for a moment and then subsiding for ever, or is this curiously compacted frame the abode of a substantial, immortal mind, destined to exist hereafter through countless ages of happiness or misery?"

"The greatest and wisest men, of all ages and countries, have undertaken to answer these questions in various ways, but generally with slender success. One tells us that the origin of all things is in water, another that it is in fire; a third places it in the earth, and a fourth in the air. Epicurus resolves the universe into primitive atoms, while Zeno fixes it firmly in the brazen bonds of necessity. In regard to the problem of the moral world opinions are equally various. In one system, fate is the supreme arbiter, and chance in another. Some acknowledge the existence of gods, but place them apart in some remote celestial sphere, where they live on, regardless of the stir and bustle of this lower world. A few, more wise than the rest, obtain some faint glimpse of the truth, of which, however, they avow that they feel no certain assurance. All is doubt, uncertainty, error. There is no absurdity so great, says Cicero, that some distinguished philosopher has not made it the basis of his theory. The labors of modern inquirers have not been attended with better results. They have terminated in reviving successively, one after another, the exploded follies of antiquity. One denies the existence of mind, and another that of matter, while a third doubts the reality of either. All,—I mean all whose researches have been conducted independently of Scripture,—deny the reality of moral distinctions, and reduce man to a level with the animals around him. Such are the noble and consolatory views which the wisdom of Europe proclaimed within our own day, through the mouths of her ablest and most judicious apostles, as the last results of the labors of all preceding ages upon the great problem of God, man, and the universe.

"From this chaos of controversy, doubt, confusion, imposture and error, we turn to the Scriptures. Here we find ourselves at once in a new atmosphere. The very first sentence removes all difficulty. What do I say? The light breaks upon us before the sentence is finished. The first half-sentence settles at once and for ever the great problem of the universe. **IN THE BEGINNING GOD.** No metaphysics; no logic; no rhetoric; no tedious induction from particular facts; no labored demonstration *à priori* or *à posteriori*; no display of learning; no appeal to authority; but just the plain, simple, naked, unsophisticated truth: **IN THE BEGINNING GOD!**

"With the utterance of this little word, an ocean of light and splendor bursts at once upon the universe, and penetrates its darkest recesses with living beams of hope and joy. Order, harmony, intelligent design for happiest ends, take the place of unintelligible chaos and wild confusion. A cheerful confidence in the wisdom and goodness of an all-wise and almighty Creator, is substituted for gloomy doubt and blank despair. Evil still remains, but how different is its character! In a universe of chance and fate, it is a blind, irresistible power, like the destiny of ancient fable: treading under its giant feet

with remorseless fury, the fairest flowers of the natural and moral creation. 'In a godless universe,' says Madame de Stael, 'the fall of a sparrow would be a fit subject for endless and inconsolable sorrow.' With an almighty Father at the helm, evil, physical and moral, puts on the character of discipline. We cannot, it is true, penetrate the necessity of its existence, or the nature of the good which it is intended to effect. We are tempted at first to exclaim with the eloquent sophist of Geneva, 'Benevolent Being! where, then, is thy almighty power? I behold evil on the earth.' But what then? Does our limited intelligence comprehend the universe? Can the infant at his mother's breast understand why the honeyed stream is removed from his lips, and a bitter draught of medicine substituted for it? Does the little child realize why the kind father confines him in schools,—refuses him the indulgences which he thinks so delightful,—inflicts upon him, perhaps, a severe punishment for some, to him, unimaginable fault? To the child, the lapse of a few years makes all these mysteries clear; in the mean time, his confidence and love for his parents induce him to submit with undiminished cheerfulness, where he cannot understand. Shall the frail being of a day repose with less faith and hope on the bosom of Omniscient and Omnipotent goodness?"

4. *Tales of Truth, for the Young: or Waters from the living Fountain, flowing at all Seasons.* By R. BARCOCK, D. D. Second edition. Philadelphia. 1839.

We are glad to see the second edition of this little volume. Though there is no want of books designed for the young, yet the number of judicious juvenile books is by no means great. As the author observes in his preface: "This is the age of amusements. At a time when men become children and seek for tinsel, and toys, and rare excitements, till novelty in their production has put invention to the rack, it surely is less strange than lamentable, that children feel themselves licensed to repudiate every thing which is not decidedly amusing, as decidedly intolerable." * * "The tendencies of the whole system now most popular in the instruction and improvement of youth, is to relax, not strengthen, to deteriorate rather than benefit their mental and moral nature. Every thing must be done for pleasure, not duty; for present gratification, not for ultimate advantage. Their school-books must, as far as possible, be amusing stories. Knowledge must be granulated to particles so small, and diluted to a consistency so thin, that it can be swallowed insensibly, or else it is thought it cannot be digested at all. It is curious to listen to the inquiries of children, and their childish parents, in reference to a new study or a new book proposed for them. 'Is it interesting; will my child be pleased with it; is there no danger of its being thought dull?' Just as though the tasking of the mental powers to do any thing not amusing, was either impossible or injurious. As you train the child you form the man: and what shall perpetuate the strong and stern principles of duty, if you thus cater to a vicious and enervating love of ease,—of mere amusement? * * The Bible, too, which is not quite pleasing and palatable enough to harmonize with these modern views, must be rewritten, in parts and parcels, so as to adapt it to the

general design. It must all be made exceedingly amusing and exciting to the fancy and passions of the young, in order to secure for it a certain and a welcome reception, even by those whose hearts are at enmity with its holiness and its author! The ineffable folly of these attempts would excite a smile, if the awful danger of the delusion did not force a sigh."

In presenting a better specimen of what religious books for the young should be, we think the writer has been successful. Instead of diversifying a few thoughts and spreading them through a volume, he has elicited a rich variety of moral principles from simple and affecting Scripture narratives, and thus suggested a much neglected, but profitable method of treating the historical books of the Bible. The distinguishing excellency of the plan is, that the living form, in true history and incident is first presented, and then the principle deduced and applied to the conscience. The "tales" are not told for their own sake,—they are not "empty," but are richly laden with moral and religious truth. The first is "of the man who dared to sin against God," or the story of Achan; the second, "of her who preferred God and his people to every thing else," or the history of Ruth; the third has the somewhat quaint title of "the meeting of life and death," or the raising of the widow of Nain's son. This last is evidently the most difficult subject to master; and has, we think, less of unity than the rest. The main design of the author seems to be to collect the radiance of this whole scene into a focus in the character of Christ. In such a process, beginning with details and ascending from them to general views, it is not so easy to intersperse reflections as when the process is reversed, as in the first tale, where numerous truths radiate from Achan's act as from a common centre. The story of Achan appears to us to be more skilfully managed than the others, and to be truly a successful effort. It has the air of being the most spontaneous, and is certainly the most exuberant. Its single parts have not too great a breadth, nor do any of them dwindle into disproportion. Nothing extraneous is artificially attached, nothing belonging to the subject omitted. Through the whole there is a happy combination of simplicity of form with pregnancy of thought. Let not these remarks be construed as disparaging to the remaining parts of the work. We are only speaking of comparative merit, where all is confessedly good.

There is neither space, nor particular occasion for minute criticism. As a matter of taste, we should prefer to have the expression, "flowing at all seasons," struck from the title of the book; and we think one short sentence, on page 114, where it *seems* to be implied, probably without design, that our Saviour never had a "sight of death" until after he was thirty years of age, might be improved.

5. *Leschon Rabbanan, oder gedrängtes, volständiges, aramäisch—chaldäisch—deutsches Handwörterbuch, als Hilfsmittel zur Erlernung des Thalmuds, der Thargumim und Midrashim, nach dern Aruch, Musaphia, Buxtorf und Landau. u. s. w.* Von J. K. DESSAUER. Erlangen. 1838. pp. 282. 8vo.

A brief but complete German Lexicon of the Rabbincial Hebrew, as a help to the study of the Talmud, the Targums and Medrashim,

according to Aruch, Mussaphia, Buxtorf and Landau, with an Appendix, containing the Divisions and Technical Terms of the Talmud; an account of the Rabbinical Schools, and Sects; and Abbreviations, and Chaldaic Paradigms, &c. By J. H. DESSAUER. Erlangen. 1838.

Every learned theologian has frequent occasion to use a Rabbinic Lexicon in his exegetical reading. But as this species of literature is little cultivated among us, and as the lexicons are very expensive and rare, few know how to prize even such works as may be found in our public libraries. Undoubtedly every one, who can afford it, should have Buxtorf's great work in his library; but it can hardly be expected that the majority even of educated ministers should possess it. It was the design of our author to furnish such persons with a cheap substitute for the larger Rabbinical lexicons. The oldest work is the Aruch of Nathan Bar Jehiel prepared in the twelfth century, but not published until 1515; the next that appeared was an enlargement of the same by Mussaphia, a Spanish Jew, 1655. Both of these are in Hebrew. The lexicon most known and valued among us, is that of Buxtorf, published in 1640. This is a book of great learning and, though it was founded upon the two preceding, the extensive collection of new materials which was made, cost immense labor. In 1819, Landau published a large and diffuse Rabbinic lexicon in German, in five volumes. Only the last two works can be easily found, and these are expensive. The manual under review costs less than three dollars, and yet it contains more words than Buxtorf or Landau. By omitting all references and authorities, and giving nothing but words and simple definitions, in the manner of our pocket dictionaries, a most copious vocabulary is reduced to a small compass. We could wish that the definitions had been more copious, and that all the *results* of a philosophical development of the significations had been presented. But a philosophical and well arranged Rabbinical lexicon does not exist; even Buxtorf, with all its treasure of learning, is a mass of confusion. The labor of preparing such a manual would be very great; such as no one would undergo, who was not exclusively devoted to making a thesaurus. We cannot better designate this book, than by calling it a *very copious vocabulary* in an attractive and convenient form. All the words, to the great convenience of the ordinary student, are pointed. The lexicon itself occupies exactly 200 pages 8vo., in double columns; eight pages of the appendix are devoted to the divisions of the Talmud and its contents, ten to technical terms and the Rabbinical schools; then, in twenty-three closely printed pages, follows a complete alphabetical list of Rabbinical abbreviations, merely giving the Hebrew words for which the letters stand. The student who has this catalogue can dispense with Buxtorf "*De Abbreviaturis*." Twenty-four pages are added, giving all the grammatical forms and inflections, so that an ordinary Hebrew scholar can use the lexicon without being obliged to purchase a Rabbinical grammar for this purpose. We only regret that the book is not in Latin instead of German, as we fear no one will risk an English translation. Every Hebrew scholar, who can make out the meaning of a few German words, will find his account in possessing a copy of the "*Leschon Rabbanan*."

ARTICLE IX.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICA.

Statistics of some of the Baptist Literary and Theological Institutions for the current year.*

The New Hampton Academical and Theological Institution, N. H. Officers of instruction. Rev. Eli B. Smith, Principal and Professor of Biblical Theology and Ecclesiastical History; Rev. J. Newton Brown, Professor of Exegetical and Pastoral Theology; William E. Wording, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature; Rev. Amasa Buck, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. There are also a Tutor, an Instructor in Elocution and a Teacher of Penmanship. There are three departments: 1. the English, term of study five years, number of students 117; 2. the Classical, term of study three years, number of students 80; 3. the Theological, the term of study four years, the number of students 36. Total 273. We omit the female department although large and prosperous, because it does not enter into our general plan to furnish notices of female seminaries. The anniversary is on the third Wednesday before the first Monday in September.—*The Maine Baptist Theological Institution*, at Thomaston. Rev. Calvin Newton, Principal. In Oct., 1888, there were four students in the second year, and five in the first. The Institution has been recently established.—*The Baptist Virginia Seminary*, at Richmond. R. Ryland, Principal, Elias Dodson, Assistant, present number of students 62. This Seminary has been seven years in operation, and has had in all 243 students, of whom 54 were candidates for the ministry.—*The Hamilton Literary and Theological Institution*, Mad. Co., N. Y. Officers of instruction. Rev. N. Kendrick, Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology; Rev. J. T. Maginnis, Prof. of Biblical Theology; Rev. T. J. Conant, Professor of Hebrew, and of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation; Rev. G. W. Eaton, Professor of Civil and Ecclesiastical History; Rev. A. C. Kendrick, Professor of the Greek Language and Literature; S. W. Taylor, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; J. F. Richardson, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature; P. B. Spear, Tutor in Hebrew Philology and Sacred Antiquities; J. H. Raymond, Tutor in Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and Belles-Lettres; A. Lamb, Jr., Tutor in the Greek Language. Present number of students 120:—theological department 16; collegiate department 55; academical or preparatory department 29; shorter course 17; resident graduates 3. The course of study in the academic department extends through two years; the shorter course adds to this two years more, selecting parts from the collegiate and theological courses; this last occupies two years, the study of the Hebrew language being included in the collegiate course, which, in other respects, has the ordinary arrangement. The commencement is on the third Wednesday in August.—*Brown University*, Providence, R. I. Officers of instruction. Rev. Francis Wayland, President, and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy; William G. Goddard, Professor of Belles-Lettres; Rev. Romeo Elton, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages; Rev. Alexis Caswell, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; George I. Chace, Professor of Chemistry, Geology and Physiology; Horatio B. Hackett, Professor of Hebrew and of Classical Literature; William Gammell, Professor of Rhetoric; Nathan Bishop, Tutor in Mathematics; and Charles S. Bradley, Tutor in Latin and Greek. Present

* The officers of other Baptist theological institutions and colleges are requested to send us notices similar to the above.—Ed.

number of students 188. Commencement, the first Wednesday in September. — *Waterville College, Maine.* Officers of instruction. Rev. Robert E. Pattison, President, and Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy; Geo. W. Keely, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Phineas Barnes, Professor of the Latin and Greek languages; Rev. S. F. Smith, Professor of Modern languages; Justin R. Loomis, Professor of Chemistry and Natural History; Edwin Noyes, Tutor in Greek; and Danford Thomas, Tutor in Latin and Mathematics. Number of students 75. Commencement, the second Wednesday in August. — Prof. Caswell, of Brown University, has in a state of forwardness, for the press, an *Elementary Treatise on Astronomy*, designed as a Text-Book for the use of Colleges and Academies.

ENGLAND.

Lord Brougham has published two volumes of *Dissertations*, as *Illustrations of Paley's Natural Theology*. — The *Excursions in the Interior of Russia*, by R. Bremner, in two volumes (1839), are represented by the English journals as being more valuable than ordinary travels in Russia. — No new English work is more highly commended than, *Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire in the West Indies, South America, North America, Asia, Austral-Asia, Africa and Europe*, by R. M. Martin, 1839, one volume royal octavo. — A third English edition of Mrs. Sigourney's *Letters to Mothers*, is just out of press.

FRANCE.

M. Jaubert is De Saoy's successor as professor of Persian; Mr. Renaud, his successor in Arabic, is preparing a biography of this celebrated oriental scholar. — The new Paris edition of Chrysostom's works in Greek and Latin, in 26 parts, is completed about this time. The works of Basil will follow, in the same elegant style, as also those of Bernard. — The minister of Public Instruction has ordered that one foreign, living language be introduced into all the royal colleges of France; the Italian into those situated near Italy, the Spanish into those near the Pyrenees; and either the English or German, at the option of the student, into those of Paris and Versailles.

GERMANY.*

The university of Leipzig, has for 1839, a list of 94 professors and teachers, of whom the most distinguished in literature and theology, are Hermann, Winer, Heinroth, the best German writer on psychology and anthropology, Wachsmuth, author of the most celebrated work on the Historical Antiquities of Greece, Krug, author of the excellent Philosophical Dictionary, or rather encyclopaedia of intellectual and moral philosophy, including its whole history, Seyffarth, known from his writings on Egyptian hieroglyphics, Nobbe, the editor of Cicero, Klotz, a young philologist of the highest character, coeditor of Jahn's *Annals of Classical Philology*, and editor of several classic authors, Ilgen, Winzer and Grossman. — *The university of Bonn*, has the present year 93 teachers, of whom we mention the names of Freytag, Schlegel and Lassen, in oriental literature; Welcher and Näke (deceased), in classical philology; Augusti, Nitzsch, Rheinswald, Sack, Bleek, Scholz and Klee (the two last Catholics), all distinguished writers in theology. — *The university of Tübingen*, enrolls on its catalogue this year 56 teachers. We will name only Ewald, the orientalist, Bauer, in theology, and Walz in classical literature. — *Königsberg*, has 57, the most important of whom are Lübeck, in classical philology, Sieffert, in theology, and Böhlen, in oriental literature. — *Giessen*, has now 41 teachers; Kuinöl, Credner and Osann, are best known. — *Erlangen* is not extinct;

* Many of our learned subscribers, particularly those devoted to the study of theology and classical literature, regret the paucity of critical articles in this Review; others, and those not a few in number, complain that we should occupy three or four pages in bibliographical and literary foreign intelligence in which they feel no interest. There must be a little mutual indulgence. — Ed.

Kaiser, Olshausen, Döderlein (Latin synonyms), von Raumer (Geography of Palestine), Harless, and 37 others are going on as usual.

Some of the German gymnasia in 1839. Frankfort, on the Oder, has 12 teachers and 166 students; the course of study in the gymnasia is six years, nearly equivalent to our Latin schools and colleges put together. Poppo, the ablest editor of Thucydides, is the rector. When will our preparatory and classical schools have such teachers as Poppo, Jacobs, Butmann, Matthiae, Ramsborn, Döring, Rost, Grotosend, Heusinger, Herzog, Schmieder, Siebelis, Lindemann, Friedemann, Melhorn, Moser, Gerlach, Möbius, Meinecke, Gurlitt, Bornemann, Ellendt and Kraft?—Pforta, near Naumberg, one of the oldest and most celebrated gymnasia of Germany, the nursery of the best classical scholars for several generations, has now 15 teachers and 168 students. It is introducing more of mathematical studies and natural science than formerly.—Wittenberg, has 8 teachers and 127 students. Spitzner, author of the most recent and approved school edition of Homer's Iliad, is the rector.—Cologne, has two gymnasia. The Catholic gymnasium has 13 teachers and 374 students. Among the teachers are Göller, editor of Thucydides, second only to Poppo, and best for schools, and Grysar, author of the splendid work on the Latin language.—Among the most celebrated living teachers in the German gymnasia, we may mention, furthermore, Kraft of Hamburg, the Grotosends of Hanover and Gottingen, Lindemann of Zittau, Herzog of Gera, Siebelis of Bautzen, Schulze and Köpke of Berlin, G. Jacob of Cologne, Bothe of Mannheim, Friedemann of Weilburg, Melhorn of Glogau, Moser of Ulm, Wex of Eisleben, Richter of Quedlinburg, Gerlack of Basle, Herbst of Wezlar, Baumgarten-Crusius of Meissen, Struve and Ellendt of Königsberg, Rost and Wüstemann of Gotha, Kritiz of Erfurt, Bach of Fulda, the Orellis of Zurich, Wüllner of Düsseldorf, Förtsch of Naumberg, Schmidt and Stahr of Halle.

The historian and popular writer, von Raumer of Berlin, has recently been presented with a gold medal by Victoria, queen of England.

The third volume of von Cöln's *Dogmengeschichte, or History of Theological Sentiments*, extending from the Reformation to the present time, has been prepared and published by Neudecker. This important work, the best on the subject, is Müncher's remodelled, by von Cöln, but the learned author died after finishing the second volume. The first volume relates to the ancient church, or the period of the church Fathers, the second to the scholastic age, and the third to modern times. The text is brief and comprehensive, but the notes contain very choice and copious extracts from the best original authorities in the language in which they were written.—The third and last volume of Bode's *History of Grecian Poetry*, mentioned in former numbers, will be published in April.—A second edition of Rückert's *Commentary on the Romans*, in two volumes, is just leaving the press. He has also established a "Magazine for the Exegesis and Theology of the New Testament;" the first number appeared in 1838. It is not designed to discuss theological doctrines at large, but to be limited to the exegetical theology of the New Testament. Indeed, according to his own explanation of the title, it is to be devoted exclusively to the interpretation of the New Testament. His method of interpretation is too rigid for the Germans,—too regardless of philosophical and theological creeds; but Americans will heartily concur with him in his leading principle: "Employ all the proper means in thy power to ascertain the true sense of the writer; lend him nothing of thine,—take from him nothing that is his. In other words, never inquire what he ought to say;—never shrink from what he does say. It is thy business to learn and not to teach." He adds, "from this principle I cannot depart in the least, although it is unpopular, and I well know what it will cost me and what personal sacrifices I have been obliged already to make." He has probably been dismissed from office in Zittau. If his judgment were as sound and his spirit as biblical, as his princi-

ple is correct and his talent and learning great, he would furnish a splendid illustration of "the martyr spirit."—These last words suggest the case of the seven dismissed professors of Göttingen. Three of them, Ewald, Jacob Grimm and Dahlmann, have published each a separate defence of their course, in which Grimm is full of wit and terrible sarcasm. Was it wise, was it heroic, for these worthies to write their own "acta martyrum?" Does not the deed itself speak louder and more nobly?—Prof. F. Rückert (not the commentator) of Erlangen, equally celebrated as an orientalist and a poet, has declined the appointment of being Ewald's successor in the university of Göttingen!—Von Hammer has published the fourth volume of his splendid "Biographical Gallery of distinguished Moslem Rulers of the first seven Centuries of the Mohammedan Era," or from A. D. 600 to 1800.—Professor Ullmann has taken up, in earnest, what he calls "the vital question of our present theology," in regard to the life of Jesus, in a book entitled, "Historical or Mythological?" divided into four parts: 1. What does the establishment of the church through a crucified individual presuppose? 2. A Critique upon Strauss' Life of Jesus; 3. A public letter to Strauss, on the personality and miracles of Christ; 4. Characteristics of the canonical and apocryphal writings relating to the evangelical history. Thus one bold skeptic has called forth many of the strongest minds in Germany to the long neglected and almost despised study of the Evidences of Christianity. Most of the English works on the subject, relate to a kind of infidelity that among the learned is now mostly extinct. Not only will the "vital question" fix what has long been fluctuating among the Germans, the historical basis of Christianity, for themselves, but will, by meeting the new and now prevalent mode of attack, supply a great deficiency in our apologetic theology.—H. Reuchlin has commenced a very interesting and important work, "History of Port-Royal" or the contest between the reformed and the Jesuit Catholicism under Louis XIII and XIV. The first volume will appear next month.—Maurer's brief grammatical and critical (Latin) commentary on the Old Testament is progressing; the Psalms are finished and the twelve Minor Prophets will appear in a few days.*—The following works for Jacobs and Rost's Bibliotheca Greca, are in press; select parts of Aristophanes, by A. Seidler; Herodotus, in four volumes, by C. Struve; Homer's Odyssey, by G. W. Nitzsch; Select parts of Lucian, by C. Struve.†—As an instance of unprecedented enterprise, we may mention the publication of all the early monuments of German national literature in one uniform body, by Basse, a bookseller of Quedlinburg. Many distinguished scholars are employed in the collection, and several valuable works, never before published, relating to the history and literature of the Middle Ages, have been discovered among the refuse of old libraries, and several of these have in a short time passed twenty or thirty editions.—A beautiful and cheap edition of Winckelmann's entire works in German, never before collected into one set, is in a course of publication at Dresden. His chief work, "History of Ancient Art," in German, appears first and may be had separately at little expense.—Prof. T. Hitzig, has commenced a brief commentary or "Exegetical Manual of the Old Testament," after the style of De Wette's "Exegetical Manual of the New Testament," which is also now in progress. Vol. I, which is just from the press, contains the twelve Minor Prophets.—The best and most complete account of Japan, according to Ritter, is in P. F. Siebold's "Nipon, or Archives for the Description of Japan," begun in 1832, and continued to the present time.—A. Ermann's Travels round the Earth, through Northern Asia, Berlin, 1838, are exciting considerable attention in England as well as in Germany.

* See Dec. No. of 1838, p. 629.

† See June No. of 1838, p. 318.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

LUTHER CRAWFORD, in Brooklyn, N. Y., Feb. 13, aged 33.
 THOMAS DOUGLASS, in S. C., Aug. 15, aged 90.
 JAMES GARCELON, in Lewiston, Me., Dec. 26, aged 77.
 SIMON P. GRISWOLD, in West Meredith, Del. Co., N. Y., Feb. 21.
 WILLIAM J. PRITOMETT, in Ill.
 AMOS REED, in Packersville, Ct., aged 80.
 ALEXANDER RIDDLE, in Peoria Co., Ill., Oct. 7, aged 36.
 JOSEPH SHEPPARD, in Camden, N. Y., Dec. 13, aged 52.
 PETER SIMONSON, in Greenwich, N. J., Jan. 9.
 HENRY SMALLLEY, in Roadstown, N. J., Feb. 11, aged 80.
 WILLIAM SPENCER, in Jacksonville, Ill., Sept., aged 70.
 WILLIAM TANDY, Bethel, Christian Co., Ky., Oct. 12, aged 60.
 LEVI WALKER, Jr., in Griswold, Ct., Feb. 2, aged 96.
 LEWIS WILLIAMS, in St. Louis Co., Mo., Nov. 16.

ORDINATIONS.

CHARLES F. ADAMS, at Long Branch ch., Va., Dec. 24.
 SAMUEL ADAMS, at Weedsport, Cay. Co., N. Y., Dec. 12.
 DAVID AVERY, at Bloomfield, Ct., Feb. 6.
 AUGUSTUS O. BACON, at Walthourville, Liberty Co., Ga., Jan. 12.
 A. C. BARRELL, at Laona, N. Y., Feb. 7.
 JACOB BLAIR, at Pompey, N. Y., Feb. 14.
 WILLIAM BROOKS, at Mineral ch., Chatham Co. N. C., Dec. 16.
 WILLIAM L. BROWN, at Ann Arbor, Mich., Feb. 14.
 DANIEL D. BRUNSON, at Edgefield dist., S. C., Jan. 20.
 ISAAC BUTTERFIELD, at Cicero, Onon. Co., N. Y., Feb. 6.
 VOLNEY CHURCH, at Macedon, Wayne Co., N. Y., Feb. 14.
 J. MILTON COBURN, at Effingham, N. H., Feb. 21.
 WINTHROP CONVERSE, at Mansfield, Ohio, Dec. 27.
 IRA CORWIN, at Medina, Ohio, Feb. 20.
 A. G. CURRY, at Paris, Ky., Nov. 17.
 WILLIAM H. DILANO, at Ira, Cay. Co., N. Y., Dec. 6.
 WILLIAM A. C. DIX, at Northampton, Va., Feb. 12.
 AMBER EDSON, at Plymouth, Vt.
 CHARLES FARRAR, at Felchville, Vt., Jan. 29.
 THOMAS H. FORD, at Payson, Adams Co., Ill., Oct. 29.
 PETER GOO, at Frankfort, Herkimer Co., N. Y., Dec. 5.
 ELIAS GOODFREED, at Essex, N. Y., Jan. 10.
 STILLMAN T. GROW, at Independence, Oakland Co., Mich., Jan. 31.
 HERMAN S. HAYNS, at Saybrook, Ct., Oct. 31.
 T. B. HERNDON, at Long Branch ch., Va., Dec. 24.
 WM. HOBBS, at Salem Ass., Ill., Nov. 3.
 VELONA R. HOTCHKISS, at Poultney, Vt., Dec. 29.
 SILAS C. JAMES, at Chester Co., Pa., Dec. 3.

AMARIAN JOY, at Farmington, Me., Dec. 5.
 JAMES A. KEYS, at Auburn, Mich., Nov. 1.
 MARSHALL W. LELAND, at Washington, D. C., Jan. 3.
 E. T. MANNING, at Orleans co., N. Y. Oct., 31.
 JESSE MILLER, at Laughery, Dearborn co., Ia., Feb. 1.
 THOMAS MURRAY, at Hodgdon, Me., Feb. 16.
 ROBERT MYERS, at Andover, Vt., Nov. 7.
 PUTNAM OWENS, at Smithfield, Va., Nov. 19.
 ROSSWELL C. PALMER, at Hermitage Village, Gen. Co., N. Y., Dec. 12.
 H. L. PATTUS, at Russell's Spring, Tenn., Jan. 13.
 EDWIN D. REED, at Morrisville, N. Y., Nov. 21.
 JOSEPH ROCK, at Goochland Co., Va., Dec. 6.
 GEORGE N. ROX, at Hopewell, Ont. Co., N. Y., Feb.
 JOHN H. ROSCO, at Batavia, N. Y., Dec. 12.
 E. S. SMITH, at Elba, Genesee Co., N. Y., Feb. 27.
 JESSE H. SMITH, at Bath, Medina Co., Ohio, Oct. 10.
 WILLIAM STEELS, at Clinton Hill, Ill., Sept. 2.
 STEPHEN TAYLOR, at Sodus, N. Y., Feb. 8.
 WILLIAM TILLINGHAST, at Franklinville, N. Y., Nov. 14.
 CHARLES VAN LOON, at Westfield, Mass., Feb. 27.
 ABRAHAM WADE, Jr., Concord, Erie Co., Penn., Jan. 23.
 ALONZO WADSWORTH, at Covert, N. Y., Nov. 21.

CONSTITUTION OF CHURCHES.

At Whitesville, Alleghany Co., N. Y., July 7.
 At Beaver Creek, Bond Co., Ill., July 27.
 At New Canton, Va., Sept.
 At Brownsville, Jefferson Co., N. Y., Oct. 2.
 At Cynthiana, Pike Co., Ohio, Oct. 21.
 At Hartford Co., Ky., Oct. 27.
 At Canfield's Corner, Tioga Co., N. Y., Nov. 1.
 At Preston, Chenango Co., N. Y., Nov. 27.
 At Fauquier Co., Va., Dec. 2.
 At Portageville, N. Y., Dec. 5.
 At Paris, Me., Dec. 6.
 At Buffalo, Va., Dec. 15.
 At Branford, Ct., Dec. 19.
 At Evansville, Ia.
 At Jarvis Gore, Me., Jan. 17.
 At Lafayette city, Jan. 12.
 At Camden, Oneida Co., Jan. 24.
 At East Greenwich, R. I., Jan. 30.
 At N. Y. city, Tabernacle ch., Mulberry st., Jan. 30.
 At Jackson, Jackson Co., Mich., Jan. 30.
 At Woodstock, Vt., Feb. 12.
 At Amity, Me., Feb. 15.
 At Vienna, N. Y., Feb. 21.

DEDICATIONS.

In Wales, Me., Nov. 14.
 In West Wrentham, Mass., Nov. 27.
 In North Conway, Me., Dec. 12.
 In Thomaston, Me.
 In Meriden village, N. H., Jan. 1.
 In Rumney, N. H., Jan. 3.
 In East Monmouth, Me., Jan. 9.
 In Cabotsville, Mass., Feb. 7.

THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

No. XIV.

JUNE, 1839.

ARTICLE I.

STEPHENS'S TRAVELS.

Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia and Poland. By the Author of Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land. In 2 vols. Harper & Brothers. New York. 1838.

MR. STEPHENS, the author of these *Incidents of Travel*, has, apparently without much effort, become very widely known to the reading public on both sides of the Atlantic. His work on Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land,—the first fruits of his Eastern wanderings,—has passed through at least four editions in this country, and almost as many in England and France. He writes in an easy, flowing, and somewhat *piquant* style, and, by a happy blending of personal incident with general description, seldom fails in making us interested in all that he describes. As we follow him along his devious route, we are always impressed with his good-nature, and feel that he is just the companion we should like to travel with, were we going to make a year of leisure and recruit ourselves amidst the storied scenes of the East. With sentiment enough to feel the power that comes from the decaying monuments of ancient glory, he is yet liberal-minded enough to avoid any useless laments over the wrecks of former empires, or the rise of new ones in their place. He wisely looks upon the earth's surface as designed, by the wisdom of Providence, for the residence of man; and,

though he is not unaffected by the mysterious events and sublime contrasts, which, in different ages, it presents, yet he never seems to consider any portion of it as perverted from its natural use, provided it in any way contributes to the happiness or improvement of the race. Accordingly, though we are conducted by our author, over regions that have been famous from the earliest periods of history, and on which have flourished cities the most renowned and states the most magnificent, yet the present is no where overlooked, or excluded from our attention, by vain rhapsodies upon the perished glories of the past. In truth, we may say, he gives us the impression of a gifted and good-natured man, who, wearied with the city of the Knickerbockers, went abroad, not to measure monuments and temples, nor to sentimentalize among the ruins of ancient empires, and the tombs of the mighty dead, but to be amused and instructed with seeing the world as it is, and communing with the living representatives of humanity.

To be a traveller of the highest order, a man must combine in himself many of the qualities of both the philosopher and the poet. He must be endowed not only with a power of observation, which seizes upon the features of nature and society, in the countries through which he passes, but with an intuitive perception, which discerns the pervading spirit that controls and animates the whole, and a gift of imagination which looks beneath the surface and covering, and reveals the hidden portions of the machinery, whose action gives rise to the daily phenomena that pass before him. That which a traveller actually sees, usually derives its main importance from its connection with that which he does not and cannot see. The incidents and the forms of individual and national character, which he meets, are mainly valuable and instructive, only so far as they are connected with the causes and influences that produced them; as they illustrate the principles on which they depend, and furnish an insight into the institutions of government, and the temper and condition of a people. Thus to observe, and to present the results of his observation, is the aim of the philosophical traveller,—an aim which can be fully accomplished only by a mind gifted with a power of quick and accurate perception, and liberalized and enlarged by reading and reflection.

Mr. Stephens, however, has not aspired to be a traveller of this order. He simply narrates the incidents he meets, and describes the characters and social or moral phenomena he observes, in the regions through which he travels, and then leaves the reader to his own reflections on the causes that may have produced them, or the consequences that may follow from them. But, though we consider him as belonging to the second class, yet the rank we would assign him is by no means a low one. In denying to his works a highly instructive, we would not be understood as denying to them a very entertaining character. Indeed, Mr. Stephens, in many respects, possesses admirable qualities for a traveller and a writer of travels. And we know not where we can turn to a book of the kind, which holds us more strongly bound to its pages, than the work on Egypt or the Holy Land. We identify ourselves with the traveller, and share in all the hopes and solicitude, the toil and repose, of his travel's history.

The work to which we now call the attention of our readers, though characterized by the same liveliness of style, and constant flow of good humor, is yet far inferior to the author's former work, both in interest and instruction. The travels which it narrates, in point of time, were accomplished before those in Egypt, Arabia, and the Holy Land; but they relate, as a whole, to a less interesting portion of the world, and are diversified with far less richness and variety of incident.

These volumes open, with their author on board a Greek cutter, sailing among the "Isles of Greece," bound from Zante to Padras, but actually arriving at the port of Missolonghi. From this town, which has been rendered famous by its connection with the events of the Greek revolution, he pursues his course, along the Gulf of Lepanto, to Lepanto, Padras, Ægina, and Corinth, whence, after lingering over its classic ruins, he proceeds to Athens. Here he remains long enough to observe all that the city contains, either of present or of past glory. Having fully satisfied a traveller's curiosity among the mouldering monuments of Athenian greatness, and made excursions to the plains of Argos and Marathon, to Mount Hymettus and the ancient Mycænæ, he embarks at the Piræus, and, touching at the beautiful islands of those classic

waters, anchors in the harbor of Foggì, in Turkey, beneath the blood-red flag of the Mussulman. From Foggì, he makes his way to Smyrna, and thence, in a steam-boat, along the shores of the Grecian Archipelago, in almost constant sight of the fields of Troy, and the scenes of the Homeric story, to Constantinople. He lingers in this magnificent city of the Eastern Cæsars, where the old and the new, the Christian and the Moslem, are so strangely mingled; and at length takes passage across the Euxine, and arrives at Odessa, the southernmost port in the dominions of the Czar. While in Russia, he observes many interesting features in the condition of that gigantic and rapidly increasing empire. He visits Moscow and St. Petersburg, and thence travels across the boundless steppes of Western Russia, to Warsaw and Cracow, and takes leave of the reader at the mouth of the salt mines, on the banks of the Vistula, in Poland.

The route which, in this general manner, we have traced, it will be seen, is one that presents many objects of great interest, and is, withal, in some of its portions, almost entirely new. Greece and Turkey, with their innumerable objects of rich historic association, have often been visited and described. But we seldom meet with travellers, who have roamed the wide extent of European Russia, or who have had so fair an opportunity to survey the condition of the Poles, now that the foot of the conqueror is upon their neck. Though Mr. Stephens has furnished us less plentifully than we could wish, with the means of comprehending the social condition of these several countries, and the materials for speculating upon their future progress, yet we cannot but acknowledge the interest which holds us to his pages, while he narrates merely the incidents of his intercourse with their varied population. It is not our intention to follow him through his entire route, but simply to present an occasional extract, as a specimen of his manner.

Missolonghi, the first Greek town which he visited, derives its principal interest from being the place where Lord Byron died, and where Marco Bozzaris was buried, and his family still reside. During the Revolution, the people and their chiefs were so split by factions and discord, that the sense of gratitude, and even of justice,

seems nearly to have been extinguished. Byron had committed the unpardonable fault of allying himself to one of the great parties which at that time divided the country; and so implacable is party feeling, that, even at Missolonghi, the scene of his labors and his charities, his noble sacrifices are now considered as but questionable proofs of friendship for Greece. Bozzaris seems to be held in far more honored remembrance than the noble Englishman. Mr. Stephens visited his tomb, and was received into the dwelling of his brother, who is now the protector of the widow and family of Bozzaris. It was in this patriot family, that he heard the warmest expressions of interest in America, and gratitude for her timely assistance; and he delighted to tell the daughters of the Suliote chief, that the name of their father was almost as familiar here, as among the hamlets of his own Greece.

At Athens, Mr. Stephens mentions, as among the objects of his earliest and deepest interest, the Missionary Schools established in 1830, by our countrymen, Messrs. Hill and Robinson, under the direction of the Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church. We extract one of the passages which relates to these schools, as a testimonial of respect to the gentlemen who established them, as well as to the cause of Missions—the more valuable, as it comes from a traveller, who, before leaving this country, had plainly known but little of the extent or the influence of missionary labors, and who may, therefore, be considered as no partisan witness:

“The first thing we did in Athens was to visit the American missionary school. Among the extraordinary changes of an over-changing world, it is not the least that the young America is at this moment paying back the debt which the world owes to the mother of science, and the citizen of a country which the wisest of the Greeks never dreamed of, is teaching the descendants of Plato and Aristotle the elements of their own tongue. I did not expect among the ruins of Athens to find any thing that would particularly touch my national feelings; but it was a subject of deep and interesting reflection that, in the city which surpassed all the world in learning, where Socrates, and Plato, and Aristotle taught, and Cicero went to study, the only door of instruction was that opened by the hands of American citizens,* and an American missionary was the only school-master; and I am ashamed to say that I was not aware of the existence of such an institution, until advised of it by my friend, Dr. W.

“In the middle of the summer of their arrival at Athens, Mrs.

* Athens has now a flourishing university, after the German model. The city has undergone great changes since it has become the royal residence.—Ed.

Hill opened a school for girls in the magazine or cellar of the house in which they resided; the first day she had twenty pupils, and in two months one hundred and sixty-seven. Of the first ninety-six, not more than six could read at all, and that very imperfectly; and not more than ten or twelve knew a letter. At the time of our visit, the school numbered nearly five hundred; and when we entered the large room, and the scholars all rose in a body to greet us as Americans, I felt a deep sense of regret that, personally, I had no hand in such a work, and almost envied the feelings of my companion, one of its patrons and founders. Besides teaching them gratitude to those from whose country they derived the privileges they enjoyed, Mr. Hill had wisely endeavored to impress upon their minds a respect for the constituted authorities, particularly important in that agitated and unsettled community; and on one end of the wall, directly fronting the seats of the scholars, was printed, in large Greek characters, the text of Scripture, 'Fear God, honor the king.'

"It was all important for the missionaries not to offend the strong prejudices of the Greeks by any attempt to withdraw the children from the religion of their fathers; and the school purports to be, and is intended for, the diffusion of elementary education only; but it is opened in the morning with prayer, concluding with the Lord's Prayer as read in our churches, which is repeated by the whole school aloud; and on Sundays, besides the prayers, the creed, and sometimes the Ten Commandments, are recited, and a chapter from the Gospels is read aloud by one of the scholars, the missionaries deeming this more expedient than to conduct the exercises themselves. The lesson for the day is always the portion appointed for the gospel of the day in their own church; and they close by singing a hymn. The room is thrown open to the public, and is frequently resorted to by the parents of the children and strangers; some coming, perhaps, says Mr. Hill, to 'hear what these babblers will say,' and 'other some' from a suspicion that 'we are setters forth of strange gods.' But the principal and most interesting part of this missionary school was the female department, under the direction of Mrs. Hill, the first, and except at Syra, the only school for females in all Greece, and particularly interesting to me, from the fact that it owed its existence to the active benevolence of my own countrywomen. At the close of the Greek revolution, female education was a thing entirely unknown in Greece, and the women of all classes were in a most deplorable state of ignorance. When the strong feeling that ran through our country in favor of this struggling people had subsided, and Greece was freed from the yoke of the Mussulman, an association of ladies in the little town of Troy, perhaps instigated somewhat by an inherent love of power and extended rule, and knowing the influence of their sex in a cultivated state of society, formed the project of establishing at Athens a school exclusively for the education of females; and, humble and unpretending as was its commencement, it is becoming a more powerful instrument in the civilization and moral and religious improvement of Greece, than all that European diplomacy has ever done for her. The girls were distributed into different classes, according to their age and advancement; they had clean faces and

hands, a rare thing with Greek children, and were neatly dressed, many of them wearing frocks made by ladies at home (probably at some of our sewing societies); and some of them had attained such an age, and had such fine, dark, rolling eyes, as to make even a northern temperament feel the powerful influence they would soon exercise over the rising, excitable generation of Greeks, and almost make him bless the hands that were directing that influence aright.

"Mr. and Mrs. Hill accompanied us through the whole establishment, and, being Americans, we were every where looked upon and received by the girls as patrons and fathers of the school, both which characters I waved in favor of my friend; the one because he was really entitled to it, and the other because some of the girls were so well grown that I did not care to be regarded as standing in that venerable relationship. The *didaskalissas*, or teachers, were of this description, and they spoke English. Occasionally Mr. Hill called a little girl up to us, and told us her history, generally a melancholy one, as, being reduced to the extremity of want by the revolution; or an orphan, whose parents had been murdered by the Turks; and I had a conversation with a little Penelope, who, however, did not look as if she would play the faithful wife of Ulysses, and, if I am a judge of physiognomy, would never endure widowhood twenty years for any man.

"Before we went away, the whole school rose at once and gave us a glorious finale with a Greek hymn. In a short time, these girls will grow up into women and return to their several families; others will succeed them, and again go out, and every year hundreds will distribute themselves in the cities and among the fastnesses of the mountains, to exercise over their fathers, and brothers, and lovers, the influence of the education acquired here; instructed in all the arts of woman in civilized domestic life, firmly grounded in the principles of morality, and of religion purified from the follies, absurdities, and abominations of the Greek faith. I have seen much of the missionary labors in the East, but I do not know an institution which promises so surely the happiest results. If the women are educated, the men cannot remain ignorant; if the women are enlightened in religion, the men cannot remain debased and degraded Christians."—Vol. I, pp. 61—67.

From all we have heard of the condition of Greece, rich as she is in the memories and the glories of the past, we cannot avoid the conviction, that she is lamentably deficient in all that constitutes the growth and promise of a rising people. The reports of travellers, who go to ponder amidst her time-honored ruins, and survey her modern resources, colored with enthusiasm as they often are, all go to confirm us in the opinion, that, at this moment, she is far more the object of Christian philanthropy, than of political sympathy, and that the only efficient aid which can be given to assist her on in her national career, is to pour upon her people the light of learning, and of

uncorrupted Christianity. We rejoice that this aid is now extended, for we regard the few missionaries, who have gone to her shores, as conferring upon her a far greater benefit than all the patriot hosts who flocked to join her revolutionary standard. Since Mr. Stephens's visit, many new missionaries have joined the little band whose labors have been so successfully commenced. The number is yearly increasing, and we look forward to the time when the whole population of that land of "the unforgetten brave" shall have learned from the lips of our own countrymen the lessons of a wisdom far higher than that dispensed in the schools of her ancient sages.

A period of revolution is always the golden age of adventurers, and when that of Greece burst upon the world, it summoned from their lurking-places the restless multitudes, many of them bankrupts alike in fortune and in fame, who, from any rank of life, both in Europe and America, are ever ready to rally under any banner of political change. At Napoli, Mr. Stephens had an opportunity to observe the materials which Greece had been obliged to employ in her recent revolution. This place had been the seat of government during the reign of Capo d'Istria; and its hotels and restaurants were at this time crowded with the "soldiers of fortune," who had thronged to those shores to fight the battles of Grecian independence, and were now reposing upon their fading laurels, until another outbreak of popular violence should call them away to new fields of conquest and renown. We are greatly mistaken, if that unhappy country has not already found that the vices and depredations of these warrior-philanthropists, who still linger among her people, are making large deductions from all the good she has reaped from her national independence. We quote our author's account of some of them:

"Napoli had always been the great gathering place of the phil-Hellenists, and many, appropriating to themselves that sacred name, were hanging round it still. All over Europe, thousands of men are trained up to be shot at for so much per day; the soldier's is as regular a business as that of the lawyer or merchant, and there is always a large class of turbulent spirits constantly on the look-out for opportunities, and ever ready with their swords to carve their way to fortune. I believe that there were men who embarked in the cause of Greece with as high and noble purposes as ever animated the warrior; but of many, there is no lack of charity in saying that, however good they might be as fighters, they were not much as

men; and I am sorry to add, that, from the accounts I heard in Greece, some of the American phil-Hellenists were rather shabby fellows. Mr. M., then resident in Napoli, was accosted one day in the streets by a young man, who asked him where he could find General Jarvis. 'What do you want with him?' said Mr. M. 'I hope to obtain a commission in his army.' 'Do you see that dirty fellow yonder?' said Mr. M., pointing to a ragged patriot, passing at the moment; 'well, twenty such fellows compose Jarvis's army, and Jarvis himself is no better off.' 'Well, then,' said the young *American*, 'I believe I'll join the Turks!' Allen, another American patriot, was hung at Constantinople. One bore the sacred name of Washington; a brave but unprincipled man. Mr. M. had heard him say, that if the devil himself should raise a regiment, and would give him a good commission, he would willingly march under him. He was struck by a shot from the fortress of Napoli, while directing a battery against it; was taken on board his Britannic majesty's ship *Asia*, and breathed his last, uttering curses on his country."—Vol. I, pp. 97—98.

While at Foggi, in Turkey, Mr. Stephens has his attention attracted to the manner in which the Greek church is accustomed to celebrate one of the leading events recorded in the Scripture history. We quote his description of the scene, as an illustration of the absurd mummeries which, in this ancient portion of the Christian church, have been engrafted upon the simple institutions of our holy religion:

"It was the Saturday before Easter Sunday, and the resurrection of our Saviour was to be celebrated at midnight, or, rather, the beginning of the next day, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church. It was also the last of the forty days' fasting, and the next day commenced feasting. Supper was prepared for us, at which meat was put upon the table for me only; my Greek friend being supposed not to eat meat during the days of fasting. He had been, however, two years out of Greece; and though he did not like to offend the prejudices of his countrymen, he did not like fasting. I felt for my fellow-traveller; and, cutting up some meat into small parcels, kept my eye upon the door while he whipped them into his mouth. After supper, we lay down upon the divan, with large quilts over us, my friend having promised to rise at twelve o'clock and accompany me to the Greek church.

"At midnight, we were roused by the chant of the Greeks in the streets, on their way to the church. We turned out, and fell into a procession of five hundred people, making the streets as light as day with their torches. At the door of the church, we found our host, sitting at a table with a parcel of wax tapers on one side, and a box to receive money on the other. We each bought a taper, and went in. After remaining there at least two hours, listening to a monotonous and unintelligible routine of prayers and chants, the priests came out of the holy doors, bearing aloft an image of our Saviour

on the cross, ornamented with gold leaf, tassels, and festoons of artificial flowers, passed through the church, and out of the opposite door. The Greeks lighted their tapers and formed into a procession behind them, and we did the same. Immediately outside the door, up the staircase, and on each side of the corridor, allowing merely room enough for the procession to pass, were arranged the women, dressed in white, with long white veils, thrown back from their faces, however, laid smooth over the tops of their heads, and hanging down to their feet. Nearly every woman, old or young, had a child in her arms. In fact, there seemed to be as great a mustering of children as of men and women, and, for aught that I could see, as much to the edification of the former as the latter. A continued chant was kept up during the movements of the procession, and perhaps for half an hour after the arrival of the priests at the courtyard, when it rose to a tremendous burst. The torches were waved in the air; a wild, unmeaning, and discordant scream or yell rang through the hollow cloisters, and half a dozen pistols, two or three muskets, and twenty or thirty crackers were fired. This was intended as a *feu-de-joie*, and was supposed to mark the precise moment of our Saviour's resurrection. In a few moments the phrenzy seemed to pass away; the noise fell from a wild clamor to a slow chant, and the procession returned to the church. The scene was striking, particularly the part outside the church; the dead of night; the waving of torches; the women with their long white dresses, and the children in their arms, &c.; but, from beginning to end, there was nothing solemn in it.

"Returned to the church, a priest came round with a picture of the Saviour risen; and, as far as I could make it out, holding in his hand the Greek flag, followed by another priest with a plate to receive contributions. He held out the picture to be kissed, then turned his hand to receive the same act of devotion, keeping his eye all the time upon the plate which followed to receive the offerings of the pious, as a sort of payment for the privilege of the kiss. His manner reminded me of the Dutch parson, who, immediately after pronouncing a couple man and wife, touching the bridegroom with his elbow, said, 'And now, where ish mine dollar?' I kissed the picture, dodged his knuckles, paid my money, and left the church. I had been there four hours, during which time, perhaps, more than a thousand persons had been completely absorbed in their religious ceremonies; and, though beginning in the middle of the night, I have seen more yawning at the theatre, or at an Italian opera, than I saw there. They now began to disperse, though I remember I left a crowd of regular amateurs, at the head of whom were our sailors, still hanging round the desk of an exhorting priest, with an earnestness that showed a still craving appetite.

"I do not wonder that the Turks look with contempt upon Christians; for they have constantly under their eyes the disgusting mummeries of the Greek church, and see nothing of the pure and sublime principles our religion inculcates. Still, however, there was something striking and interesting in the manner in which the Greeks in this Turkish town had kept themselves, as it were, a peculiar people, and, in spite of the brands of 'dog' and 'infidel,'

held fast to the religion they received from their fathers. There was nothing interesting about them as Greeks; they had taken no part with their countrymen in their glorious struggle for liberty; they were engaged in petty business, and bartered the precious chance of freedom once before them for base profits and ignoble ease; and even now were content to live in chains, and kiss the rod that smote them.—Vol. I, pp. 158—161.

But we must not linger longer over these scenes of classic and moral interest. We had marked, for quotation, many other passages, in this part of our author's work, particularly those relating to the ruins of Ephesus, and its far-famed temple, and those containing his views of Smyrna, and Constantinople, and his notice of the labors and skill of our countryman, Mr. Rhodes, who, for many years, has been employed, by the Sultan, to build the ships of his navy. We are, however, compelled to hasten to the author's travels in Russia, whither he made his way from Constantinople, across the Black Sea, in a lazy steamer, bound for Odessa.

The social condition of Russia is beginning to attract the attention, and awaken the interest, of the civilized world. Since the days of Peter the Great,—a period from which every thing valuable in her history dates,—she has risen, from the depth of her Scythian barbarism, to a political importance, second to that of no other nation in Europe. Roused from the lethargy of ages, by the energies of that one man, who has left the impress of his genius upon almost every civil institution in the empire, she is now developing her resources, and pursuing a path of physical, and, we may say, social improvement, scarcely to be paralleled, save in the almost incredible growth of our own republic. Indeed, Mr. Stephens suggests the outlines of a comparison, in some points, between Russia and the United States.

"There is no country," he says, "where cities have sprung up so fast, and increased so rapidly, as in ours; and altogether, perhaps, nothing in the world can be compared with our Buffalo, Rochester, Cincinnati, &c. But Odessa has grown faster than any of these, and has nothing of the appearance of our new cities." This, however, must be true, of only here and there a town, throughout the entire empire. Though both countries are hurrying on in the career of greatness, with a rapidity that fixes the gaze of the civilized world, yet, the opposition of

their social condition is far more striking than any resemblance in their progress. Here, from the liberal character of our institutions, and the wide diffusion of intelligence, the energies of the people are wrought into the intensest action. It is by individual and private enterprise, that forests are cleared, and cities built, and districts cultivated, and the domain of civilization extended into the distant wilderness. But in Russia, the popular mind has scarcely begun to act, while the unlimited power and boundless wealth of the government, directed by the sagacity and wisdom of able rulers, are accomplishing the most important changes, and building up a fabric of empire, which, in variety of resources, and extent of dominion, promises, ere long, to surpass the giant greatness of the ancient imperial republic. And the results of these two forms of society are not less different than the forms themselves. With us, individual enterprise and labor are rewarded by individual wealth, and by the necessities and comforts of life scattered through all the ranks of society. But there, while the government is possessed of exhaustless treasures, the peasantry are living in the most wretched and squalid poverty; slaves to the nobles or the emperor, and often depending upon the public bounty for their daily bread. Mr. Stephens mentions a village, where the whole population was gathered in the streets in a state of absolute starvation. The miserable serfs had not raised enough to supply themselves with food, and men, of all ages, half-grown boys and little children, were prowling the streets, or sitting in the door-ways, ravenous with hunger, and waiting for the agent to come down from the chateau and distribute bread among them.

Our author, as was to be expected, was painfully impressed with the fact, that the most odious feature, in the government of Russia finds a prominent parallel in our own. And, whatever circumstances may be adduced to account for it, the historian, in a future age, will record it as a most singular political phenomenon, that this country, with its equal laws, and chartered freedom, its universal intelligence, and its protestant faith, should have been united with the dark despotism of Russia, in being the last of civilized nations, that continues to number slavery among their domestic institutions.

We extract the following account of the condition of the Russian serfs :

"The serfs of Russia differ from slaves, with us, in the important particular that they belong to the soil, and cannot be sold except with the estate; they may change their masters, but cannot be torn from their connexions or their birthplace. One sixth of the whole peasantry of Russia, amounting to six or seven millions, belong to the crown, and inhabit the imperial demesne, and pay an annual tax. In particular districts, many have been enfranchised, and become burghers and merchants; and the liberal and enlightened policy of the present emperor is diffusing a more general system of melioration among these subjects of his vast empire. The rest of the serfs belong to the nobles, and are the absolute property and subject to the absolute control of their masters, as much as the cattle on their estates. Some of the seigneurs possess from seventy to more than a hundred thousand; and their wealth depends upon the skill and management with which the labor of these serfs is employed. Sometimes the seigneur sends the most intelligent to Petersburg or Moscow, to learn some handicraft, and then employs them on his own estates, hires them out, or allows them to exercise their trade on their own account on payment of an annual sum. And sometimes, too, he gives the serf a passport, under which he is protected all over Russia, settles in a city, and engages in trade, and very often accumulates enough to ransom himself and his family. Indeed, there are many instances of a serf's acquiring a large property, and even rising to eminence. But he is always subject to the control of his master; and I saw, at Moscow, an old nongik who had acquired a very large fortune, but was still a slave. His master's price for his freedom had advanced with his growing wealth, and the poor serf, unable to bring himself to part with his hard earnings, was then rolling in wealth with a collar round his neck; struggling with the inborn spirit of freedom, and hesitating whether to die a beggar or a slave.

"The Russian serf is obliged to work for his master but three days in the week; the other three he may work for himself on a portion of land assigned to him by law on his master's estate. He is never obliged to work on Sunday, and every saint's day or fete day of the church is a holyday. This might be supposed to give him an opportunity of elevating his character and condition; but, wanting the spirit of a free agent, and feeling himself the absolute property of another, he labors grudgingly for his master, and for himself barely enough to supply the rudest necessities of life and pay his tax to the seigneur. A few rise above their condition, but millions labor like beasts of burden, content with bread to put in their mouths, and never even thinking of freedom. A Russian nobleman told me that he believed, if the serfs were all free, he could cultivate his estate to better advantage by hired labor; and I have no doubt a dozen Connecticut men would cultivate more ground than a hundred Russian serfs, allowing their usual non-working days and holydays. They have no interest in the soil, and the desolate and uncultivated wastes of Russia show the truth of the judicious reflection of Catherine II,

'that agriculture can never flourish in that nation where the husbandman possesses no property.'

"It is from this great body of peasantry that Russia recruits her immense standing army, or, in case of invasion, raises, in a moment, a vast body of soldiers. Every person in Russia, entitled to hold land, is known to the government, as well as the number of peasants on his estate; and, upon receiving notice of an imperial order, to that effect, the numbers required by the levy, are marched, forthwith, from every part of the empire to the places of rendezvous appointed. It might be asked, What have these men to fight for? They have no country, and are brought up on immense levels, wanting the rocks, rivers, and mountains that inspire local attachments. It is a singular fact, that, with the Russian serf, there is always an unbounded love for him who stands at the head of the system of oppression under which they groan, the emperor, whom they regard as their protector against the oppression of their immediate masters; but to whatever cause it may be ascribed, whether inability to estimate the value of any change in their condition, or a feeling of actual love for the soil on which they were born, during the invasion of Napoleon, the serfs of Russia presented a noble spectacle; and the spirit of devotion, which animated the corps of ten thousand in the north, extended to the utmost bounds of the empire. They received orders to march from St. Petersburg to meet the advance of the French army; the emperor reviewed them, and is said to have shed tears at their departure. Arrived at the place appointed, Witgenstein ordered them to fall back to a certain point, but they answered, "No; the last promise we made the emperor, our father, was, that we would never fly before the enemy, and we keep our word." Eight thousand of their number died on the spot; and the spirit which animated them, fired the serfs throughout the whole empire. The scholar may sneer, but I defy him to point to a nobler page in Grecian or Roman history."—Vol. II, pp. 41—43.

The following incident, which our author meets, at Moscow, while it speaks volumes of the nature of despotism, must have been somewhat startling to a free-spoken American, who has heard of *espionage* only in history, and is accustomed to utter his opinions, on all subjects, with the thoughtlessness of a child. He had strolled into the French theatre, when, at the close of the first act, in consequence of some movement he makes, he is rudely accosted, in unintelligible Russian, by one of the understrappers of the place, upon whom he turns his back. The fellow, however, continues to pour out his wrath, until he is driven away by the severe rebukes of a Frenchman, of somewhat prepossessing appearance, of whose character and occupation we may form an idea, from the following passage:

"He was above six feet high, about thirty-three or thirty-four years of age, in robust health, with a large pair of whiskers, rather overdressed, and of manners good, though somewhat imperious and bordering on the swagger. He seemed perfectly at home in the theatre; knew all the actors, and, before the evening was over, offered to introduce me to all the actresses. I was under obligations to him, if not for the last offer, at least, for relieving me from the impertinent door-keeper; and, when the curtain fell, accepted his invitation to go to a restaurant and take a petit souper. I accompanied him to the Restaurant au coin du pont des Mareschaux, which I afterwards ascertained to be the first in Moscow. He was perfectly at home with the carte, knew exactly what to order, and, in fact, he was a man of great general information, perfectly familiar with all continental Europe, geographically and politically, and particularly, at home, in Moscow; and he offered his services in showing me all that was curious and interesting. We sat together more than two hours, and in our rambling and discursive conversation, I could not help remarking that he seemed particularly fond of railing at the government, its tyranny and despotism, and appealing to me as an American and a liberal to sustain him. I did not think any thing of it then, though in a soldier under Charles the Tenth, driven out, as he said, by the revolution of July, it was rather strange; but, at any rate, either from a spirit of contradiction or because I had really a good feeling toward every thing in Russia, I disagreed with him throughout; he took upon himself the whole honors of the entertainment, scolded the servants, called in the landlord, and, as I observed, after a few words with him, went out without paying. I saw that the landlord knew him, and that there was something constrained and peculiar in his behavior. I must confess, however, that I did not notice these things at the time, so clearly, as when I was induced to recur to them by after circumstances, for we went out of the house the best friends in the world; and, as it was then raining, we took a drosky and rode home together, with our arms around each other's neck, and my cloak thrown over us both. About two o'clock, in a heavy rain, I stopped at my hotel, bade him good night, and left him my cloak to go home with.

"The reader, perhaps, smiles at my simplicity, but he is wrong in his conjecture; my cloak came home the next morning, and was my companion and only covering many a night afterward. My friend followed it, sat with me a few minutes, and was taking his departure, having made an appointment to call for me at twelve o'clock, when there was a knock at the door, and my friend the marquis entered. I presented them to each other, and the latter was in the act of bending his body with the formality of a gentleman of the old school, when he caught a full view of my friend of the theatre, and, breaking off his unfinished bow, recovered his erect position, and staring from him to me, and from me to him, seemed to demand an explanation. I had no explanation to give, nor had my friend, who, cocking his hat on one side, and brushing by the marquis with more than his usual swagger, stamped down stairs. The marquis looked after him till he was at the foot of the stairs, and then turning to me,

asked how, in the name of wonder, I had already contrived to pick up such an acquaintance. I told him the history of our meeting at the theatre, our supper at the restaurant, and our loving ride home, to which he listened with breathless attention; and after making me tax my memory for the particulars of the conversation at the restaurant, told me that my friend was a disgrace to his country; that he had, no doubt, been obliged to leave France for some rascality, and was now entertained by the emperor of Russia as a *spy*, particularly upon his own countrymen; that he was well fed and clothed, and had the entree of all the theatres and public houses without paying. With the earnestness of a man long used to a despotic government, and to seeing slight offences visited with terrible punishments, the marquis congratulated me upon not having fallen into what he called the snare laid for me."—Vol. II, pp. 52—55.

We have heard the emperor Nicholas spoken of by travellers, who have seen him, and known something of his policy, as a high-minded and noble sovereign; but if this be a specimen of the system which he has stretched over his almost countless people, by which to keep them in order, and ascertain their opinions, we shall strongly incline to the opinion, that, either from his experience as autocrat, or from some other source, there has been mingled, with his magnanimity, a sufficient infusion of jealousy and meanness.

From the very necessities of his situation, a traveller, on the continent of Europe, is brought into almost daily contact with Jews. It would seem, from the frequent mention made of them, in these volumes, that nearly all the innkeepers in Russia and Poland are of this hated race. They are found scattered over Russia, living in the vilest poverty, though often possessing large wealth, monopolizing, to themselves all the petty commerce, and the semi-respectable employments, which can yield them a sordid gain, and exhibiting, every where, the same offensive peculiarities which, for so many ages, have made them the scorn and contempt of the nations. Poland, however, seems to have been their chosen gathering-place. While in England, and over other parts of the continent, they have been despised and trampled upon for centuries, outcasts from the rights and immunities of citizens, dwelling, by sufferance, in the lands where they have planted themselves, in Poland they seem to have found a more quiet resting-place. Protected, and even cherished, by the government in the days of her national existence, they swarmed hither, in numbers far greater than can be found in any other part of Europe.

We extract Mr. Stephens's description of this singular people, as he found them in Poland :

"As early as the fourteenth century, great privileges were secured to the Jews by Casimir the Great, who styled them his 'faithful and able subjects,' induced, according to the chronicles of the times, like Ahasuerus of old, by the love of a beautiful Esther. While in Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and even in England and France, their whole history is that of one continued persecution, oppressed by the nobles, anathematized by the clergy, despised and abhorred by the populace, flying from city to city, arrested, and tortured, and burned alive, and sometimes destroying themselves by thousands, to escape horrors worse than death ; while all orders were arrayed in fierce and implacable hatred against them, in Poland the race of Israel found rest ; and there they remain at this day, after centuries of residence, still a distinct people, strangers and sojourners in the land, mingling with their neighbors in the every-day business of life, but never mingling their blood ; the direct descendants of the Israelites, who, three thousand years ago, went out from the land of Egypt ; speaking the same language, and practising the laws delivered to Moses on the mountain of Sinai ; mourning over their fallen temple, and still looking for the Messiah who shall bring together their scattered nation and restore their temporal kingdom.

"But notwithstanding the interest of their history and position, the Polish Jews are far from being an interesting people ; they swarm about the villages and towns, intent on gain, and monopolizing all the petty traffic of the country. Outward degradation has worked inward upon their minds ; confined to base and sordid occupations, their thoughts and feelings are contracted to their stations, and the despised have become despicable. It was principally in his capacity of innkeeper that I became acquainted with the Polish Jew. The inn is generally a miserable hovel communicating with, or a room partitioned off in one corner of, a large shed serving as a stable and yard for vehicles ; the entrance is under a low porch of timber ; the floor is of dirt ; the furniture consists of a long table, or two or three small ones, and in one corner a bunch of straw, or sometimes a few raised boards formed into a platform, with straw spread over it, for beds ; at one end a narrow door leads into a sort of hole filled with dirty beds, old women, half-grown boys and girls, and children not overburdened with garments, and so filthy that, however fatigued, I never felt disposed to venture among them to rest. Here the Jew, assisted by a dirty-faced Rachel, with a keen and anxious look, passes his whole day in serving out to the meanest customers beer, and hay, and corn ; wrangling with, and extorting money from intoxicated peasants ; and it is said, sometimes, after the day's drudgery is over, retires at night to his miserable hole to pore over the ponderous volumes filled with rabbinical lore ; or sometimes his mind takes a higher flight, meditating upon the nature of the human soul ; its relation to the Divinity ; the connexion between the spirit and the body ; and indulging in the visionary hope of gaining, by means of

cabalistic formula, command over the spirits of the air, the fire, the flood, and the earth.

"Though the days of bitter persecution and hatred have gone by, the Jews are still objects of contempt and loathing. Once I remember pointing out to my postilion a beautiful Jewish girl, and, with the fanatic spirit of the middle ages, himself one of the most degraded serfs in Poland, he scorned the idea of marrying the fair daughter of Israel. But this the Jew does not regard; all he asks is to be secured from the active enmity of mankind. 'Like the haughty Roman, banished from the world, the Israelite throws back the sentence of banishment, and still retreats to the lofty conviction that his race is not excluded as an unworthy, but kept apart as a sacred people; humiliated, indeed, but still hallowed, and reserved for the sure though tardy fulfilment of the Divine promises.'

"The Jews in Poland are still excluded from all offices and honors, and from all the privileges and distinctions of social life. Until the accession of Nicholas, they were exempted from military service on payment of a tax; but since his time they have been subject to the regular conscription. They regard this as an alarming act of oppression, for the boys are taken from their families at twelve or thirteen, and sent to the army or the common military school, where they imbibe notions utterly at variance with the principles taught them by their fathers; and, probably, if the system continues, another generation will work a great change in the character of the Jews of Poland."—Vol. II, pp. 188—191.

The last Polish Revolution was the result of an enthusiasm for liberty caught from the people of France. Never was an attempt at national independence made with prospects more entirely hopeless. The people, though undoubtedly victims of an oppressive despotism, were yet as unfit for freedom, as they were impatient of tyranny. By yielding to the revolutionary frenzy, which, at that time, spread over Europe, Poland has gained nothing but defeat. She has only exchanged a dependent existence, for utter and irrevocable extinction as a nation, and for the exile of her bravest and noblest sons to the dreary wastes of Siberia, or to hopeless and unsupported wanderings in the forests of America. Those who were sent to this country, by the emperor of Austria, showed but too plainly their incapacity for self-government, and, we apprehend, exhibited little in their character to increase the sympathy of our people in their fate. After flourishing through their day, as Polish patriots, they were provided by Congress, with lands from the public domain in the West. But, among the quiet labors of husbandry, finding little to keep alive the excitement to which they had been

accustomed, they soon grew discontented, deserted their lands and have since, as we learn, been either cut to pieces by the savages of the Rocky mountains, or merged in the growing population of the western States. Mr. Stephens, we cannot but think, plays the sentimentalist rather unnecessarily, about the condition of this unhappy country. For the facts, which he presents, create in our minds a far different disposition. They compel us to think of the Poles as an idle, inefficient and restless people, too indolent, and too fond of pleasure, to engage in the labors which alone can develop the energies or increase the wealth of a nation. Notwithstanding his enthusiasm for their character and sympathy in their fate, the following passages will hardly be thought to contain a very flattering description. "Society," says our author, "consists altogether of two distinct and distant orders,—the nobles and the peasantry,—without any intermediate degrees.—The peasants are in the lowest stage of mental degradation. The nobles, who are more numerous than in any other country in Europe, have always, in the eyes of the public, formed the people of Poland. They are brave, prompt, frank, hospitable and gay, and have long been called the French of the North, being French in their habits, fond of amusements, and living in the open air, like the loungeur in the Palais Royal, the Tuilleries, the Boulevards, and Luxembourg, and particularly French in their political feelings; the surges of a revolution in Paris being always felt at Warsaw. They consider it the deepest disgrace to practise any profession, even law or medicine, and, in case of utmost necessity, prefer the plough." Again, in speaking of the condition of the trades and the useful arts, he says, "The whole business of the country is in the hands of the Jews, and all the useful mechanical arts are practised by strangers. I did not find a Pole in a single shop in Warsaw; the proprietors of the hotels and coffee-houses, are principally Germans; my tailor was a German, my shoe-maker a Frenchman, and the man who put a new crystal in my watch an Italian from Milan." A country of which the people are thus indolent and reckless, how much soever we may pity its misfortunes, we can hardly look upon as prepared for self-government, or as justly claiming our assistance in the efforts it may make to obtain it.

From Warsaw our author makes his way to Cracow, meeting every where the same delays from the avarice and chicanery of the Jewish inn-keepers, and undergoing the same vexatious examinations from the petty officers of a jealous and argus-eyed government. While at Cracow, he visits, of course, the far-famed Salt mines in its neighborhood, of which he gives an interesting and extended description; we can extract, however, only the correction he makes of some of the erroneous reports that have gone abroad, concerning these subterranean regions. "I had heard and read," says he, "glowing accounts of the brilliancy and luminous splendor of the passages and chambers, compared, by some, to the lustre of precious stones; but the salt is of a dark gray color, almost black; and although sometimes glittering when the light was thrown upon it, I do not believe it could ever be lighted up to shine with any extraordinary or dazzling brightness. Early travellers, too, had reported, that these mines contained several villages, inhabited by colonies of miners, who lived constantly below; and that many were born and died there, who never saw the light of day; but all this is entirely untrue. The miners descend every morning and return every night, and live in the village above. None of them ever sleep below. There are, however, two horses which were foaled in the mines, and have never been on the surface of the earth. I looked at these horses with great interest. They were growing old before their time; other horses had perhaps gone down and told them stories of a world above, which they would never know."

We have now arrived at the close of these spirited volumes, and take leave of their amiable author, as he does of us, here, on the banks of the Vistula, and among the wrecks and fragments of what was once the kingdom of Poland.

ARTICLE II.

TITTMANN ON JOHN 4: 1—42.

Exposition of John 4: 1—42: translated from the Latin of C. C. TITTMANN'S SACRED MEDITATIONS, or Exegetical, Critical, and Doctrinal Commentary on the Gospel of John. By H. J. RIPLEY, Professor of Biblical Literature and Interpretation, in the Newton Theological Institution.*

It was the special design of the evangelist John, in preparing his Gospel, to preserve some of the more remarkable discourses of our adorable Lord, both public and private. He wished that all men, in all coming time, might thus have it in their power to form a just opinion of our Lord, by hearing, as it were, from his own lips, in what light he viewed himself, and how he sought to be regarded by others. Thus, too, the evangelist would contribute to render faith in him more easy and more firm. It was in pursuance of this design, that he recorded the conversation held with the Samaritan woman. In a few introductory remarks, he mentions the occasion of this conversation.

The account commences in the following manner. Vs. 1—3. *When, therefore, the Lord knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John (though Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples), he left Judea, and departed again into Galilee.*

A report of the teaching and acts of Jesus had now reached the chief men of the Jews. They became indignant, that, not only he himself was collecting a large number of followers, but that even his disciples in administering the rite of baptism, were performing what could scarcely be borne even in John the Baptist, to whom, though unwillingly, they yet conceded very much.

* This article is properly an abridged translation of the original. I have omitted the author's statements of the views of other writers, and his references to various authorities. It has been my aim to exhibit the thoughts of the original, rather than its forms of expression. Our common English version of the chapter is also retained, instead of the version which Tittmann presents in the course of his commentary.—H. J. R.

Our Lord, then, from whom nothing was concealed, as soon as he perceived that what usually happens among men was becoming true in regard to himself, namely, that ill-will accompanies distinction, left Judea. His retiring from Judea did not result from timidity, but from a desire to cut off occasion of ill-will.

Vs. 4—6. *And he must needs go through Samaria. Then cometh he to a city of Samaria, which is called Sychar, near to the parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph. Now Jacob's well was there. Jesus, therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus on the well: and it was about the sixth hour.* The word, *Samaria*, is not here the name of a city, but of a region, as also in the seventh verse. Jesus passed through Samaria, because the most direct and usual road from Judea, and particularly from Jerusalem to Galilee, lay in that direction. The city here called Sychar was originally, and properly, named Shechem, and derived its name from Shechem, of whose grandsons Jacob purchased the land. See Gen. 33: 18—20. It was subsequently called Sychar, by way of reproach, from a Hebrew word, which sometimes signifies *an idol*, as though the city was a worshipper of idols. This reproachful epithet was occasioned by the vicinity of the city to mount Gerizim, where the Samaritans performed their worship. As the name had come to be commonly used, John employed it here.

The place here mentioned, is, on many accounts, a distinguished one. It was particularly sacred in the view of the Samaritans, for two reasons. Here Jacob had possessed a parcel of ground; a possession to which he had a double claim, both as having bought it from the sons of Hamor (Gen. 33: 18, 19), and, as having subsequently rescued it by force of arms from the Amorites (Gen. 48: 22). There was, also, at that place "Jacob's well;" that is, a well which Jacob had dug, or was believed to have dug, and which he and his family had used. At this well Jesus took a seat, such as the place afforded. The word, *thus*, is here equivalent to the phrase, *just as circumstances were*. Chrysostom explains it in the following manner. "What is the meaning of the word, *thus*? Not, says John, on a throne, nor on a cushion, but, just as circumstances happened to be, on the ground."

Vs. 7—9. When our Lord had seated himself, and his

disciples were gone away unto the city to buy meat [food], there cometh a woman of Samaria, to draw water ; Jesus saith unto her, Give me to drink. He made this request, either because he wished to quench his thirst, or, for the sake of drawing her into conversation, for he knew what would result from this interview. She replied, How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria? Either from his dress, or, as is more probable, from his manner of speaking, she perceived that Jesus was a Jew. Though she was by no means ignorant how strictly the Jews avoided intercourse with the Samaritans, she yet did not decline his request for water, on the ground of her regarding him as unfriendly to her nation, and as being a foreigner, but modestly, and with wonder, inquired why he should voluntarily commence conversation with her, and request drink from her. In explanation of her inquiry, it is added—For the Jews have no dealings [friendly intercourse] with the Samaritans.

From this clause, as also from other sources, it is manifest that the Jews cherished a strong national hatred against the Samaritans, so that they cultivated no familiarity with them, and would not even pass an ordinary salutation. They forbade the reception of any thing from the Samaritans as a gift; and used the name, *Samaritan*, as a term of reproach. Of this antipathy, there were many causes. The principal one was found in the religious worship which the Samaritans had established on mount Gerizim, respecting which, a conversation is recorded in the following verses. This ill-will, however, did not extend beyond familiar intercourse; for, in such matters, as buying and selling, intercourse was allowed. This is manifest, both from Jewish writers, and from the conduct of our Lord's disciples on the present occasion. The clause is rightly expressed by Grotius, thus—*The Jews have no friendly communication with the Samaritans.*

V. 10. But, as our Lord elsewhere, in inculcating the principles of his religion, passed from natural objects to spiritual, and, with great wisdom and kindness, employed a figurative manner of speaking, either to excite the mental faculties of his hearers and gradually to prepare them for receiving the truth, or, to accommodate himself to the weakness of their minds; so, on the present occasion, in order to sharpen this woman's desire for knowledge,

he replied in an enigmatical manner—*If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith to thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.*

The words, *gift of God*, refer here to the divine favor, which was then bestowed on the woman, and subsequently on the other Samaritans, of becoming acquainted with Jesus, as the much desired Saviour of the human race; a favor great indeed, and one that would in reality transcend all their hopes and their thoughts. “Didst thou know,” says he, “what a favor is extended to thee by the benevolence of God, and hadst thou discovered who I am that have been asking drink of thee, thou wouldst not only have abstained from reminding me of the ill-will of the Jews against the Samaritans, and not have hesitated to give me a draught of water; but thou wouldst also have requested of me living water.” The expression, *living water*, sometimes means water that is alive, or fresh, water bubbling up from a fountain and flowing; in contrast with water which stands collected in cisterns. The corresponding Hebrew words are rendered by the Greek translators of the Old Testament, sometimes *living water*, and sometimes *springing water*. In this sense the woman understood the term. But our Lord employed it differently, as meaning *life-giving water, that which can impart life*; and he meant to convey a hint of something that could invigorate *the soul*, and make it truly happy; as if he had said, “Thou wouldst have asked of me that which would refresh and bless thy soul.”

Living water here signifies the whole sum of blessings which Christ furnishes for renewing the souls of men, and making them tranquil and happy. It also signifies the happiness itself which is bestowed.

This explanation accords with the universal usage of the sacred writers, and particularly of our Lord himself, who frequently expressed, in this, or a similar manner, the whole sum of man's happiness. For, in another conversation, recorded also by John (7: 38), he says, that whosoever believeth in him, shall be like a fountain, springing up most copiously, and without intermission. This figure obviously expresses both the abundance and the perpetuity of the happiness which a believer enjoys;

very nearly as in the fourteenth verse of the present chapter, he says, the believer's happiness is like *water springing up to everlasting life*. In Rev. 7: 17, he is said to feed the blessed in the future life, and to *lead them to living fountains of waters*; that is, to furnish means of happiness,—happiness most abundant and ever-enduring. In Rev. 21: 6, and 22: 17, he promises that he will give *of the fountain of the water of life*, and that the pious shall receive *the water of life*; that is, happiness, and whatever can make them, day by day, more and more happy. Besides, what our Lord in this chapter terms *water of life*, he calls, in another passage (John 6: 35), by a different similitude, *bread of life*; for to each the same qualities are ascribed, namely, *he that receives it shall never hunger, shall never thirst*. And, universally, *water, living water*, is a symbol of happiness, and of blessings which produce happiness. Thus, God is called *the fountain of living waters*, in contrast with idols; inasmuch as he is the author and giver of all bliss. See Jer. 2: 13. 17: 13. In the thirty-sixth Psalm, David is admiring the immensity of God's kindness: "They shall be abundantly satisfied," he says, "with the fatness [the rich bounties] of thy house; thou wilt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures." He then adds—"For with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light shall we see light;" that is, Thou art the author and giver of all happiness; from thee, most blessed One, there flows to us every kind of bliss. Hence, men are said to "draw water out of the wells [fountains] of salvation" (Is. 12: 3); that is, to seek and to receive from God happiness of all kinds. In Zechariah 14: 8, also, is this promise—"In that day living waters shall go out from Jerusalem;" that is, From Jerusalem there shall go forth, over the whole earth, every variety of blessings. Such being the usage, in regard to this term, we think that by *living water*, in the passage under consideration, are meant all the advantages furnished by our Lord for attaining true happiness, and even that happiness itself. The following, then, is the sense of our Lord's words: Thou wouldst have asked of me, that I would show thee the manner of attaining true happiness, and that I would lead thee to that happiness.

Vs. 11, 12. *The woman saith unto him, Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the well is deep: from whence*

then hast thou that living water? Art thou greater than our father Jacob, which gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his children, and his cattle? The woman did not apprehend the Saviour's meaning. She took the term, *living water*, in a literal sense, as meaning *springing water*,—*water bursting forth from the veins of the earth*,—which he was designing either to draw from this very well, or to show her in some other place. As to obtaining the water he spoke of, from this well, she thought this he could by no means do, since he had no conveniences to draw with. And, as to showing her *water* in another place, she thought it improbable, that throughout that whole region, more copious and more wholesome water could be found. She spoke in praise of this well, first, as having been opened by Jacob, than whom no one could be more skilful in finding water in that region. Thou, indeed, says she, however excellent thou mayst be, canst not be more excellent than Jacob, nor canst thou find a more excellent spring of water. She commended this well, further, on account of the abundance and salubrity of its water; for she thus reasoned: This well is so large, so deep, so abundant in most wholesome water, that both Jacob himself, his children, and his servants,* could all drink from it; hence, it is impious to disesteem this, and to seek another.

She here gave Jacob the epithet, *father*. The Samaritans were in the habit of tracing back their race to Jacob in particular.

Vs. 13, 14. Our Lord, therefore, perceiving in this woman a docile and ingenuous mind, in order to show her that the thing of which he was speaking was spiritual, and fitted for refreshing, not the body, but the soul, thus replied: *Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.* Thus our Lord again spoke in a manner somewhat obscure. He did not reply in direct terms to the question, whether he was more excellent than Jacob, lest in the view of the woman he should appear

* The word rendered *cattle*, in our version, is translated *servants* (domestici), by Tittmann. This meaning, he says, accords with Greek usage. Our version, however, is doubtless correct. Ta.

arrogant and rash. He wished to let the thing speak for itself, while he explained the difference between the water which Jacob had furnished, and that which he himself could give. He thus taught, that if Jacob was thought so worthy of esteem on account of the water which he had furnished, he himself would be worthy of still higher esteem, who could give far more excellent water. "For," says he, "the nature of this water is such, that though it can quench thirst, yet it does this only for a short time. In a little while thirst will return; but the water which I give, extinguishes thirst for ever. The benefit, therefore, bestowed on you by Jacob, however great, is by no means so great as that which you can receive from me."

The latter part of this reply is to be understood figuratively; just as the word expressive of *thirst*, in all languages, is very frequently employed to signify, partly a sense of need, and partly a vehement desire, especially of such good as pertains to the real perfection and happiness of man. The word, then, signifies *to be in need of something* and *to long for it*. Thus, in Ps. 63: 1, *to thirst for God*, means *to desire, to pant for his favor and assistance*. In Matt. 5: 6, *to thirst after righteousness* means *to have an intense desire for holiness*. Compare John 6: 35. 7: 37. On the other hand, the phrase, *not to thirst*, is used concerning those, who, having received the blessings which they had been panting after, enjoy a settled satisfaction, and desire nothing further. It expresses the reality, the abundance, and the greatness of the happiness which a person enjoys who is completely blessed. See Is. 49: 10.

What ideas, then, did our Lord wish to convey? By *water*, he understood those blessings which refresh the soul, and render it happy; namely, knowledge pertaining to salvation, strong faith, real piety, and, finally, the established hope of pardon, of divine grace, and of eternal salvation. This water, that is, these blessings, Jesus *gives*: in other words, by his death he has procured them, and by his teaching and government has bestowed them. *To drink this water*, therefore, denotes, to obtain those blessings, to use and enjoy them; for this form of expression is exchanged by our Lord himself, in a very similar conversation (John 6: 35), for the phrase, *to believe in Jesus*; he that believeth in me, says he, shall never thirst.

Further, the words, *he shall never thirst*, convey the following sense: He shall have no occasion to desire any thing more excellent; he shall not be in need of any thing which is necessary to a tranquil and happy life: on the contrary, he shall possess those good things from which happiness arises, a happiness filling the soul with delight, always new, always increasing, never, through endless ages, producing satiety; that is, happiness most true and complete. When it is said, *this water quenches thirst*, the idea is, the blessings which the Saviour gives, fill the desires of the soul, however large those desires, and produce a happiness than which a greater cannot be conceived, nor a more excellent and sweeter be wished for. In the closing words, *This water shall be in him a well* [a fountain] *of water, springing up into everlasting life*, our Lord teaches, that from the happiness which he imparts in this life, and from the blessings which he here bestows, there springs up bliss in the future life, a bliss most copious and enduring. *Water springing up*, denotes a fountain which has water in so great plenty, that it bursts forth and springs up on high. Our Lord, therefore, in this address, professes to be the author of all human happiness, even the highest happiness; namely, such as is *most true*, making the soul really peaceful and joyful, *quenching thirst*; such as is *most complete*,—*he shall never thirst*; such, moreover, as is *most abundant*,—*a fountain of water*; such, finally, as is *most enduring*,—*a fountain springing up to everlasting life*.

The woman, not perceiving our Lord's meaning, said, *Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw*. She was, nevertheless, no longer indignant that the well of Jacob was undervalued, though she had hitherto religiously regarded it; nor did she deride the high professions of this stranger, though a Jew.

Vs. 6. Our Lord, now, breaking off the conversation on that subject, turns to another, and by a proof of his omniscience, leads the woman to a more elevated opinion respecting himself. *Go, call thy husband*, says he, *and come hither*. He knew, indeed, that she had not a husband, as appears from his plainly saying so a short time after. But why, then, did he tell her to call her husband? In order to bring about a fit occasion, both for admonishing her, and for leading her to an admiration of himself.

And here Chrysostom notices, with great propriety, the modesty and wisdom of our Lord, in that he did not instantly expose to her view her whole life, but previously sought a suitable occasion for doing so. Thus, what he was about to say, would seem to be called forth from the necessity of the case, or at least to be peculiarly fitting. Nor did he at first intimate, that she had had five husbands, lest, while he would thus claim to be a prophet, he might seem to be conducting arrogantly, or to be eagerly grasping at divine honors, as the apostle Paul has elsewhere most beautifully said.* He therefore directed her to call her husband.

Vs. 17, 18. But she, desiring to conceal her criminality, and yet covered with shame, replies—*I have no husband*, meaning, no *lawful* husband. Jesus, however, both exhibiting his own omniscience, and gently rebuking the woman's life, says—*Thou hast well said, I have no husband; for thou hast had five husbands; and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband; in that saidst thou truly.* In this remark, our Lord furnished a striking proof of his omniscience, and, therefore, of his divinity. For not even the most secret deeds of the woman, nor her domestic calamities, were concealed from him; and these he could not have learned from report. She began, accordingly, to regard him in a more elevated manner, perceiving that he knew the secret conduct of men, and was, therefore, at least a prophet. (V. 19.) *Sir*, said she, *I perceive that thou art a prophet.*

V. 20. Nor did she receive the rebuke indignantly, nor with irritation. Rather, her admiration of him became more enkindled. Covered with shame, however, as soon as the conversation respecting herself was interrupted, she proposed to him an inquiry, and one which she perhaps considered as inexplicable by an ordinary man, concerning the place and the manner of worshipping God. On this question, there were violent disputes between the Jews and the Samaritans. For, though each nation worshipped the same God, the Jews maintained that he ought to be worshipped only at Jerusalem, in the temple; while, on the other hand, the Samaritans contended, that it was on mount Gerizim he was to be worshipped. It

* Phil. 2: 6.

must here be observed, that the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, when they were rebuilding their temple, and establishing anew their religious services, would not admit the Samaritans to a participation in sacred matters. The Samaritans were a mixed community of Israelites and of those Gentile colonists whom the Assyrian kings had planted in Samaria. A temple was at length built for the Samaritans themselves, by Manasseh, a priest, under the authority of Sanballat, his father-in-law, and governor in Samaria. This temple, therefore, built on mount Gerizim, they contended, was altogether preferable to that in Jerusalem; because, not only had Abraham and Jacob performed religious services on this mountain, but even Moses had appointed it as the spot on which the elders should pronounce blessings on the people. He had, also, according to the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch, commanded that an altar should be built there, that sacrifices should be offered, and a religious festival be there observed. See Deut. 11: 29, and 27: 5—8. This temple was subsequently demolished, because, in consequence of a cruel order of Antiochus Epiphanes, it had been dedicated to the worship of idols. They still, however, kept an altar on that mountain, and made offerings on it to the true God. Hence arose an exceedingly bitter hatred between the Jews and Samaritans, and a most earnest contention on the point, which of these two nations rendered the more holy worship? Each nation contemned the sacred rites of the other, as being idolatrous; the Samaritans calling the temple in Jerusalem, *the cursed house*, and mount Gerizim, *the blessed mountain*; while the Jews called mount Gerizim, *the mount of idols*. The correct opinion respecting this matter, the woman desired to ascertain from our Lord, as from a prophet well acquainted with such subjects. "*Our fathers*," said she, "*worshipped* [performed sacred rites] *in this mountain*; nor do we think it right to repair for this purpose to any other place, though *ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship*. What is thy opinion respecting this controversy? The worship of which nation is the more sacred and agreeable to the divine will?"

Such is the meaning of the woman's address in the twentieth verse. The word, *worship*, it is obvious, ex-

presses that adoration which consists in sacrifices and public ceremonies, and therefore denotes, *to perform sacred rites*. For, both by Samaritans and Jews, it was esteemed lawful to worship God in *prayer* any where; but it was not lawful for the Jews to offer sacrifices except in Jerusalem. The dispute, consequently, had respect to religious rites, and the place of performing them.

She appears, also, purposely to have said, *Our fathers performed religious services on this mountain*. For she wished to defend the Samaritans, and to applaud them as having instituted their public worship in accordance with the example and the authority of their ancestors, and to accuse the Jews of performing sacred rites at Jerusalem, without the example and the authority of ancient times. She therefore vindicates the Samaritans' worship, by the authority of their forefathers, among whom she reckoned the patriarch Jacob. She, however, wished to ascertain from Jesus, what was his opinion.

Vs. 21, 24. To this question, our Lord so shaped his reply, as to teach her that there was no need of dispute respecting the place and the manner of worship. For a great change as to public worship was then at hand; and it would soon be the case, that neither at Jerusalem, nor in that mountain, nor any where in temples and on altars, would worship be regarded by God as consisting in sacrifices and external rites; but every where, throughout the whole world, acceptable worship would consist in cherishing a true faith, and in uprightness and holiness of soul and life. *Woman, believe me, says he, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit: and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth.*

He did not, therefore, at once reply to the question proposed, namely, which of the two nations performed their sacred services more correctly, the Jews at Jerusalem, or the Samaritans on that mountain. The whole question, he says, can be regarded as useless and unnecessary, because hereafter all the external worship, which

consisted in sacrifices and ceremonies, and which had been restricted to a certain place and people, would be entirely abolished. Thus the sacred services, both of the Jews in the temple, and of the Samaritans on the mountain, would be abrogated, and the dissension be wholly removed which had hitherto distracted the minds of each nation.

But, however needless the proposed question could be regarded, our Lord saw fit to decide it, and to affirm, that the Jews had greater authority for performing sacred services at Jerusalem than the Samaritans had for performing them on that mountain. He remarked, "Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship." These words refer not so much to the object of worship, as to the place and the manner of rendering it; as appears from the topic of conversation. The woman had not inquired whether the God of the Jews, or of the Samaritans, was the true God; but which of these two people worshipped the same true God in the appointed, the more holy, place. Then, again, there can scarcely be a doubt that the Samaritans, in the time of Christ, were not less acquainted than the Jews with the true God, and worshipped him according to the Mosaic statutes; and, if the matter were to be judged of from this chapter and from other passages in the New Testament, the Samaritans would seem to have had more correct opinions at that time than the Jews themselves, not only concerning many moral precepts, but also concerning many points of doctrine, particularly concerning the Messiah.

Our Lord, therefore, spoke, without doubt, respecting the place of public worship; and his meaning was this: You perform your sacred rites in a place, concerning which there is no express divine command; we, however, perform our sacred rites in the appointed place, and in that temple, which, by divine command, was built and designed for that purpose.*

He subjoins the following reason for this decision; *For salvation is of the Jews.* The word, *salvation*, is here equivalent to the word *Saviour*, just as in Luke 2: 30 and 3: 6. The sense of those words, then, is this—The

* Bengel, in his *Gnomon*, says on this passage—"The word *what*, does not relate to the object, but to the manner, of worship; thus, *You know not what sort of adoration you should use; we know what our adoration should be.*"

Saviour arises from among the Jews. Our Lord employed the following argument: In that nation, doubtless, there would be the true and lawful public worship, from which divine wisdom has ordained that the Messiah should arise.

He taught, however, that a far more excellent religious worship would shortly have place; not an external worship, consisting in ceremonies, in sacrifices, and forms of prayer; but an internal worship,—that of the soul,—consisting in a true knowledge of God, in a correct belief, in pure sentiments and lives; and offered, not only in temples, but every where; not only in prayers, but in the whole life. Though we are, indeed, says our Lord, superior to you, in that we worship God according to the mode and in the place expressly appointed by himself, and you in a place respecting which there is no divine precept, yet the hour cometh, when worship to God will not be required even in that mode in which *we* have thus far worshipped. The *true worshippers* are such as would worship in a manner more perfect, and more adapted to the nature, both of God and of man.

The expression, *worship the Father in spirit and in truth*, means, worship the Father with the soul, and the soul being upright and holy.* The word, *truth*, may also signify the true idea of worship, and indicate worship of that sort which should be offered to God in the mind and heart, and which only is conformed to the divine nature.

He also mentions the reasons, why God ought to be worshipped spiritually and with holy sentiments. An argument is drawn, first, from the good pleasure of God, and the excellence of such worship. *For the Father seeketh such to worship him.* In these words, our Lord by no means cast contempt on the worship prescribed by Moses, but indicated the excellence of internal worship, and showed that the Father desired to be no longer worshipped in such an external manner, but required inward worship as a special object of his delight. That such worship only is pleasing to God, both he himself has intimated in innumerable passages in the Old Testament, and our Lord and the apostles, particularly Paul, have

* The words, in *spirit* and in *truth*, might have been used for the adverbial forms, *spiritually* and *truly*.

frequently declared. The thing speaks also for itself, and every truly wise man has in all time so understood the matter. Of such import is the following sentiment of Cicero,—“The best worship of the gods, that, too, which is the most full of piety, consists in our reverencing them with ever pure, upright, uncorrupt feelings and professions.”* The Lord Jesus and the apostles uniformly taught, that we then render acceptable worship to God, when we so acknowledge, and, with a sincere faith, so accept and honor the Father’s love, in providing salvation through Jesus Christ, as to shape our sentiments and actions, our whole lives, in short, in conformity to it. Compare Gal. 5: 6. 6: 15. Eph. 1: 3, 17, &c. 3: 17. Rom. 15: 6.

Another reason, adduced by our Lord for requiring spiritual worship, is drawn from the nature of God. *God is a Spirit: and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth.* God’s nature is spiritual. He is not a corporeal being. He is, therefore, to be worshipped *in spirit*; in a spiritual, not in a mere bodily, manner. The word, *spirit*, here signifies a nature uncompounded, not circumscribed by place, but present every where, knowing all things, invisible, endowed with all those perfections which pertain to a spiritual existence, and that in a most glorious manner.

There is not here expressed a complete idea of the divine essence; but we are informed, what sort of being God is, and, particularly, what method of worship is, most of all, adapted to his nature. For, since he is of a spiritual nature, he chooses to be worshipped and adored by our spirit, that is, in our souls, in the thoughts, the feelings, the desires, in the whole life, by our having a right knowledge of him, and by our believing, feeling, and acting conformably to that knowledge. This ought to have been done in all preceding time, and was done, under the Mosaic economy, by all pious men; but it was the will of God, that now, when more clearly manifesting himself to the human race, and making known his purposes respecting the salvation of men by the Son, it should be done more eminently, and particularly, now that he was about to abolish that system of external worship, which

* De Nat. Deor. II, 28.

was restricted to a certain place, to a certain time, and to a certain people; that system which he had prescribed by Moses. With sentiments almost the same as these, the apostle Paul addressed his Athenian audience. See Acts 17: 22—31.

Vs. 25, 26. However satisfactory our Lord's reasoning might have appeared to the woman, she still did not dismiss the subject, but referred the question to the Messiah, observing, *I know that Messiah cometh, which is called Christ; when he is come, he will tell us all things.* By his decision we will abide; to him we will refer our dispute.

Observing the woman's docility, and desire to know the truth, a desire, the like to which he had scarcely found among the Jews, our Lord condescended to disclose to her, very openly, who he was. Art thou expecting the Messiah? says he. Be assured, he is already come, and thou now seest him. For *I, who speak unto thee, am he.* "No where," says Bengel, "did he speak more directly, concerning himself, to his very disciples."

Vs. 27—30. *And, upon this came his disciples, and marvelled that he talked with the woman; yet no man said, What seekest thou? or, Why talkest thou with her? The woman then left her waterpot, and went her way into the city, and saith to the men, Come, see a man, which told me all things that ever I did; is not this the Christ? Then they went out of the city, and came unto him.* The disciples, on their return from the city, beholding Jesus, before they came up to him, talking with the Samaritan woman, wondered that their Master should condescend to enter into conversation with *such* a woman; that is, either with so poor a woman, or, with a *Samaritan* woman, which the disciples would, at that time, in conformity with Jewish opinions, regard as utterly wrong. No one of them, however, ventured to inquire what he had been seeking from the woman, or what he had been saying to her, influenced, no doubt, by reverence for their Master.

The woman, herself, astonished at the Lord's remarks, made no reply, but hastened to the city. Her water-pitcher she left behind, either that she might go with more expedition, or for the use of Jesus and his disciples, at their meal; since she had been taught, by this very conversation with Jesus, that he cared not for the preju-

dices of the Jews; or, finally, because inflamed with ardent affection, and forgetful, as it were, of every thing, both of the water for which she had come, and of the pitcher which she had brought with her, she was thinking of nothing but the Messiah, and was desirous to induce all the inhabitants of the town to go out to him. In the address, by which she invited the people to go forth and visit the Lord, Chrysostom finds occasion to applaud both her zeal and her prudence. For, as the Lord had not forcibly impelled her, but had, in a gradual manner, led her to faith in him, so she herself endeavored to lead the Samaritans. She does not first say, Believe me, the Messiah is come, I have seen him; but she invites them to come and see, and judge for themselves; hoping that, as soon as they should see him, they would acknowledge him as the Messiah. Nor does she say, Come, see a prophet, or the Messiah, but, Come, see a *man*. She, however, regarded him as greater than a mere man; but, in preference to enforcing her own convictions, she was desirous that they should examine for themselves, and believe. With admiration she confesses, that the chief events, even the most secret deeds, of her life had been told her by him. When, finally, she says, Is not this the Messiah? she leaves the conclusion entirely to those whom she would invite to a judgment of the question, not wishing that an untaught woman should seem to decide. As soon as she told the news, many hastened out of the city to seek Christ.

Vs. 31—34. *In the mean while, his disciples prayed him, saying, Master, eat. But he said unto them, I have meat to eat that ye know not of. Therefore, said the disciples one to another, Hath any man brought him ought to eat? Jesus saith unto them, My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work.* While the woman is spreading the tidings among the citizens, the disciples invite the Lord to partake of the food which they had bought. They thought that he was suffering from hunger, since he had become wearied by his journey, and was in need of food, when he arrived at that place; perhaps, too, they urged him to eat because he appeared unwilling to take food, and was absorbed in meditation, intent upon some object which wholly engrossed his mind. But as he always seized occasions, from natural objects, of elevating

men's thoughts to spiritual things, so he employed this opportunity for unfolding to his disciples the feelings of his breast, and stimulating them, by his own example, to a zealous prosecution of the work of instruction. In an allegorical manner, he thus addressed them, *I have meat to eat, that ye know not of*; food, more pleasant and sweet than that you have brought. His meaning was, that he received signal pleasure from some source, unthought of by his disciples. They, however, understood what he said about meat no better than the woman understood what he had said (v. 10) about water. For, as she was thinking only of natural water, so they thought only of natural food. Wondering, therefore, at the Lord's remark, and yet, through reverence, not daring to put to him a question, they said one to another, Hath any man brought him ought to eat? They, doubtless, conjectured that some one who had happened to come to that place, had furnished him with food. When, therefore, they did not perceive their Master's meaning, he expressed, more plainly, what he had spoken obscurely. *My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work.* A transferring to the mind, of words properly relating to the nourishment of the body, was very frequent among the Hebrews and other ancient nations. In this way, they signified the mental delight which they were enjoying. Our Lord, then, conveyed the idea, that it was his greatest delight to obey the will of the Father, and that he derived satisfaction from obedience no less than from food; yea, that he experienced so much pleasure from performing his divine labors, that he could forget food and drink. *By the will of God and by the work assigned to him, our Lord meant not merely the business of instructing and reforming men, but the whole work which the Father had given him to perform in this world.* Compare 17: 4.

Vs. 35—38. By his own example, he wished to excite, also, the minds of his disciples to the same disposition in performing their future office. Hence, he added the following remarks—*Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest. And he that reapeth, receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal* (nor is he that sowed destitute of a recompense); *that both he that soweth, and he that*

reapeth, may rejoice together. And herein is that saying true, One soweth, and another reapeth. I sent you to reap that whereon ye bestowed no labor; other men labored, and ye are entered into their labors. The Lord here encouraged the disciples to zeal in their official duties, by a threefold argument; namely, the ample opportunity which would be afforded, the exceedingly abundant fruits which would result from their labors, and the singular facilities for performing their official work.

The words in the thirty-fifth verse, *There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest*, had, among the Jews, the force of a proverbial saying, intended to relieve the wearisomeness of labor by the hope of a speedy recompense. The sense, doubtless, is this, Labor ought not to be dreaded, for the recompense is not far distant. Our Lord meant to say, 'As the hope of fruit excites the reaper to labor, so do you, with alacrity and promptitude, address yourselves to the work which shall be entrusted to your fidelity, and which shall be exceedingly advantageous, both to yourself and to others, even to the whole human race.'

In the thirty-seventh verse, our Lord used another proverbial saying, the meaning of which is this; One man labors, another sees the fruit of the labor; one commences the work, another carries on to completion the work thus commenced. Such a use of it our Lord proceeds to make, concerning himself and the apostles. The Saviour had performed the sowing; for he had laid the foundations of religion and of the church in this world, had, by his teaching, prepared the minds of men, had appointed the apostles, and was soon to send to them his Spirit from heaven. Yet he did not reap; that is, he did not see, while he was living on earth, the fruit of his labor; he did not see an extensive spread of the doctrine beyond Palestine; he did not see a church, not even in Judea. But the apostles reaped; they saw, what Christ did not, the extensive propagation of the doctrine; churches, many, and large, not only in Palestine, but throughout the then known world. And thus he was about to send the apostles to reap fruits which they had not sown.* For the Lord had performed the sowing, that is, had laid the foundations of

* The words, *I sent*, and *ye are entered*, have, after the manner of the sacred writers, and particularly of John, the force of the future tense, or of the present.

the Christian religion, and of the church; thus labor had been bestowed on the necessary preparations. The apostles were entering upon the fields thus prepared; were entering upon a work made ready for them. They were to dispense the religion to men who were voluntarily presenting themselves for instruction in the heavenly doctrine, and were even eagerly endeavoring to rush into the Christian community, as the Lord elsewhere says.* The *sower*, therefore, was Jesus; some consider John the Baptist as also included; the *reapers* were the apostles; the *fields*, on which labor had been bestowed, were either the Jews, or the Samaritans particularly, whom the Lord himself was desiring to instruct and prepare, so that, when the apostles should afterwards go among them to complete the work of instruction, they might the more readily embrace the divine doctrine. This did indeed happen, as we are informed by Luke, in Acts 8: 5, &c.

Vs. 39—42. From this digression, the account returns to the citizens of Shechem. For thus John proceeds—*Many of the Samaritans of that city believed on him for the saying of the woman, which testified, He told me all that ever I did. So when the Samaritans were come unto him, they besought him that he would tarry with them; and he abode there two days. And many more believed because of his own word; and said unto the woman, Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.*

While our Lord was exhorting his disciples to the work of spreading abroad the divine doctrine, there was preparing a clear proof that what he had said, respecting the whitening harvest, was indeed true. For many of the Shechemites, before they went out, had believed that Jesus was the Messiah, being influenced by the woman's remarks, when she proposed to their admiration the superhuman knowledge by which he had disclosed to her even the chief acts of her life. She also announced what she had just heard from his own mouth, namely, that he was the Messiah. See vs. 26 and 29. That many of the Shechemites had already believed, follows naturally from what is said in the thirty-ninth verse. They then went

* Matt. 11: 12.

hastily out of the city to see, with their own eyes, him whom the woman had commended, and respecting whom they themselves had already formed an exalted opinion. On seeing him, they were not unfavorably affected by the external meanness of his condition, but entreated him to accept the hospitalities of their city. This they did, not only from motives of duty and kindness, but because, should they receive him as the Messiah, they would wish to retain him among themselves and to be more fully instructed by him. Having heard Jesus, many more believed *because of his own word, or teaching*, says John; not on account of miracles. It may hence be concluded, Chrysostom thinks, that our Lord did not there perform any miracle. They now, also, applaud the Lord's teaching, observing to the woman that they receive him as the Messiah, not on account of her declarations, but of his own instructions.

Finally, they acknowledge Jesus to be *the Saviour of the world*, Saviour of the human race, not merely of the Jews; an acknowledgement, by which they seem to have had far more correct views, than the Jews themselves. Worthy, indeed, of special commendation was the ready and generous spirit of the Samaritans in receiving the instructions of the Lord Jesus, particularly, as contrasted with the obstinacy of the Jews. For the Samaritans, men untaught in the doctrine of the prophets, place confidence in the woman's testimony, hasten out to Jesus, hospitably entertain him, with eagerness listen to his instructions, acknowledge him, finally, as the Messiah and the Saviour of the world, though they had seen no miracle nor any striking act performed by him. The Jews, on the other hand, Pharisees and priests, skilled in the doctrine of Moses and the prophets, in the midst of so many miracles, having heard so many discourses, and received so many benefits, reject Jesus, calumniate and revile him, and even stone him. Thus the more religious a person seemed to himself, as Erasmus most truly says on this passage, so much the more distant was he from true faith and piety; and the more distant a person appeared, in human view, from an acknowledgement of Christ, and the more alienated from religion, so much the more ready was he to give it a welcome reception.

Every one can see how adapted is this whole narration to the design of John in writing this sacred book. For, since he was wishing, from the very discourses of Jesus, to show who he was, what character he bore, and what ought to be expected from him, and thus to demonstrate that he was the Son of God in truth, and the so much wished for Messiah, nothing could more evidently show this, than those discourses in which he had furnished the clearest evidences of his divine excellence, and had directly professed himself to be the only author of human happiness, the Saviour of the whole world, the Messiah.

ARTICLE III.

LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

Leben Constantins des Grossen, nebst einigen Abhandlungen geschichtlichen Inhalts von J. C. F. MANSO. Breslau. 1817.

Life of Constantine the Great, with several Historical Disquisitions. By J. C. F. MANSO. 8vo. pp. 470. Breslau. 1817.

MANSO belongs to that class of historians, who have distinguished themselves in Germany since the beginning of the present century. His earlier fame rested on his classical and antiquarian researches. He was born in 1759, in a small town in the Dutchy of Gotha, and died at Breslau, in 1826. Most of his public life was spent as rector of the gymnasium, in the city last named. He early manifested a taste for poetry and history, of which the latter gained the ascendancy, and absorbed his whole attention. In 1800, he published his valuable work on Sparta, in four volumes; in 1817, the *Life of Constantine*; in 1819, his *History of Prussia*; and in 1824, his *Kingdom of the Ostrogoths*. All these productions possess great merit; the last two, however, are his best works. Wachler characterizes him as "thorough, candid, and tasteful."

His style and manner give him a place among the standard writers of his nation.

It is not our design to go into an elaborate criticism of the book before us, nor merely to present to our readers the substance of it in an abridged form; but rather to adopt it as our guide, and to ingraft upon it materials drawn from a considerable variety of sources.*

Rome, after passing through a great variety of fortunes, during a period of more than a thousand years, was destined to experience, under Constantine, a change which surpassed, in importance, all which had preceded it. The "eternal city" was no longer to be the seat of empire, but a new Rome was to spring up, as by magic, on the banks of the Bosphorus; the divinities, that had been revered as the guardians of Roman greatness from the days of Romulus, were to fade away, like stars before a brighter luminary, and the cross, which had been an emblem of ignominy, was to grace the imperial ensign; the disguise of the wily Augustus was to be entirely laid aside, and the regal name with oriental pomp introduced, and finally, under Constantine's successors, the Western Empire, now the weaker branch, was to be laid waste by barbarians, while a Byzantine empire was to outlive the storm for a thousand years to come.

From the time of Trajan, who, by the conquest of Dacia, brought the last accession of territory to the empire, the Roman power had been declining, and that of the barbarians on the Danube and the Rhine had been growing more and more formidable. After the death of Aurelian and Probus, whose vigorous measures had checked, for a time, the fury of the invaders, it was necessary to resort to extraordinary expedients, to save the government from dissolution. Diocletian was now called to the throne. The empire was in a lamentable state; enemies were breaking in upon it from every side; great dissensions prevailed among the people, and rival emperors were springing up in every place, where there was a popular general with any considerable army to support his claims. Under these circumstances, he thought it impossible to stand alone; he, therefore, associated with him Maximian, his

*The *Historiae Romanae Scriptores* Decem, Schlosser, Neander, Schröckh, Rotteck, have been particularly consulted.

former companion in arms, as joint emperor. The latter was victorious in the West, and the former in the East. But new usurpers appearing in Britain, Italy, Africa, and Egypt, and new revolts on the Rhine and on the Euphrates, it was necessary to divide the defence of the vast empire among a larger number of individuals; and, as in these times, nothing was so dangerous as able military commanders, with armies devoted to their interest, the two emperors met at Milan and agreed, each to adopt a *cæsar*, or prince, with inferior rank, but similar power to their own. Diocletian selected as his junior assistant, Galerius; and Maximian took to his aid Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great. This arrangement led to the division of the empire into four parts, in order that each individual might have his appropriate sphere. To Diocletian was assigned all the empire east of the Aegean sea, and to Galerius, his particular associate, Thrace and Illyria; to Maximian were given Italy and Africa, and to his associate, Constantius, what lay beyond the Alps, namely, Gaul, Britain and Spain. Though the empire was not broken up into four separate states, but continued to be one, each of the two emperors was absolute, and the two *cæsars* nearly so, in his own territory. It will not appear strange, that such an arrangement, however necessary in a time of imminent danger, should, in the end, lead to jealousy and much bloodshed. But for the time being, the expedient was successful; each sovereign was victorious in his own dominions. At length they all met at Rome and held a magnificent triumph. To the surprise of all, Diocletian, on returning to his court at Nicomedia, resigned his part in the government, and retired to a private life of husbandry, in Salona of Dalmatia. He, also, either persuaded or compelled Maximian to follow his example. We cannot stop to speculate upon the probable causes of this remarkable transaction. The two *cæsars*, who now became sole emperors, had married the daughters of their senior associates, Galerius thus becoming the son-in-law of Diocletian, and Constantius of Maximian. Constantius, not desiring extensive dominions, merely retained what was originally assigned him, and surrendered all the rest to Galerius. The latter now associated with himself two friends, Severus, who took the territories of Maximian, and Maximin, who took

those of Diocletian. Now the old order of things returned as to external appearances, though, in fact, Galerius was paving the way to absolute authority. One of his new associates was his nephew; the other was a servant devoted to his interest, while Constantius was in feeble health, and would probably soon be removed by death. Constantine, who had been kept as a kind of hostage, at the court of Galerius, and upon whose life several attempts had been made, to prevent him from becoming the successor of his father, escaped only by stratagem. Such was the state of affairs when the brave and virtuous Constantius died in 306, after a happy reign of fifteen years.*

Having, in these introductory remarks, given the general course of events, up to the time of Constantine's succession to the throne of his father, it will now be proper to furnish some notices of his early private life. He was born at Naissus in Moesia, Feb. 28, A. D. 274. His mother, Helena, was of obscure parentage.† From motives of state policy, Constantius married Theodora, the daughter of the emperor Maximian. Helena, therefore, was divorced, and her only child disgraced. Constantine was eighteen years old when his father, in 291, was made *cæsar*, being distinguished, according to Eutropius, both for his courage, and for his noble, athletic form. In the character of a hostage as a security for his father's fidelity, he was retained and employed in the army of Diocletian and Galerius, until his military renown excited the fears of the latter. He had, in Egypt and Persia, so distinguished himself, as to be raised to the office of military tribune of the first rank.

When the two old emperors resigned, and the two *cæsars* were thereby elevated to the imperial dignity, it was natural to expect that Constantine would be one of the new *cæsars* to be appointed. But Galerius's ambitious plans led him to secure two individuals who would be entirely at his disposal, and to confine Constantine near his own person, in the palace at Nicomedia. It was

* Thirteen years as *cæsar*, and two as emperor.

† The family of Constantine.

{ CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS. }	
{ Helena, 1st wife. }	{ Theodora, 2d wife. }
{ CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. }	
{ Minervina, 1st wife. Fausta, 2d wife. }	{ Dalmatius. Constantia. }
{ Crispus. }	{ JULIUS CONSTANTIUS. }
{ CONSTANTINE II. }	{ Galla, 1st wife. Basilina, 2d wife. }
{ CONSTANTIUS II. }	{ Gallus. JULIAN THE APOSTATE. }
{ CONSTANS. }	

with great difficulty, that Constantine's father, by repeated remonstrances, could prevail on the artful Galerius to release his son, a step now less to be dreaded than an open war with Constantius. But Constantine did not feel safe, in waiting for the time appointed for his departure. He therefore fled, without the knowledge of Galerius, and, availing himself of the imperial post horses, in passing through Thrace, Pannonia, Italy, and Gaul, causing every relay which he left, to be hamstrung, so that his pursuers could not overtake him, he reached Boulogne, in 305, just as his father was ready to embark from that place for Britain, on an expedition against the Picts. The incredulity of Gibbon, in regard to the disabling of the post horses, is not approved by later historians.

During this expedition, Constantius died at York, July 26, 306. It is a mistake, in several writers, when they represent Britain as the seat of this emperor's authority. His chief territory and residence was Gaul, although the exposure of Britain often required his presence. Christians and pagans join in bestowing on him the highest commendation. His motto was, it is better to have wealthy subjects than a full treasury.

The father, knowing that a powerful successor would be needed, had intimated his desire that Constantine should be called to the throne, in preference to the young princes of higher birth by his second marriage. The army was eager to be under his command, and, consequently, on the very day of the emperor's death, they put the purple upon Constantine, as he came out of the palace. It was in vain that he attempted to resist. Thus it was in the British island that the star of empire rose, which was destined to effect one of the greatest changes in the history of the world.

Constantine now wrote to Galerius, informing him that he was chosen successor to his father; upon which the latter was so enraged, that he threatened to burn both the letter and the messenger. But upon further consideration, it seemed to him unwise to exasperate so powerful a foe as Constantine, and, therefore, he consented to recognise him as *cæsar*, but not as Augustus, or emperor, although he conferred that title upon his favorite, Severus, with Italy for his dominion, and Milan for his capital.

The citizens of Rome saw, with sorrow and shame, their city declining, Milan made the seat of government, and a foreigner placed on the throne. It so happened, that the two emperors, and the two *cesars*, were all foreigners, being Illyrians. Besides, for five hundred years, or since the conquest of Macedonia, the spoils of war had been so abundant, that no taxes had been levied upon the Romans. But now Galerius, to whom Severus was in fact but a subordinate magistrate, though in name an emperor, levied such heavy taxes, that the inhabitants were ripe for revolt. In looking around for a new emperor, they selected Maxentius, son of Maximian, who, notwithstanding his high birth, had been justly passed by, in the late choice of *cesars*. He was a voluptuary, equally destitute of talent and virtue. When he was saluted as emperor by the people of Rome, his father gladly left his private retreat in Lucania, and accepted again, at the invitation of the son, the purple which he had reluctantly relinquished. Severus hastened from Milan to quell the revolt, but had the mortification to see his soldiers flee to the standard of Maxentius. He was taken prisoner, and finally put to death. As this necessarily brought on a war between the new emperors and Galerius, Maximian, taking his daughter, Fausta, with him, proceeded to Arelatum (Arles), and bestowed her in marriage upon Constantine; and, at the same time, conferred upon him the title of Augustus. But Constantine was too wise to be drawn into a war with Galerius, and rejected this part of Maximian's proposal. As Galerius was afterwards foiled in his attempt against Rome, he adopted his old friend, Licinius, as associate, and placed him over Illyria, with the title of Augustus. This measure gave offence to Maximian in the East, who, as *cesar*, claimed the right to that title in preference to Licinius; and Galerius, to avoid a new war in another quarter at so critical a time granted him the title also. Thus, we have the novel spectacle, of six Roman emperors, all bearing the title of Augustus at the same time! Soon, the two emperors of Italy, the father and son, disagreed; the old ambitious Maximian desired supreme authority, which the son refused to grant him. He, therefore, went to Illyria, for sympathy and support; but neither the ex-emperor, Diocletian, nor Galerius, approved of the con-

duct of the unnatural father, and he was finally driven from the country. He next fled to Constantine's court, at Arles, in Gaul, where he was kindly received, and allowed to reside, enjoying the rank, but not the authority, of an emperor. But, during an absence of Constantine, in subduing the Franks on the Rhine, the faithless old man attempted to wrest the government from the hands of his son-in-law. Constantine, informed of these movements by Fausta (wife of the one, and daughter of the other), took a select body of soldiers, and sailed rapidly down the Soane and the Rhone, and surprised Maximian, who now fled to Marseilles, and finally surrendered. Constantine spared the life of his father-in-law. But two years later, when the unprincipled man, who had age without wisdom, made an attempt to assassinate him, the latter resorted to the ordinary means employed by monarchs in such cases. Even Fausta felt herself obliged to sacrifice her filial, to her conjugal, love. This act of Constantine, in putting Maximian to death, has been held up by his enemies, from that time to the present, as a foul stain upon his character. It may be so; but how few absolute monarchs would escape infamy, if tried by the same standard of right and wrong! *

Maxentius sent able generals to quell a revolt of three years' standing, in Africa; and, being flushed with victory, now thought of turning his arms against Constantine, pretending that the murder of his father was the cause of the war. But how stupid was the project of that effeminate monarch, with an undisciplined, though large army, attached to him only by the love of plunder, in which he allowed them to indulge, to challenge the brave Constantine, who had lived in the camp, and distinguished himself as an able general in the East, in Britain, and especially on the Rhine, against the ferocious Franks; and who had a veteran army at his command, that never knew defeat! Maxentius raised a military force of 180,000 men, sent one division of it to his eastern frontiers, to operate against Licinius, with whom he was also engaged in war; directed another to march to Piedmont, to invade the country of Constantine; and retained

* Maximian was put to death in 310; Galerius died in 311; Maxentius was killed in 312; and Maximin died, or was put to death, in 313.

with himself, the third, and by far the larger division, at Rome. But Constantine, who knew all his movements, anticipated him; and, with a select corps of 40,000 men, hastened from Arles across Mount Cenis, and met the enemy at Turin, where, after a signal victory, all Lombardy fell into his hands. At Brescia, a second general battle was fought, and gained by Constantine. Now he moved on towards Rome, to meet Maxentius himself. It was at this time, before the third great decisive battle, that the wonderful phenomenon appeared, supposed to be the immediate cause of Constantine's conversion, the sign of the cross in the heavens, with the inscription, "By this you shall conquer." The action took place near Rome, Oct. 28, 312, in which Maxentius lost his life, and his army was destroyed. Schlosser says, "the only thing miraculous about it was, that God hardened the heart of Maxentius, as he did that of Pharaoh."

Here commenced a career of twenty-five years, which produced some of the greatest changes known in history, a revolution in the religion of the whole empire. How changed all the social relations!—Christians raised from dungeons to palaces; government, laws, usages, literature, all changed; the Pretorian cohorts, those janizaries, who created and removed emperors at pleasure, forever abolished; a new division of the empire, and a new system of civil administration, founded upon that division, introduced; and a new capital of the world built, without which there might never have been a Byzantine or a Turkish empire.

That the story of the sign in the heavens is not true *in all its details*, needs not be proved here. Any one, interested in this subject, may consult Dr. Murdock's note in Mosheim's Church History. But nothing is more unhistorical than the supposition that the whole account is a fabrication. There must have been *something* at the bottom, as a *nucleus* to the improbable story; perhaps some striking, and yet natural, appearance in the heavens. The religious character of Constantine does by no means stand or fall with this legend. To maintain that he was truly pious, is one thing; to assert that his piety was caused wholly by such a phenomenon, is another thing. It would appear, that his knowledge of Christianity at this time was very superficial. He probably

viewed it, at first, much as he viewed other systems of religion, and regarded it as a powerful and excellent form of paganism; certainly he had no just notions of its spiritual nature. There is nothing incredible, that, on the eve of battle, he should, like Clovis, call the God of the Christians to his aid, or that his victory should induce the belief, that Christianity was not a vain religion. That the impression thus produced, was, in itself, no spiritual renovation in Constantine, is, indeed, very obvious; but that it, as a matter of mental association, did not lead to inquiry, and finally to a well-founded conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, and even to an adoption of it, cannot be shown from any thing in this account. It might be so, or it might not: that question must be settled by other evidence. That Constantine was not a man of distinguished piety, can also be easily shown. His many acts of violence show, not merely that he was naturally a passionate man, but that the subject of Christian morals was not very well understood by him. Is this never the case with *Christians*? Do not they sometimes exhibit a slender religious character? It seems to us, that the only question in regard to Constantine's religious character is this: "Was he one of the weakest of Christians, or was he mistaken in believing himself a Christian?" We choose to refer the decision of this question to the Omniscient Judge. It is indeed *possible* that he was altogether hypocritical; but it is highly improbable. The historical proof, *that he was actually so*, is wanting; the *supposition*, that he was so, hardly agrees with the serious concern that he manifested in religion during his subsequent life, and at his death. It is probable that the constant influence of his pious mother, Helena, and of his mother-in-law, Eutropia, as well as his growing intercourse with Christian bishops, made him more and more acquainted with the real nature of Christianity.

The connection requires us here to say a word respecting the last general persecution of the Christians; for the man now appeared, who had it not only in his heart, but in his power, to prevent them. The Diocletian persecution, which was the last, was also one of the bitterest. Diocletian himself was, at least, for the first fourteen years of his administration, inclined from policy to spare

the Christians. But his son-in-law Galerius, and others, were perpetually plying their arts to excite the emperor to acts of hostility. Finally, the order for persecution was issued, and the work commenced, at Nicomedia, in 303. The following year, after several irritating circumstances had occurred, the fury of the persecution reached its acme. But Constantius Chlorus favored the Christians in his territories. In 306, Constantine, west of the Alps, and Maxentius, in Italy, commenced their reigns, and both were disinclined to persecution; the latter greatly needing the support of so powerful a body as the Christians now were. In fact, during this whole period, only he who sat firmly on his throne, could, without great danger, harass so large and respectable a body. Maximin, Galerius's *cæsar* in the East, was, indeed, furious against them. But in 311, Galerius repented his undertaking, and revoked his orders. After Constantine's great victory over Maxentius, he and Licinius, now the successor of the deceased Galerius, issued the celebrated edict of Milan, in favor of religious liberty. Nothing like the true idea of religious liberty had been known in antiquity: and even in this case, the principle was neither fully understood nor recognised. The edict itself declared, that the emperors were influenced by views of *expediency*. Such was the present equality of the Christians and the pagans, both in numbers and influence, that it would be hazardous to offend either party. Consequently, we find, that as soon as the former became predominant, the liberties of the latter were infringed.* As Maximin in the East died in 313, Constantine and Licinius were now sole emperors. They met, but a short time before, at Milan; where the former gave his sister, Constantia, in marriage to the latter.

* The earliest rational views of religious liberty were presented by the pagan orator, Themistius, in his address to the Christian emperor, Jovian, in 363, who had given to all his subjects liberty to worship according to their own convictions: "You alone," says the orator to the emperor, "seem to understand, that a ruler cannot force every thing from his subjects; that there are things which are above all compulsion, threatening, or command, such as every kind of virtue, and especially piety towards God. You have perceived, that in all this, if it be not hypocritical, a perfectly independent and free act of the will is necessary. If it is impossible, by an edict, to compel the affections of those who at heart have no regard for you, how much more is it so, to make men *devout* by edicts! It is ridiculous, that we change our religion with every new emperor, and worship the purple more than the Deity. Those who were yesterday with the altars and sacrifices, are to-day at the table with Christians. But such is not your will. *He who employs power here, robs the individual of the liberty which God has given to every man.* You can indeed force the body, but the soul and its freedom you cannot control; it spurns compulsion, even when you force the tongue." — See Neander's *Church History*, II, 97.

But two such ambitious princes could not long remain as coördinate rulers, without jealousy. It is difficult to decide, which shared the greater part in producing the rupture. Constantine seems first to have *meditated* hostilities, and Licinius to have given the first *open provocation*. This provocation was the oppression of the Christians, who were regarded as favoring Constantine, while the pagans rallied around his rival. In such circumstances, war becomes the natural state, not only of the rulers, but of the people. The armies of the respective emperors, accompanied, the one with pagan, the other with Christian, priests, to implore the aid of Heaven, as if to try the comparative strength of gods as well as men, met Oct. 8, 314, at Cibalıs, on the Save, in an engagement which lasted from morning till night, when victory declared for Constantine. Not long afterwards, a treaty of peace was concluded between them.

The next succeeding eight years Constantine employed in regulating the affairs of his empire. This long period of peace, however, proved to be but a season of preparation for a more desperate struggle. As Constantine assembled naval forces in Thessalonica and the Piræus, and was even passing, with his infantry, through the territory of Licinius, in order to expel the Goths, who had just crossed the Danube; Licinius summoned his whole army and navy to assemble in Thrace and the Hellespont. The hostile armies came in contact on the Hebrus, and the fleets the next day on the Hellespont; and, in both engagements, Licinius was defeated. Licinius was finally strangled, contrary, it is said, to the solemn promise of Constantine. Thus, in 324, Constantine was sole monarch of the whole Roman empire. It was in the next year, that he called the council of Nice, which condemned Arianism. We pass this topic, as it is already familiar to many readers, and as it would require a volume to do it justice.

Soon after this, Constantine committed acts of cruelty which it is extremely difficult to reconcile with a religious character. He ordered his oldest son, Crispus, a noble youth, to be put to death. Gibbon, in ascribing this act of Constantine to jealousy, on account of his son's favor with the people, not only writes history without testi-

mony, but directly in face of testimony. According to Zosimus and Victor, neither of whom was prejudiced in favor of Constantine, the emperor was misled by the calumnies of Fausta, the step-mother of Crispus, who wished thereby to prepare the way for her own son's accession to the throne. When Constantine ascertained that he had been deceived, and that Crispus was innocent of the crime alleged against him, he caused Fausta herself to be put to death, by overheating a bath in which she was shut up.

One of the most important enterprises of Constantine was the founding of the new capital of the empire, which still bears his name. Whether his object was to have a Christian capital (for Rome was the chief seat of paganism), or to strengthen the empire where it was particularly exposed to the barbarians, or to signalize himself by some lasting monument of his power, or whether, as is more probable, he was influenced by many considerations combined, he certainly selected the most favorable position in the empire. All the marks of paganism were removed from the old Byzantium; temples were converted into churches; monuments of art were collected from Italy, Greece, and Asia; the court was removed there, and other families of distinction were rewarded with landed estates in Asia Minor, for taking up a residence in Constantinople. By these, and similar means, the new capital increased rapidly, and was dedicated in 330.

It is interesting to observe some of the laws of the first Christian emperor relating to the Christians. The first freed the clergy from bearing any of the burdens of the state, a regulation which, with various modifications, has continued to the present time. Another prohibited, except in certain cases, labor on the first day of the week, the earliest *civil* enactment relating to that day. A third gave full liberty to individuals to bequeath any amount of property to the church. A fourth prohibited, under severe penalties, compelling any Christian to offer sacrifice. The losses sustained by the Christians, during the persecutions, were made up, and their civil disabilities and burdens were all removed. The emperor erected, at his own expense, many splendid churches, in places

memorable in sacred history, of which we may mention those of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives (the last two, at the instance of his mother, Helena), Constantinople, Nicomedia, Antioch, and the Plain of Mamre. As his attachments to Christians increased, he lost his indifference towards paganism.

In distributing civil offices, he gave Christians the preference, though he by no means excluded pagans. He did not allow pagan magistrates, in their official character, to offer sacrifices. We can see no valid objection to this prohibition. It did not interfere with the rights of conscience. Every magistrate could, as a man, or private individual, worship as he pleased; and only while in another's employ was he subject to direction, and that not in a way that would violate his conscience. If properly constituted authorities have a right, in their public capacity, to recognise their dependence upon a higher power, they have the right to regulate the manner of that recognition, provided they *compel* no one to acts of worship. That Constantine was sufficiently lenient in this respect, appears from the ludicrous circumstance that he caused a form of public prayer to be drawn up for the use of the army, in such general terms, that both pagans and Christians could join in it. He released Christian soldiers from service on Sunday, in order that they might attend public worship; but he did not impose this duty upon pagans. He finally prohibited all sacrifices to the gods; an evident disregard of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. There is, perhaps, some palliation of this fault, in the fact, that he never enforced the law. Constantine committed one capital error, in presenting strong external inducements to conversion from paganism to Christianity. It deluged the church with hypocrites, who sought princes' favor more than their own salvation. He also gave an undue power to bishops, throughout the empire, by directing the people to yield to them implicit obedience. Equally unjustifiable was the authority he assumed, in calling ecclesiastical councils, awing them by his presence, controlling their deliberations, and, finally, executing their decisions with the terrors of civil power.

The older, and many of the later writers, are mistaken

when they say, that Constantine struck out, at once, an entirely new system of administration. All the leading features of that system were gradually introduced by the course of events, and Constantine merely gave a completeness and finish to what Providence cast before him in a rude form. The system of Augustus did by no means continue unaltered till the time of Constantine. Ever since Galba's accession to the imperial throne, the Pretorian guards were almost the sole disposers of the crown. Hadrian made very considerable changes in the form of the government, similar in character to those adopted by Constantine. Under Commodus and Severus, the præfect of the Pretorian guards united the civil office of prime minister with that of military commander. Oriental pomp and ceremony were not introduced by Constantine, but by Heliogabalus, and carried to a still greater extent by Diocletian. The latter divided the empire into four parts, and greatly weakened the power of the præfect. Even the changes of which Constantine was the author, were gradually introduced as circumstances required, some of them in the early part of his reign, without his knowing what was to follow; others, from the necessity of the case, when he removed to his new capital; and not a few, that are attributed to him, are the work of his successors. How monstrous is it, in a historian, to throw all these into one mass, as Gibbon has done, and then accuse the Christian emperor of weakness and vanity, in arbitrarily making so great an overturn in the whole empire! The division of the empire into four præfectures was a natural, and even necessary, consequence of Diocletian's measure of having four associate rulers, a state of things which had virtually existed long before Constantine came to the throne. The ministers of the four monarchs were, in fact, the four præfects, a distinction of office which Constantine is said to have originated, but which he merely retained, as a matter of convenience, though the empire was now subject to but one ruler. The office of præfect, which was originally exclusively military, lost, in the end, that character entirely, and became the highest civil office under the monarch.

We may now, in a few words, specify the last events of Constantine's life. For a considerable time, he had

been employed in subduing the barbarians on his northern frontier. His two eldest sons, Constantine and Constantius, had already been made *cæsars*; in 333, he added his third son, Constans, to the number; and two years afterward, his nephew, Dalmatius. Thus he prepared the way for a re-division of the empire, which he had spent his whole life in attempting to unite. He did, in fact, soon after, make a formal division; assigning to Constantine II, the territory of his grandfather, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; to Constantius II, the East, or Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; to Constans, Italy and Africa; and to Dalmatius, Thrace, Macedonia, Illyria, and Achaia.

The last public enterprise of Constantine was that of preparing for an expedition against Persia. The war against the Persians, in which as a youth, he was engaged under Diocletian and Galerius, terminated in the cession of five provinces, on the part of Persia, to the Romans. A long period of peace had succeeded. But Sapor II, the enterprising and powerful Persian monarch, resolved on reclaiming those provinces. Indeed, Constantius, who, after his father's death, carried on these military operations in the East, was defeated by Sapor in nine successive battles. This rupture between the Christian empire and the Persians, exposed the Persian Christians to almost unexampled sufferings, certainly the greatest that were experienced by them after the Diocletian persecution. But just as Constantine had completed his preparations for this new war, he was suddenly attacked with disease. "In the first place,"—we quote this closing scene from Manso,—“he resorted to the baths of his capital; then to those of Helenopolis, a Bythinian town, so named from his mother. But all was in vain. The disease grew more alarming, and he was taken to the church in that place, and, by the imposition of hands, received into the number of catechumens. Next, he was removed to a villa near Nicomedia. Change of place, however, could bring no relief; on the contrary, the attack, which had now lasted for about six weeks, spurned all control. The emperor, therefore, received, upon his bed, the long-neglected rite of baptism, from Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia; and,

instead of the purple, put on the white robe of the neophyte; and about noon of the 22d day of May, 337, before Constantius, the son who was nearest at hand, had reached the place, he died, in the 64th year of his age, and the 31st of his reign.* His body was conveyed to Constantinople, and buried with great pomp, in the Apostles' church."

EDITOR.

* We select from the appendix of Manso's work, a few dates from his elaborate chronological essay.

<i>Age of</i>		
<i>A. D. Constantine.</i>		
274.	Feb. 28.	In Aurelian's reign, Constantine born.
284.	10 years.	Diocletian made emperor.
285.	11 "	Maximian made <i>cæsar</i> , and in 286, associated in the empire.
292.	18 "	Constantius and Galerius made <i>cæsars</i> . The measure was agreed upon at Milan, in 290.
296.	22 "	Diocletian and Constantine in Egypt.
303.	29 "	The Diocletian persecution commenced at Nicomedia.
305.	31 "	Diocletian and Maximian resign, Constantius and Galerius become emperors, and Severus and Maximin, <i>cæsars</i> . Constantine escapes from the court of Galerius.
306.	32 "	Constantius dies, Constantine becomes <i>cæsar</i> , and Maxentius and Maximian, emperors in Italy.
307.	33 "	Constantine's marriage with Fausta. Licinius made emperor.
310.	36 "	Maximian put to death, after having resided two years at Arles.
311.	37 "	Galerius stops the persecution, and soon dies.
312.	38 "	Maxentius slain and Constantine monarch of the western empire.
313.	39 "	Licinius married to the sister of Constantine. The Edict of Milan.
		Diocletian's death at Salona, and Maximin's at Tarsus.
314.	40 "	First war between Constantine and Licinius; battle of Cibalis.
316.	42 "	Constantine II, born; 317, Constantius II; 323, Constans, all sons of Fausta.
323.	49 "	Second war between Constantine and Licinius; the latter conquered 324, and put to death 325.
325.	51 "	The council of Nice; the Arians banished.
326.	52 "	Crispus and Fausta put to death.
330.	56 "	Constantinople finished and dedicated.
335.	61 "	Constantine resolves on the division of the empire.
336.	62 "	Preparations for the Persian war.
337.	63 "	May 22. Constantine's death at Nicomedia.

ARTICLE IV.

NEW YORK BAPTIST MISSIONARY CONVENTION.

An Historical Sketch of the Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York, embracing a Narrative of the Origin and Progress of the Baptist Denomination in Central and Western New York, with Biographical Notices of the Founders of the Convention, &c. By JOHN PECK and JOHN LAWTON. Utica, N. Y. Bennett & Bright. pp. 256.

THIS book, though published some months since, has but recently fallen into our hands. Its preparation for the press was undertaken in compliance with the request of the Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York, at its annual meeting in 1836. Its respected authors are men of extremely modest pretensions, though their production is by no means destitute of literary merit. Like most of their contemporaries, they entered the ministry with very limited literary qualifications for so important, and so responsible a calling; and yet, with many of their compeers, who entered the sacred office under similar disadvantages, they have attained to a happy eminence, as good ministers of Jesus Christ. If they possessed less learning than some of their junior brethren, they certainly had other qualifications for this undertaking, of surpassing value. They have, indeed, but recorded, for the most part, the things which they saw and heard.

It affords us sincere pleasure to witness the attention which is beginning to be paid by the Baptist denomination in the United States, to collecting materials for its own history. Though essentially one in sentiment and practice, and identified in the same general objects of benevolence, our territory is so vast, and we are so naturally separated into distinct communities by State lines, that a large number of centres are formed, at which only, the materials for history can be collected. Hence, autographs, like the work before us, are almost indispensable to the

general historian. Our brethren in the State of New York, by these narratives, have certainly made a good beginning. The only regret we felt, after having completed this unpretending volume, was, that it is so limited. Instead of a narrative of the "rise and progress of the Baptist denomination in central and western New York," we could wish it had embraced the whole State; we could wish, also, that the narratives had been more complete, and that the dependences of the facts stated had been more fully traced.

In 1790, the number of communicants in the Baptist denomination, in the State of New York, did not exceed 4,000. The first church in western New York was formed in 1789. At the present time, the entire number of communicants in the State is 70,825; of which number 48,728 are found in western New York; that is to say, in other parts of the State occupied by the Baptists in 1790, they have increased in about half a century from 4,000 to 20,000 and a fraction; while a single church, in western New York, consisting of thirty members, has increased to more than *five hundred* churches, numbering, in all, about 50,000 communicants. From these facts it is manifest, that our churches in western New York have enjoyed an uncommon degree of prosperity. We believe that their increase, as thus exhibited, is, in point of numbers, without a parallel in the history of any denomination in these United States; and we think we shall be able to make it appear, that this growth has been of a healthy and permanent character. Before we proceed to investigate the causes which have produced these extraordinary results, or to take any notice of the institutions of our brethren, the beginnings of which are described in these narratives, we shall make a few observations upon the progress of the denomination in other parts of this State, and upon the Baptist denomination generally.

The first Baptist church in this State was constituted in the city of New York, 1724. It was gathered under the ministry of Mr. Nicholas Eyres, a licentiate, and was recognised by Messrs. Valentine Wightman, of Groton, Ct., and Daniel Wightman of Newport, R. I., who also ordained Mr. Eyres as pastor of the church. This church is said to have been Arminian in sentiment. It continued only for about eight years. In 1753, some of its members

having embraced Calvinistic sentiments, were constituted, with others in that city holding similar doctrinal views, and who had been baptized on a profession of their faith, into a branch of the church in Scotch Plains, N. J., then under the pastoral care of Benjamin Miller. It became an independent church, 1762, and settled the Rev. John Gano, as their pastor. Mr. Gano was a member of the church in Hopewell, N. J., but previously to his settlement in New York, had spent several years as an itinerant preacher in some of the southern States. Under his ministry, this church, now known as the Gold Street Church, and from which most of the earlier churches in that city originated, enjoyed, for a long period, under the ministry of Mr. Gano, a high degree of prosperity.

In 1766, a Baptist church was formed in Warwick, on the west side of the Hudson, fifty-four miles north of New York city, by the labors of Mr. James Benedict, of Ridgefield, Ct., who became its pastor, and continued in that office until his death. From this church several others were soon after formed in the neighboring townships. Still farther north, on the east side of the river, in Dutchess Co., we find several Baptist churches, of an earlier date than the last mentioned. In Fishkill, a church existed previously to 1745; for, at that date, they are mentioned as having a Mr. Holstead as their pastor. We have no certain knowledge of the origin of this church. In 1752, the Rev. Joshua Morse, of New London, Ct., became their pastor, and served them two years, when he returned to the people of his former charge. In 1755, William Marsh, an elder from New Jersey, gathered a church in the township of Dover. Mr. Marsh was succeeded in the pastoral office, 1758, by Samuel Waldo, who continued to serve this church for thirty-five years. Mr. Waldo was from Mansfield, Ct. His parents were Pedobaptists, but subsequently became Baptists. Simon Dakin, originally a New Light, but who, for several years, had been pastor of a Baptist church, formed from a church of that order, was the means of gathering a church in Northeast. Mr. Dakin is said to have served this and his former church fifty years. He departed this life while pastor of the church in Northeast, at the age of eighty-three. He was a native of Concord, Massachusetts.

On the eastern borders of the State, still farther north, between Hudson and Albany, Elders Comer Bullock and

Jacob Drake, about 1779, gathered churches, which became flourishing, and branched out into others. Mr. Bullock was from Rehoboth, Mass., and was ordained by elders from Rehoboth and Warren, R. I. Drake was from Windsor, Ct., and, for eight or nine years, was pastor of a Pedobaptist church, of the New Light order, previously to his embracing Baptist sentiments. Most of his church followed the example and instructions of their pastor. In Berlin, a township twenty miles east of Albany, a church arose, in 1785, under the ministry of Justin Hall, which, in 1812, had increased to six hundred members. Some of the original members of this church were from Exeter, R. I. In Cambridge, thirty-five miles northeast of Albany, in Washington county, a church was planted, in 1772, by William Wait, an elder from Rhode Island. In Granville, in the same county, a church was gathered, in 1783, under the ministry of Richard Sill, from Connecticut.

We have thus rapidly glanced at the history of the denomination in those parts of the State not embraced in the treatise before us, that we might trace, if possible, the connection between the churches thus early planted, and those of a more recent origin, in the western part of the State, and to which God has given so abundant an increase. The churches in both sections had a common origin, but were placed in very dissimilar circumstances. The churches in southern and eastern New York were planted, as has been shown, by brethren from Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, but chiefly by brethren from Connecticut and Rhode Island. They date their origin about half a century earlier than the others. They are located, principally, on the eastern borders of the State, in townships contiguous to the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont. From 1780 to 1790, there was a rapid increase of churches in regions north, southwest and west of Albany, and which border directly on central New York.

The brethren, whom the Lord honored as the instruments in gathering those ancient churches, seem to have been borne thither on the tide of emigration; and it is not improbable that their course was somewhat accelerated by the iron hand of persecution, which, in those days, pressed heavily upon them, in most of the New England States. The State of New York, at the period of which we speak,

had not assumed, either in commerce, in wealth, or in population, any thing like its present relative importance. In 1790, the city of New York contained only 33,031 inhabitants, and the whole State, at that period, had but 340,120. Massachusetts had, at the same date, 388,727. In 1830, Massachusetts had 610,014, and the State of New York had 1,919,404. That portion west of Seneca lake, constituting, at least, one fourth of the territory of the whole State, in 1790, contained only 1080 souls, and in 1830, it had 406,906.

New England emigration, previously to the close of the war of the American Revolution, had not, to any considerable extent, penetrated the State of New York. Comparatively few of New England origin, at that date, were found on the west side of the Hudson river. The inhabitants were:—1, Dutch, the descendants of the first settlers; 2, English and Scotch emigrants, and their posterity; 3, descendants of French Protestants, who took refuge in the colony, on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685; 4, Germans, descendants of a colony of Palatines, who, in 1709, fled to England, to escape persecution in Germany, and in the ensuing year emigrated to New York, under the patronage of the British government. The first decided movement of New England emigration was to a region of country, then known as the New Hampshire Grants, but which now constitutes the State of Vermont. This section of our territory was pretty thoroughly surveyed, and its fertility of soil well ascertained by our people during the French war, and, after the subjugation of the Canadas by English arms, in 1760, settlements were soon commenced.

Among the multitude who emigrated from Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, were many Baptists, with their families. From 1780 to 1790, a considerable number of Baptist ministers, from these States, were attracted thither, some of whom, it is said, were induced to emigrate, more by a hope of obtaining a settlement for their numerous families, than by an expectation of finding churches which they might serve as pastors. They soon found, however, abundant opportunity for the exercise of their ministry, and were rendered eminently useful in the constitution of new and flourishing churches. In 1780, there were but *two* churches in the entire State. In 1790, there were *thirty-four*.

The Shaftsbury Association, the oldest in the State of Vermont, was formed in 1780, embracing four churches, two of which, only, were founded within the bounds of this State. The Association being located in the south-western corner of the State, embraced churches, both in Massachusetts and New York. From the period of its formation, until 1804, it included most of the churches in the northeastern section of the State of New York. In that year, the churches situated in the counties of Washington and Saratoga, lying on the west side of the Hudson, were constituted into the Saratoga Association.

After the declaration of peace, in 1783, a strong tide of emigration set in from the New England States, in the direction of western New York; so that now, it is said, a majority of the inhabitants of the State are either natives of these States or their descendants. At this period, 1783, scarcely a habitation of civilized man was known to exist beyond the western boundary of the "empire State." The Holland Purchase was then "the far west," more emphatically than any spot that can now be named, between that point and the Pacific ocean.

Two centuries have now passed away, since the first Baptist church was constituted in New England. The distinguishing sentiments of the Baptists are, indeed, co-eval, in American history, with the planting of the New England colonies.* The adoption of these sentiments was but the carrying out, to their legitimate conclusion, of those fundamental principles adopted by all true Protestants. Most of the early Puritans, however, brought with them, to this country, their form of religion, and, unfortunately, that form was, in some respects, constructed

* Some of the first Baptists in New England did not come to this country confirmed in those sentiments peculiar to the Baptists. They came as Protestant dissenters; but in regard to the ordinance of Christian baptism, and the freedom of conscience, their views, so far as appears, were in agreement with their brethren who were upon the Congregationalist Pedobaptist platform; and who, for many years, had a controlling influence in the affairs of the colonies. Our brethren, acting under an honest conviction of duty, and following the rule which had hitherto guided them, that the Bible is the word of God, and that it is a sufficient and complete guide in all matters of faith and practice, were led to renounce infant baptism, as being a custom which is unauthorized by the word of God, and to adopt the sentiment, that the baptism of believers, on a profession of faith, constitutes the only valid baptism. Such being their conviction, they began to refrain from the practice of infant baptism. This subjected them to much persecution, and to great civil disabilities, which led them to inquire, still farther, into the rights of the civil magistrate to interfere with a citizen in the exercise of his opinions and practices, on the subject of religion. By such an inquiry, and by the ceaseless vexations and penalties inflicted upon them, they were led to the adoption of those sentiments respecting the rights of conscience, which have ever distinguished the Baptists, and which, happily, are coming to be universally cherished by mankind.

after the pattern shown to Moses in the mount, rather than after that more perfect model introduced by Jesus Christ. They had asked leave of the civil government, in their native land, to practise their chosen forms of religious worship, and had been denied. They, therefore, sought an asylum in the "new world;" and having found a home in the wilderness, they gave their attention to the erection of a government, in which they could protect themselves in the enjoyment of what they had purchased at so dear a rate. But it does not seem to have occurred to those good men, in framing their civil code, that they ought to provide for an exigency, which they themselves had experienced to be a sore evil. They took it for granted, that they had reached the utmost limits of divine truth, both in matters of faith and practice. "Our churches," said they, "are established, we know, by God's law;" and they knew, also, that they were established by the laws of the country; they therefore concluded, that compelling a man to worship with them, and agreeably to their forms, was right, because, as they said, it was only compelling him to do his duty.* There were, however, among them, other minds, which were inclined to search the word of God with a spirit of implicit obedience; and the result was, they soon found occasion to dissent from their brethren in some of their forms of worship, and in some of their opinions. These dissensions were met with a stern opposition; an opposition which seemed determined on their utter suppression.

Christianity can never be eradicated by persecution, though its progress, in a given region, may be, for a season, thereby retarded; and such was the fact, it is believed, with our churches in New England, in the periods of their early history. For about a century, they seem not to have had any very great, visible enlargement.† During this

* Mr. Cotton, in apologizing to Sir Richard Saltonstall of London, for the conduct of the court, in inflicting on Obadiah Holmes thirty lashes, with a three corded whip, a sentence, passed upon him for being found in acts of religious worship, with a few others, on the Lord's day, in a place other than that established by law, thus expresses himself, in reference to this transaction: "The offence was a manifest contestation against the order and government of our churches, established, we know, by God's law, and as he [Holmes] knoweth by the laws of the country. If the worship be lawful in itself, the magistrate compelling to come to it, compelleth not to sin, but the sin is in his will, that needs to be compelled to a Christian duty."

† Such was the severity of the persecutions to which the Baptists were subjected, that they received very few accessions from the father land, and, of the few who came, some returned. The first Baptist church in England was formed 1600, and by the middle of the seventeenth century, the Baptists in England had become numerous, but, though they were subject to great oppression, their condition at home was quite tol-

long period, only eighteen churches had been gathered in all those States. Meanwhile, their sentiments were, to some extent, pervading the whole country. In 1639, the first Baptist church in America was constituted; the same being now known as the First Baptist Church in Providence, R. I. In about fifty years from this date [1688], a church was formed in Lower Dublin, Pa., which is the oldest in the United States, without the bounds of New England. In 1707, there were only seventeen Baptist churches in America; nine of which were in New England, and four of these were in Massachusetts. In 1740, they had increased to *thirty-eight*, *eighteen* of which were in New England—seven in Massachusetts. From this period, the multiplication of our churches began to be accelerated. At the close of the war, in 1783, they had increased in New England, to one hundred and two—thirty-seven of which were formed during the war. The number without New England, at this period, was two hundred and seven—seventy-four of which were constituted during the war.

The Baptist denomination first gained a permanent location in the States of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut; and, in point of time, in the order here stated; and these have been centres of emigration, from which have originated a people now numbering in their communion more than 500,000 members. In Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, our churches trace their common origin to some of the first settlers in the Massachusetts colony. Pennsylvania and New Jersey having, from the first, adopted the policy of a free toleration of all religious sects, attracted to their respective territories Baptists from New England, Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales, and the earlier churches in those regions were composed of all these classes. The first Baptist church in Pennsylvania was gathered by Thomas Dungan, an

erable, when compared with that of their brethren in Massachusetts. Furthermore, this state of things had a tendency to drive the Baptists into other parts. Rhode Island, for a season, afforded an adequate asylum. Their course, south and west, however, may be traced at a very early period. A branch of the first Baptist church in Boston was driven, by persecution, from Piscataway, Me., to Charleston, S. C. In 1700, they established themselves on Long Island. They fled, also, to New Jersey and Pennsylvania. We find a son of Obadiah Holmes, who was beaten with many stripes at Boston, uniting with others, in 1690, in the formation of a Baptist church in Cohausey, N. J.

elder from Rhode Island. This church, after a few years, lost its visibility. The Lower Dublin consisted chiefly of emigrants from Wales.

Our churches in the Southern States owe their origin, under God, to the combined efforts of brethren in New England, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. The church in Charleston, S. C., the oldest south of Pennsylvania, having been constituted in 1683, originated with the first Baptist church in Boston, Mass. This church, with the churches at Eutaw and Ashley river, formed from the Charleston, and the Welsh Neck church, constituted in 1738, by emigrants from the then province of Pennsylvania, united in the formation of the Charleston Association, 1751.* This association immediately opened a correspondence, by epistle and messengers, with the Philadelphia Association, by which means these churches secured a happy and profitable intercourse with their brethren in the Middle States.

Among the earliest and most successful preachers in Virginia and North Carolina, were Shubael Stearns and Daniel Marshall. Stearns was a native of Boston, Mass., and Marshall of Windsor, Conn. They both professed religion among the New Lights. Stearns embraced Baptist sentiments before he left New England. He was baptized in Tolland, Conn., by Elder Wait Palmer, the 2d of May, 1751; and received ordination the same year. After having spent about three years in the ministry, in New England, he removed to the South. Marshall left his native State as a missionary, upon his own charges, to the Mohawk Indians. On the breaking out of war, he removed thence to the northern parts of Virginia, where he formed an acquaintance with a Baptist church, then in connection with the Philadelphia Association. With this church he subsequently united, and by it was licensed to preach. His ministry, as well as that of Mr. Stearns, was eminently useful.

The great revival of religion, which commenced under the preaching of Whitefield and his associates, in 1740, and the American Revolution, were events, which, though

* The first association formed in America, was the Philadelphia, formed in 1707; the second was the Charleston, formed in 1751; and the third was the Warren, formed in 1767.

totally dissimilar in their nature, resulted in an astonishing enlargement of the Baptist denomination.

Those preachers, and the churches gathered by them, though Pedobaptists, harmonized, in their spirit and manner, in an eminent degree, with the Baptists; so much so, that they received, from the "standing order," a similar treatment.* Like the Baptists, they were subject to fines and imprisonments. Almost every where, they were formed into separate churches, and hence, they were called, at first, by way of reproach, "Separates," or "New Lights." In these circumstances, they were naturally led to an alliance with the Baptists; a condition highly auspicious to a candid examination of the points of difference between the two parties; and the result was, that a very large number of ministers,† and some whole churches, cordially embraced Baptist sentiments; the Baptists, moreover, partook, in a good measure, of the zeal of those reformers, and entered heartily into the same glorious work. With this brilliant example before them, they seized, with renewed vigor, on the idea of itinerating; a custom which they had, in some measure, long used, and with good effect.

There were still other advantages, which the Baptists derived from these events of Providence. They turned off much of that odium which had long been heaped upon them, and in consequence of which, access to the people had been debarred them. Were the Baptists schismatics, contemptuous to civil magistrates, disturbers of the peace? So were the "Separates." All this led to inquiry, and consequently to a discovery of the truth.

The war of the Revolution, having resulted so happily in a union of the colonies, and in the adoption of a constitution, which secured to all equal religious liberty, the Baptists were placed on an equal footing with other religious sects, a privilege which in many of the colonies they had not hitherto enjoyed. This event also enlarged the territory of the States, and naturally dispersed the people over a wider surface. Of this circumstance the

* The former severity of persecution had now considerably abated. That barbarous custom of whipping had fallen into disuse.

† Backus mentions the names of fourteen ministers of this order, in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, who became Baptists, many of whom attained to eminent usefulness, among whom was included the historian himself.

Baptists were happily prepared to avail themselves, with good advantage. For, by the long-continued oppression, which they had experienced in the more populous portions of some of the States, their habits had become somewhat migratory. Nor were their attachments such as to forbid their removal. Hence, they were prepared to move onward with the tide of population, and publish the gospel wherever they could find an habitation of man.

The altar of Christianity was first erected in western New York by Baptist emigrants. The event is thus described by Messrs. Peck and Lawton :

"In the month of June, 1773, Ebenezer Knapp and Increase Thurstin, with their families, settled on the Butternut Creek, about twenty miles south-west from the head of Susquehannah river. There was then no English settlement west of this, nearer than Niagara, in Upper Canada, a distance of more than two hundred miles; nor a single white inhabitant in any direction, within sixteen miles. Various tribes of the aboriginals were still enjoying their possessions throughout this region, in considerable strength and numbers. Messrs. Thurstin and Knapp, and the wife of Mr. Knapp, were members of a Baptist church previous to their removal to this place. Thus, the lamp of civilization was first lighted in the wilderness by Baptists, who, notwithstanding their isolated situation, were not unmindful of their duty to God, but immediately after their arrival in this inhospitable wild, commenced the worship of God in their families, and on the Lord's day, by singing, exhortation, and prayer. In the following April, Benjamin Lull, jr., and his wife, a daughter of Ebenezer Knapp, were brought into the liberty of the gospel. In the ensuing summer, seven more families moved into the place, and united with the first settlers in their religious meetings. This summer was a comfortable time with them, in the former part of which, the wife of Increase Thurstin, together with Caleb Lull, was brought to rejoice in the Lord, and many others appeared under deep exercise of mind."—p. 9.

In what particular church these friends of the Redeemer, who so beautifully adorned their profession in their new but solitary abode, held their membership, we are not informed. This we regret. If the facts were in the possession of our authors, the omission is a capital one. The war of the Revolution dispersed these settlers; but after peace was restored, they returned, and, with others, were constituted into a church in 1793.

In 1789, Elder William Furman, from St. Coyt, near Albany, became an inhabitant of Springfield, Otsego Co. In February, of the same year, a revival of religion attended his ministry, and in March following, Elder

Furman, and twenty individuals, subjects of the late revival, united with nine other Baptist professors in that place in the formation of a Christian church. "This," says our narrative, "was the first evangelical standard erected in this howling wilderness, embracing a territory bounded as follows: on the east, by a meridian crossing the Mohawk at the mouth of the Schoharie river; on the north and south, by parallels of latitude intersecting said meridian on the northern and southern boundaries of the State of New York, extending west to the Pacific Ocean; and on the west by the Pacific. Elder Furman was the first minister settling in this extensive wilderness, who was particularly useful."—p. 15.

In 1795, the churches in this region, which had now increased to the number of thirteen, held a council to consider the expediency of forming an association. The council were assisted by Elders Peter Warden, Joseph Cornell, and Joseph Craw, from the Shaftsbury Association, and it was unanimously resolved to form the proposed union. This design was consummated on the 10th of September, 1796. Elders Cornell and Finch were present as delegates from the Shaftsbury Association. Elder Cornell preached the introductory sermon.

The first meeting of this association was held in a small meeting-house, erected by a combined effort of Congregationalists and Baptists; the second in the woods; the third in a barn; and the fourth and fifth in private houses; but in all these places, the presence of the Lord, it is said, more than compensated for the want of convenient accommodations. The services of the first three ordinations which took place in these parts, were performed, the first in the woods, the second in a barn, and the third on a stage, in the open air.

Among the first and most successful ministers who labored permanently in this region, were William Furman, Joel Butler, and Ashbel Hosmer. After a few years, they were assisted by other ministers of a like spirit, who made a permanent settlement in the country from other parts; by missionaries sent out by the Shaftsbury Association, and the Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society; and by a number of young men, raised up in their midst, of great promise, and of whom a few still survive, to bear, among that numerous people, the weighty responsibilities of elders in Israel.

Believing that the reader will be interested, to know something of the early history of the men who labored with such signal success in the cause of the Redeemer, we have made some brief extracts from the memoirs of Messrs. Butler and Hosmer. Of the former history of Mr. Furman, we have been able to learn nothing, except, as before stated, that he was from St. Coyt, and that he removed to this country at the age of about 40. We felt much regret at not being able to learn any thing respecting the early years, or the last days, of one who had the honor of first breaking the bread of life to God's people in this wilderness, and who seems to have spent a life of so much usefulness.* We are, indeed, indebted for our knowledge of the fact, that St. Coyt is in the neighborhood of Albany, to another historian. No such place as St. Coyt, is described in the gazetteer.

"Elder Ashbel Hosmer was born at West Hartford, Conn., April 30, 1758. He was the son of Thomas Hosmer, Esq. At the age of sixteen years, he entered the service of his country, in which he received a severe wound. At about thirty years of age, he experienced a change of heart, and united with the Baptist church in Canaan, Conn., where he began to improve in public meetings. Thence he removed to Wallingsford, and on the 3d of October, 1792, was set apart to the work of the ministry, by solemn ordination. In 1795, he removed to Burlington, N. Y., where he resided several years. He afterwards removed to Hamilton, where he closed his useful life, April 2, 1812, in the 54th year of his age. His death was severely felt by the churches and ministers which had been so often favored with his instructions and advice.

"Great and unwearied had been his labors for the promotion of the cause of truth; travelling night and day, in heat and cold, snow and rain, through dismal wilds and unbeaten roads, oftentimes hungry, wet and cold, without any prospect of a pecuniary reward. He came early to this then infant country, and labored much, with the two or three ministers who came just before him, to propagate the gospel among the new settlers. He was of sound judgment, deep penetration, quick discernment, persevering in his designs, and indefatigable in his pursuits."—p. 178.

"Joel Butler was born in Shrewsbury, Mass., on the 31st day of March, 1752, where he resided until the 20th year of his age, when he removed, with his parents, to Windsor, Vermont. In April, 1777, he was brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus,

* In a journal kept by Rev. John Peck, during a missionary tour in 1810, we find the following allusion to this servant of the Lord:—"In Avon, I called on Elder William Furman, that aged father in the gospel, and the season was agreeable to me. He still appears to be engaged in the service of his Divine Master, and though he has been called to pass through severe trials, yet he seems to be worshipping, leaning on the top of his staff."

and joined the Presbyterian church in that place. He soon began to have doubts of the propriety of infant baptism, and some other doctrines and practices to which the Presbyterians adhered; and after continuing with them three years, was baptized, and became a member of the Baptist church. He immediately began to improve by exhortation, &c., and, in 1783, he removed to Woodstock, Vt., where the church called him to ordination, June 5, 1785. He continued his ministerial labors in that place and its vicinity, for three years, where it is believed his ministry was blessed to the salvation of many souls. He then removed to Templeton, Mass., and two years afterward to New Salem, and thence to Napleton, on the east line of New York, in all of which places, and many more to which his labors extended, God gave him souls as seals of his ministry. In 1793, he removed to Fairfield, N. Y., about sixty-six miles west of Albany. At this time, there were but two ministers, besides himself, west of Albany. He had much reason to exclaim, 'O Lord, the harvest truly is great, but the laborers are few!' He, and his two colleagues in the ministry, formed the first conference and association west of Albany. He now felt 'married to Zion,' and rode from place to place, through every inclemency of weather, privation, and suffering, to spread the knowledge of the gospel among the scattered inhabitants of this then wilderness. Many, it is believed, were brought to a knowledge of the truth, through the instrumentality of his labors. In 1818, he removed to Indiana, and died at Geneva, Jennings Co., Ia., on the 13th of September, 1822, in the 71st year of his age."—p. 179.

The churches in this new country were at first small, and situated remote from each other; and, in a majority of cases, were destitute of pastors. For though many ministers removed to this country, the churches exceeded the number of ministers more than two to one. This condition of affairs in their Zion rendered the labors of those ministers who were pioneers, oppressive, toilsome, and perilous, as may easily be perceived from the following description, by one who was by no means ignorant of the things whereof he affirmed:

"The frequent calls, 'come over and help us,' from the little clusters of saints here and there, in the wilderness, subjected them to frequent journeys, in which they had to encounter many obstacles, and endure many hardships, and various sufferings. They toiled in the cold, and in the heat, by day and by night, traversing the wilderness from one solitary dwelling to another, by marked trees and half made roads, fording dangerous rivers and rapid streams, often without a guide, and at the hazard of their lives. They suffered much from hunger and thirst, and frequently had to pursue their journeys through bleak winds, and storms both of snow and rain, to meet their appointments, and administer to the perishing the bread of life. The afflictions of some of them were greatly increased, and

their tenderest sympathies often excited, by the privations and sufferings, in respect even to the necessities of life, to which their families were subjected. Sometimes, in their journeys, on sitting down at the tables of their brethren, to enjoy their hospitality, a recollection of the sufferings of their families at home would destroy their appetite, and fill them with grief. They could receive but little earthly reward; the country being new, the churches small, and the people hardly able to support themselves, much less to expend a large amount on the preachers."—p. 25.

We will now briefly enumerate some of those causes, which, as it seems to us, have contributed, under God, a share of influence in causing this portion of our Zion thus to "lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes." We say, under God, for we would devoutly acknowledge him to be the giver of all good gifts; the fountain from which emanate all spiritual blessings. If preachers have been raised up, churches planted, and converts multiplied, or if any good thing has been accomplished by his people, it is the Lord who hath done it, and to his name will we give glory. Whatever causes of prosperity, therefore, we may mention, we wish to be distinctly understood, as regarding them all as being infinitely subordinate to the divine blessing. "Paul may plant, and Apollos water, but God giveth the increase." A multitude of the ablest ministers in the land might have entered this country, with thousands of God's most devout and faithful people, and without the divine blessing, all their labor had been fruitless. The country might, as now, have teemed with a million of human beings, but, instead of hallowing the Sabbath, and waiting upon God in the ordinances of his house, infidelity, and irreligion, and vice, would be their distinguishing characteristics.

We would mention, as being among the causes which have contributed to the prosperity of our churches in western New York, 1. The removal into that country, at the period of its first settlement, of many pious and estimable people, by whom a religious character was impressed upon society. In many of the townships, the formation of a church was almost coeval with the existence of society. By this means, all classes were educated to respect Christianity, and to attend on the means of grace.

The growth of our churches in western New York was evidently most powerfully stimulated by emigration;

and yet, of this important fact, there is very little intimation given in the work before us. When about to be apprised of the fact, that a church was constituted in a certain place, at a given date, we are told that the pastor of some church, at a distance of twenty or forty miles, or a missionary, finds in a given place some twelve or twenty brethren and sisters, covenanted together, perhaps already, to maintain the worship of God, and he recognises them as a church, in gospel order; but, as to where these disciples were made members of the visible church of Christ, the reader is left entirely to the vagueness of conjecture. Almost the only data given to guide us on this point, are found in the brief memoirs of twenty individuals, distinguished for usefulness in these western churches, inserted at the end of the volume.

Of these twenty individuals, all ministers of the gospel, except one, sixteen were natives of New England; eleven were from Connecticut, four from Massachusetts, and one from Vermont. Of the remaining four, three were from the State of New York, and one from England. Fourteen professed religion in New England, and thirteen there entered the ministry. Seven were born of Pedobaptist parents, and three received ordination while in the Pedobaptist connection, all of the New Light order. Nine are mentioned expressly as having had pious parents; one was the son of a Baptist deacon; two were the sons of Baptist ministers; and one was the son of a Congregationalist minister. The memoir of Salmon Morton, one of the two who professed religion after they left New England, and who subsequently entered the ministry, sheds some light on the circumstances under which the church in Madison was constituted. Salmon Morton was the son of Deacon Abner Morton, of Athol, Mass. In 1797, Deacon Morton removed, with his family, to Madison, Madison Co., N. Y. Young Morton was hopefully pious when he left his native state, but did not make a profession of religion until after a residence of about two years in Madison. He is said to have been baptized about two months after the constitution of the Baptist church in that place, and was the first individual who received Christian baptism in the town. The supposition is, that a number of members, under circumstances similar to those of Deacon Morton, and it may be, members of the same

church with him, had made a settlement in the place, and had associated together as a church of Christ. With this church young Morton united, after having been baptized on a profession of faith, and was soon called to the pastoral office in the same church. Under similar circumstances were most of their early churches founded. No account of the formation of any church has been attempted by our authors, except the first fifteen. To the first two allusion has already been made. We here insert, in the precise language of the narrative, a description of two others :

"First Church in Otsego.—On 'the 18th of December, 1794, Elder Furman and four brethren, being invited, convened and examined the religious character and circumstances of certain brethren in the town of Otsego, twelve in number, and gave them fellowship as a church of Christ."—p. 12.

"Church in Charlestown.—In this place, a number of disciples, at an early period, covenanted together to maintain the public worship of God, and in September, 1793, they received fellowship as a church of Christ, numbering about ten."

The multitude of members of Baptist churches, who emigrated to this country, were chiefly from the older churches on the eastern border of the State, and from the several New England States.

2. The first ministers, who entered this country, were men of superior ability, and were possessed of uncommon ministerial endowments. Their literary qualifications, we admit, were not great; but then, they had age and experience, were men of much prayer, and were deeply versed in the doctrines of the Bible. They were, in short, good ministers of Jesus Christ, "nourished up in the words of faith and good doctrine," and were filled with compassion for the sheep of Christ's fold, whom they found in the wilderness. The men who have been prominent in our churches in western New York, both ministers and laymen, from their origin up to the present time, furnish an example of "continuance in well-doing," and of personal sacrifice to promote the diffusion of evangelical piety, rarely surpassed. They lived not unto themselves, but unto him who died for them. Nor in their efforts to do good, did they live exclusively for the present generation. Their plans of benevolence were comprehensive and far-reaching. They were careful, moreover, to lay a good foundation.

Knowing the temptations of a people in a new country to desecrate the Sabbath, and to neglect family devotion, they made it a part of the covenant of every church which they constituted, that the several members should religiously observe the Sabbath, and that all heads of families should maintain in their houses the worship of God, by reading the Scriptures and vocal prayer; and they labored night and day to promote a salutary discipline in the churches.

3. There was great unanimity in counsel among those who gathered the first churches in western New York, and who subsequently laid the foundation of their benevolent institutions. The Otsego Association, the oldest in the country, and from which most of the earlier associations were constituted, was, for a long period, the centre of influence, in which those brethren were accustomed to meet, and mature their plans for future usefulness; and, subsequently, when the field of their observation was enlarged beyond the influence of an association, they united in the formation of a missionary society, which has been matured into an institution, whose pecuniary ability is equal to \$18,000 per annum. At a later period, they established a theological seminary, in which there are now between one and two hundred young men, all hopeful candidates for the Christian ministry; and, still later, they called to their aid the weekly periodical press, which has attained to a circulation of five or six thousand copies. In all these undertakings, each of which has proved abundantly conducive to their prosperity, the principle of their success has been, *union in judgment and feeling.*

4. Missionary efforts. To this instrumentality are our churches in western New York indebted, perhaps, as much as to any other. In no section of our country has the experiment of domestic missions been more fully and successfully made, than here. Baptist churches, in this country, have been accustomed to missionary efforts, from their origin. The records of their doings, however, in this department of labor, are but scanty in periods previous to the formation of associations. The care of unsupplied and feeble churches, and the preaching of the gospel in destitute places, were originally objects of primary importance with our associations. No other organizations than these are known to us to have existed

in the Baptist denomination, previously to the beginning of the present century. The Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society was formed in 1802, and is the oldest institution of its kind, known to us in this country. The second, was the Lake Missionary Society, formed by our brethren in western New York, and to which allusion has already been made, the same being now known as the Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York.

The first missionary to western New York, so far as we are informed, was the Rev. Caleb Blood, sent by the appointment of the Shaftsbury Association, though the amount of funds at their disposal was not sufficient to defray the travelling expenses of their missionary. He entered on his mission August 24, 1802, was from home three months, and preached about as many sermons as he was absent days. He directed his course westward through the central part of the State of New York, until he had advanced about one hundred miles west of the Genesee river, when he took a northerly direction, and crossed the Niagara, into the province of Upper Canada. He descended the Niagara to its confluence with the waters of Lake Ontario, and thence passing the head of the Lake, he penetrated some distance into the interior. Having proceeded as far as his time would permit, he retraced his steps to fulfil his previous appointments.

In December of the same year, the Rev. Joseph Cornell entered on a missionary tour, under the patronage of the Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society. He commenced his labors near the source of the Black river, and travelled in a northerly direction, until he reached the St. Lawrence, which he crossed, and spent a number of weeks in that section of the province of Upper Canada. Returning to the State of New York, he traversed the State in its entire breadth, near the centre. He was absent six months, and travelled, on missionary ground, one thousand miles, preached in forty-seven townships; in forty-one of which he found no settled minister of any denomination; and in thirteen of these townships no minister of the gospel had ever before entered. At one point, he had gone a distance of six hundred miles without meeting a single minister.

Mr. Blood had the honor of being the first ordained minister who preached the gospel in the province of Upper Canada. On a certain occasion, he received a request

from a settlement about fifty miles distant, that he would visit the place, and administer the ordinance of baptism to some thirty or forty individuals, the subjects of a late revival. This people informed him that they knew of no other competent administrator within two hundred miles of them. In travelling one hundred miles west of the Genesee river, he found but few inhabitants, except natives, and but two white settlements; in these he tarried and preached.

Mr. Cornell found a great destitution of the means of grace in the parts he visited; and especially in Canada. In one settlement, he found professors of religion who had not heard a sermon during fourteen years; and many families which were wholly destitute of the Bible. The following affecting incident is found in his journal:

"I have seen children in this province, from nine to fourteen years of age, who did not know what a Bible was, before I showed them one. Seeing this precious book, a boy fourteen years of age, cried, 'Daddy, is that a Bible? I did not think a Bible looked so!' I read the first three chapters of Genesis and the twenty-second Psalm, and, also, the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of Matthew. When I had proceeded thus far, I cast my eye upon the family, and saw the affecting tear stealing slowly down their cheeks. The man at length observed, 'If I had that little book and could read it, I would give all I have in the world.'"

No two persons could have been selected, who were better adapted to this service, than were Messrs. Blood and Cornell. They had long been accustomed to journeying in the wilderness, among the destitute and feeble churches in Vermont, and in some portions of the State of New York. They were as extensively and as favorably known, as any ministers in the denomination, and were men of uncommon ability. Their journals, having been published in the *Missionary Magazine*, enkindled, in our churches, a missionary spirit; the fruits of which will be as lasting as eternity. The representations they gave of the destitution of those extensive regions which they surveyed, secured the immediate appointment of other missionaries. The Massachusetts Missionary Society had missionaries constantly employed in those parts, and at times, in considerable numbers, for many years. They extended their labors beyond central and western New York, into parts of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

At a subsequent period, this whole field of missionary labor was assumed by the New York Baptist State Convention.

Among the many missionaries who labored under the patronage of the Massachusetts Domestic Missionary Society, we find the names of Joseph Cornell, Peter P. Roots, David Irish, Lemuel Covil, Jesse Hartwell, Nathaniel Kendrick and Stephen Parsons; names which will be held in grateful remembrance by our churches in western New York, so long as any recollection of their early history shall be cherished.

In 1807, as we have remarked, the Lake Missionary Society was formed. Its origin, and some of the causes which led to it, are thus described by Messrs. Peck and Lawton:

"In view of the increased population of the country, their indigent circumstances and spiritual wants, and the multiplied calls for ministerial labor, a number of the friends of Zion met at Pompey, in the county of Onondaga, at the house of Elder Nathan Baker, August 27, 1807, to consider the propriety of forming a society for the prosecution of the missionary enterprise in the destitute regions around. After mature deliberation on the subject, a constitution was presented and unanimously adopted. The Society was called the Lake Baptist Missionary Society, as it was expected its efforts would be directed principally to what is called the Lake country. The constitution made the payment of one dollar annually requisite to membership. At the formation of the Society it consisted of twenty members. Of course, it commenced its operations with only twenty dollars in the treasury! Thus, in weakness and with much fear and trembling, was laid the foundation of that fabric, which now, through the blessing of God, commands the admiration of all the friends of Zion. These were the first dawns of that light, which, like the sun, is shedding widely around its benign influence."—p. 31.

The following persons constituted its first Board of Directors: Ashbel Hosmer, President; Peter P. Roots, Vice President; Elisha Payne, Secretary; Jonathan Olmsted, Treasurer; Elisha Ransom, Salmon Morton, David Irish, John Lawton, Ora Butler, Simeon Gillett, Benjamin Pierce, Thomas Cox, Ebenezer Wakely, John Keep, Samuel Payne and Oliver Brown, Directors. The first missionary who served the Society was Salmon Morton. He was employed eight weeks, at four dollars per week. His tour was westward, crossing the Genesee river, into the Holland Purchase. Mr. Morton was kindly received; and, in his report to the Society, he gave an affecting ac-

count of the wants of the people whom he visited, and of their desire to hear the gospel.

At the second annual meeting, the treasurer reported one hundred and seventy-one dollars in the treasury. At this meeting the name of the Society was changed from the "Lake Missionary Society," to the "Hamilton Missionary Society." In 1815, the compensation of the missionaries was increased from four to five dollars per week. The ability of the Society was now equal to the support of forty weeks of missionary labor. It was incorporated by an act of the Legislature of New York, 1817. At this period, its ability was equal to the support of eighty weeks of missionary labor.

In 1825, by an act of the Legislature, the name of the the Society was changed from the "Hamilton Missionary Society," to the "Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York." The Convention was, indeed, formed in 1822, and there had existed, also, within the State, for a number of years, several other missionary societies. The Hamilton Missionary Society, however, was the oldest and, by far, the most efficient body; it was, therefore, agreed, in 1825, by general consent, to unite all these organizations in one body, to be known, as above stated, by the name of the "Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York." The progress of the Convention now became rapid. The amount of missionary labor had, in fact, been constantly and rapidly accumulating, from 1807 until the last mentioned date; and, did our limits permit, it would be interesting to trace the various fields of labor which have successively occupied the attention of our brethren. We can only remark, in general, that, in addition to their own State, including several tribes of aborigines, their labors have extended to the Canadas, to the States of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. During the first year of its existence, the Society could employ only one missionary for the short period of eight weeks. In 1836, they reported \$17,390, enabling the Society to support missionaries to the amount of more than fifty years' labor, besides \$10,000 paid to the Treasury of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society.

The individuals appointed as missionaries, were pastors, men of distinguished abilities, who had earned among the churches a good reputation for piety, soundness in

the faith, wisdom in counsel, as well as for labor and self-denial in the service of Christ. They were absent from their flocks from one to three months, traversing the country in every direction, gathering churches where they could find fit materials; setting in order such churches as were deficient, and preaching the gospel. Such services were imperiously demanded by the condition of the country; and our brethren, in the true spirit of their religion, nobly met the exigency.

The great Head of the church, we are constrained to believe, inspired them with wisdom and gave them strength, equal to their day. Never was missionary labor more needed, nor were such services ever crowned with more abundant success.

In 1824, our brethren commenced the publication of a weekly religious newspaper; a measure no less adapted to impart efficiency to their various undertakings, than to perpetuate that unity of design which had so long characterized their proceedings. This paper, the "New York Baptist Register," is the property of the Convention, and is rented to enterprising publishers. The paper, at present, yields a revenue of six hundred dollars per annum.

In nothing does the wisdom of those men, who founded our churches in western New York, appear more conspicuous, than in the early establishment of a Theological Institution. In none of their acts does their disinterestedness appear more conspicuous, than in this; and they will command our admiration the more, when it is recollected that the projectors of this institution were, almost universally, men whose early literary advantages had been extremely limited. The motives that led to this undertaking are thus happily expressed by our authors:

"In 1817, the Baptist denomination in this State numbered about three hundred and ten churches, two hundred and thirty ministers, and twenty-eight thousand members. The character of the ministry, at and before that time, is too well known to need description. Their godliness, their zeal for the truth in its purity, their laborious fidelity, and their success in winning souls for Christ, 'will be had in everlasting remembrance.' Especially now is it needless for the pen of eulogy to record their praise, while so many hearts still beat among us, on which, as 'living epistles,' are written their 'letters of commendation,' the memory of their worth. But with this just tribute to their excellence must be coupled the acknowledgement, that, in those important aids which human learning and intellectual cul-

ture afford to the servants of the gospel, they were comparatively deficient. This they deeply realized, and felt the importance of having something done to aid those who were coming forward to engage in the ministry. At the period above mentioned, there were, in the entire State west of the Hudson river, only three ministers who had received a collegiate education. Meantime the cause of general education was advancing. Light was more and more diffused throughout the community; the public mind was becoming more intelligent, and the public taste more refined; the advocates of error, from its most tolerable to its most fearful form, were bringing increased resources to its defence; and the whole business of a religious instructor, both in the church and in the world, was becoming more complicated and difficult. The work of missions had also been going on for years with increasing success. There was an imperious call for 'able ministers of the new testament,' both at home and abroad. To meet this demand, God was raising up young men for the ministry in many of the churches: but no provision had been made for their education.

"Under these circumstances, a few friends of the Saviour felt the importance of doing something to aid these youths in their preparation for the work before them. God seemed to be speaking in the necessities of his cause, and calling on them to engage in this enterprise. For the better accomplishment of the object, 'The Baptist Education Society of the State of New York' was formed on the 24th of September, 1817. It consisted, at first, of only thirteen persons, each of whom subscribed to pay one dollar annually. Although some minor amendments have since been made to the constitution of the Society, its fundamental principles remain unaltered. The simple and exclusive object of the organization was, the improvement of the Christian ministry. Its funds are specially appropriated to the use of indigent and approved candidates, and none are admitted to participate in its benefits except such as have obtained the approbation of the churches, and furnish continued evidences of personal piety and a call to the gospel ministry. These are essential features in the plan of this Society. It was founded in the belief that God selects his own ministers; and no measure contravening this principle can be admitted, without sacrificing the confidence of the churches. Whenever it shall be the means of raising up a graceless ministry to take the oversight of the flock, it will have lost its original character, and merited the reprobation of the people of God."—pp. 55, 56.

In the winter of 1817, theological instruction was commenced under private tuition. Messrs. Jonathan Wade and Eugenio Kincaid, now missionaries in Burmah, were the first two pupils. In 1818, the Theological Institution, in Hamilton village, was duly opened. The Education Society is identified with the Institution, and holds to it the relation of a Board of Trustees. Though humble in its origin, and exceedingly modest in its pretensions, this

institution has attained to an honorable standing among the first class of theological seminaries in the country. From the commencement of instruction, in 1817, up to 1836, about three hundred and fifty individuals enjoyed its advantages; one hundred and fifty completed the course of studies, and about two hundred more pursued the course in part. Fifteen of those who graduated have embarked as missionaries to Asia, and one to Africa. Twelve have entered the valley of the Mississippi as home missionaries. The number of students, at the present time, is one hundred and twenty. It has seven professors and three tutors.

Were we to admit, that our brethren in New York have not accomplished every thing in the education of their ministry which it is desirable should be accomplished, we should only admit what is true of the denomination in every section of the Union. Our ministry, taken as a whole, has been singularly deficient in education, and perhaps never more so, if we take into the estimate our numbers, and the demand made on the ministry, than at the present time. Has education increased? So have our numbers, and so has the demand made on the ministry increased. We compute the education of those who have enjoyed the advantages of Hamilton institution, at four years, and believe it to be a liberal estimate; for, during a long period, its entire course embraced only three years; and notwithstanding the present course, which has been but recently established, embraces eight years, four-sevenths of all, it will be recollected, who have enjoyed the benefits of the institution, have failed to complete its entire course of studies. The present number of Baptist churches in the State of New York, is six hundred and eleven; the number of ordained ministers is four hundred and fifty-six. Now, admitting that the institution, for the twenty-two years since its commencement, has educated one half of a supply, which it has not; and admitting that education in this State is at par with the other States, which have furnished a partial supply for this, the amount of education in each minister is reduced to two years; but we will place it higher; we will put it at three years. We will admit, also, that the advantages of all the Baptist ministers, now on the stage of action in the United States, to have been equal to three years of judicious and thor-

ough mental training, in addition to the rudiments of an English education. This estimate, we are sensible, wants the accuracy of demonstration; it is, in many respects, conjectural; but we believe that any person, well informed on the subject, will acknowledge it to be liberal, beyond what a strict regard to facts would justify. But, upon this supposition even, is it not obvious that, as a denomination, we are sadly deficient in this particular? Can it be supposed that our ministry, with this measure of intellectual endowment, can hold in its grasp one-fifth of the population of these United States? We pray that better destinies may await our beloved country, than such a supposition would allow.

The founders of our churches in western New York, we admit, were uneducated men. Their elementary education did not extend, generally, beyond the rudiments of a common English education; and yet their ministry, it may be, was as well adapted to the condition of the people, as it could be. They were transplanted to this new soil in the meridian of life; were men endowed with uncommon natural abilities; had studied much the word of God, and the nature of man; had a deep personal experience in the mysteries of religion; and, in addition to all this, they had a physical education, such as men of literary habits seldom have. They could endure fatigue, hunger, wet and cold; could swim a river, plough through brooks, and mud, and sloughs; if night overtook them in the "woods," and if forbidden to recline, in consequence of the water that covered the surface of the earth, or from fear of wild beasts, they could continue in a moving and watching posture, and in acts of devotion, until the sun again illumined their path; if the roads were impassable to the horse, they could make a journey of thirty miles on foot, to fulfil their appointments. Incidents like these appear, from the journals of these good men, to be of almost every day occurrence. Such a ministry the wants of the people demanded; and with such a ministry they were more than satisfied. But these men saw, by an almost prophetic vision, that this face of things would soon be changed; that this wilderness, at no distant day, would become "a fruitful field;" that a country, having a soil so fertile, and possessing so many natural advantages, would soon teem with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, collected into

cities and towns and villages, possessing science, and far advanced in all the arts and refinements of civilized life. It was from these visions of the future, that those wise and good men were moved to lay the foundations of their theological institution.

We had intended, in this connection, to express our sentiments at length, on the subject of ministerial education; but we have already so far exceeded our limits, that what we had to offer, upon that topic, must be deferred until another occasion. We will only express, in a few words, our honest conviction, that the education of our ministry demands the special attention of the Baptist denomination. Our interests, at home and abroad, alike require this. Our foreign missions can only be sustained by a competent supply of skilful and well-trained missionaries. Nor, again, can the requisite pecuniary resources be procured, unless the churches at home are in prosperity. It has come, already, to be our misfortune, that more is expected of us, than we are capable of performing. Our growth is quite beyond our years; our strength being by no means so great as is indicated by our numerical representation. The Baptists have spread themselves, with almost inconceivable rapidity, over the whole surface of our far-reaching territory. We have taken possession, but whether we shall be able to maintain our right, remains to be seen. Do the cities and towns, those great centres of influence, admit our claim?

ARTICLE V.

ON THE DISCOVERY OF TRUTH.

*An Essay on the Rationale of Circumstantial Evidence.
Illustrated by numerous cases.* By WILLIAM WILLS.
London. 1838.

It will not be denied, that the grand and sole object of all human investigation, in whatever direction, and in whatever mode, ought to be the *discovery of truth*. The

phrase, *ought to be*, is here employed in opposition to the simple term, *is*, because there are very many instances in which even a candid mind comes to the investigation of a subject under the influence, though unconsciously, of other impulses than the pure and simple aim of the *discovery of truth*; while the remark is trite, that, with many, the aim of all discussion is the attainment of *victory*, rather than of *truth*.

Let it, however, be granted, that all men, in their investigations and discussions, seek, as their grand aim, the discovery of truth: still, let the mental eye be cast over the wide field of human discussion, in ancient times or in modern, on topics connected with morals, with religion, with social and civil institutions, or even with physical science, and how little of uniformity will be found! And when it is seen, how little of *uniformity* is exhibited, it is seen, at the same time, how little of *real truth* can have been attained; for truth must necessarily be *one*, and *unchangeable*, and *eternal*. Those essential doctrines of religion cannot be true at one time, which are false at another; those general principles of morals cannot be true at one time, or in one region, which are false at another time, or in a different region; that theory of social and civil institutions which is based upon the only correct foundation,—man's moral and intellectual nature,—cannot be correct at one time and false at another: neither can those doctrines of physical science which are true at one time, or in one place, be false, as to the *same objects*, at another time, or in a different place. How little, then, of TRUTH, has ever yet been attained by mankind: how little have the elements of truth entered into the modes of belief, rules of action, institutions, or imagined knowledge of the human race, considered in its condition from its first creation to the present day!

And yet is *truth* the noblest object of man's pursuit: yet is the attainment of *truth* the only pure source of happiness, either to individuals or the race: yet is the attainment of *truth* the one great object after which the noblest, the wisest, and the best have ever panted; towards which the whole efforts of their minds have been directed. It might give origin to a powerful and sublime argument for the necessity of a future state, that truth, though thus striven for, is so difficult in its attainment,

while it is so necessary to the development and proper direction of all the human faculties.

It will not be disputed, that the attainment of a knowledge of pure and necessary truth, in relation to all, or even a large portion of the matters which fall within human cognizance, is impossible to be attained by man. Perfect truth resides in, and can be known to, the omniscient Deity only; since, from him alone all truth, all existence proceeds, and in him alone it exists. But man's condition on this earth would be no better,—it may be truly said that it would be worse,—than that of the brutes that perish, were he endowed with no powers which enable him to *pursue* truth, and to attain, in those matters which most nearly concern him, some approach to the similitude of truth. It will be briefly shown, before the conclusion of this article, that man does possess this power, and that it does yield, even now, and ever has yielded, some fruit. The immediately present object is, to show how difficult and imperfect is the attainment of this knowledge, the *discovery of truth*, in the highest sense of the term; to examine what may be one cause of the imperfection of attempts at the discovery of truth, in its highest branches; and to inquire whether any criterion, or standard, approaching to exactness, may be established, by which *the truth* may be tried.

It is well known, that the opinion was commonly taught among the philosophers of old, in more or less decided language, that the truth *cannot be attained*. It may be useful to advert to a few of the doctrines of the ancient schools upon this subject.

"Socrates was the first," to use the language of Cicero,* "who diverted philosophy from things unknown, mysterious and hidden, to which all his predecessors had devoted their attention, and applied it to more useful and better purposes,—to the improvement and the benefit of all mankind." Socrates taught that "there is but one good thing, *Knowledge*, and one evil thing, *Ignorance*."† And yet did this great and first of moralists declare, that "the only thing which he knew was, that he *knew nothing*."‡ It was not the meaning of Socrates, that he

* Acad. Quest., Lib. I, § 4.

† Diog. Laert., Lib. II, p. 41. Stephens's edition. Parisiis, 1594.

‡ Diog. Laert., Lib. II, p. 41. See also Brucker's "*Historia Critica Philosophiæ*;" Lipsiæ, 1767. Vol. I, pp. 564—566.

was absolutely *ignorant* of all things : else had his maxim as to the value of knowledge been a contradiction. His meaning simply was, that the further he went, and the more profound were his investigations in the search for *truth*, the more strongly did he feel how completely the boasts of the Sophists, who professed ability to prove all things, were necessarily vain; that the utmost stretch of man's intellect could carry him but a little way into the endless region of truth; that the further the mind advanced, it only felt the more widely opening before it an unexplored and continually increasing prospect; in short, that the more he knew, the more he desired to know, and the more he felt how many things there are in heaven and earth which man's philosophy never can find out. It would be well for the advance of man in the discovery of *truth*, if all the professed votaries at her shrine went up to the temple with feelings like those which actuated Socrates when he made this candid acknowledgment. Then would the approach to her sacred presence be less obstructed than it ever must be, when it is imagined that the path is easy and accessible, and when due precaution and preparation is not, therefore, made for the numerous difficulties which do, in reality, beset that path.

But there is in this, as in all other cases, a just medium. The consciousness of the insufficiency of man's powers to attain to the discovery of truth, may be carried too far, as well as be too little entertained. The effects will, in the former case, be as injurious to the actual advance towards this discovery, as in the latter. We find this exemplified in the doctrines of some of the followers of Socrates, and of others among the philosophers of old.

Plato, the greatest of all the disciples of Socrates, seems to have advanced somewhat further than his master, or, perhaps, only to have stated in more definite language his opinions, as to the power of man to attain to certitude or truth. He divided all objects, of which man was capable of taking cognizance, into two classes, *Sensibles* and *Intelligibles*. Sensibles are those things that we perceive by the senses alone. Intelligibles are those things apprehended by the intellect alone. The latter, he expressly taught, could be the only foundations of true knowledge.*

* Brucker, as cited, Vol. I, p. 672. XVII, 2. The pages of Brucker's valuable and interesting work may be consulted for all the other opinions stated. Diogenes Laertius

From the information of the senses, nothing more than *probability* was to be inferred. This is not the place to enter into a discussion as to Plato's beautiful, and little generally understood, doctrine of *ideas*. It is sufficient to say, that the principles of the foundation of *real knowledge* and of mere *probability* just stated, led, as applied by him, to no irrational conclusions. They were rather safeguards of the intellect than any thing else, and were directed against the dogmatic principles of the Sophists. But, by the followers of Plato, in the *Middle* and *New Academies*, his doctrines, with respect to probability and real knowledge, were carried to a much greater, even an absurd, extreme. *Arcesilaus*, the founder of the Middle Academy, appears to have carried the doctrine of the uncertainty of human knowledge, in the heat of his disputes with those who opposed the Platonic doctrines, to so great an extent, as to offend all contemporary philosophers, and to alarm the rulers of the state. He taught, actually and literally, that there is nothing which man can know for truth.* *Carneades*, the founder of the New Academy, seems rather to have made an alteration in the terms, than in the spirit, of this doctrine. Each of them taught, that certainty and truth do exist, but that it is utterly impossible for man to find them out. The principles of the Sceptic school, or that founded by Pyrrho of Elea, though these are generally misunderstood, did not differ essentially from those of the Middle and New Academies. The main doctrine of this school was, that every argument is capable of being opposed by one equally strong.† Hence, it would, of course, necessarily follow, that the real truth, with respect to any matter, never could be attained.

It will thus be seen, what have been the opinions of some of those whose lives were spent in the professed search after truth, as to the possibility of man's attaining it. These opinions, if correct,—it may seem almost an absurdity to ask, if a doctrine which expressly teaches that no opinion can be known to be correct, is correct,—present, indeed, a lamentable picture of man's condition.

is so immethodical, though his work is of great value, that mere reference to particular passages will be of little value, except in the case of such marked expressions as those of Socrates.

* Brucker, Vol. I, p. 755.

† Sextus Empir., Lib. I, § 5, and Brucker, Vol. I, p. 1332.

It may be simply stated, that it is absolutely impossible the human race should continue to exist and act, if such doctrines were to obtain general assent, and the conduct to be consistent with them. No single act could take place with the prospect of a result; and, therefore, no measure of prospective relation,—which every act of man, in fact, is,—could be taken. These facts, alone, are sufficient to prove, that such doctrines cannot be correct. But it may be useful to glance at one principal cause, which seems to have led to the formation of such doctrines.

It would seem, upon careful consideration, that one of the principal sources of such doctrines as have been noticed, is a misconception, or indistinct notion, of the object which is sought; in other words, an erroneous conception of what is the essence of *truth*. It may be worth while, then, briefly to inquire, *What is truth?*

The author of the "Essay on the Rationale of Circumstantial Evidence" defines truth to be "the conformity of words, ideas, and relations, with the nature and reality of events and things." (P. 2.) Now, in this definition, we must differ from the author; and it is, we believe, almost the only instance in which we find occasion to complain of a want of accuracy in his definitions. We complain of this definition, as deficient in *precision*, as well as in accuracy. It appears to us, that, in the precise phraseology in which questions of moral and intellectual philosophy must always be discussed, "*words, ideas and relations*" can never be correctly placed in the same category, with reference to any object. An *idea* and a *relation* are as distinct as the thing contained from the thing containing. An *idea* is an individual modality (if such an expression will be allowable) of that which is commonly termed mind. A *relation* is something apprehended by an idea, and known to the mind, as existing in connection with two or more objects or facts, external to self. I have an *idea* (cognizance of the distinct existence) of a pine-apple, and an *idea* of a hot-house, and I must, also, if relation means any thing, have an *idea* (a distinct cognizance of the existence) of some *relation* between the pine-apple and the hot-house. We presume this is the sense in which the word, "relation," is used, in the place quoted; though it is not sufficiently precise, in wording, to enable us to feel certain as to the author's sense.

Neither do we admit, that *words* and *ideas* ought to be classed together. Words and ideas are rather connected in the relation of effect and cause, or, at any rate, of consequence and antecedent, than as different modes of existence of the same fact. An idea which embraces truth may often exist while yet words cannot be found exactly and accurately to express it. Hence how many errors, misunderstandings, misapprehensions and evils! No where is this more exhibited than in religion. How many different ideas are conceived, by different individuals, to be expressed by the same words! We rather imagine, that the definition of *truth* is, itself, a case where a clear idea may exist within the mind, while yet it is most difficult for words to give a correct representation of that idea. With this conviction, we attempt the task of a definition with great hesitation.

A single term, if rightly employed, always expresses an idea, and conveys a definition, with more precision and accuracy than a lengthened phrase. We venture, then, to define *truth*, by the single term, *actuality*. The term, *actuality*, is more precise and correct than the term, *existence*, though, in some aspects, convertible with it. The term, *actuality*, expresses whatever is, (ens) or actually *now exists*, and also whatever *has existed*, or *may exist*, in immediate connection with that which *does exist*; as, for example, the possibility of some historical fact, as inferred from the constitution of man, or the possibility of some future state of social improvement or existence, as inferred from the same. It embraces not only *physical existence*, but also what may, perhaps, be best termed *purely ideal existence*. The bearing and distinct meaning of this will presently be seen. According to this view, then, in searching for the discovery of *truth*, we search to obtain a knowledge of that which *does actually exist*; of that which *has formerly existed*, in connection with that which *does exist*; or of that which *may exist*, in the same connection; and *we can search no farther*. This is the *boundary of possible truth*. Nothing else can be *truth*,—and if we know any part of this, we know, in so much, truth,—than that which certainly and necessarily *does exist*, *has existed*, or *may exist*. This includes the whole range of the *present*, as well as of the *possible*. The human mind can never attain to the knowledge of *all this*; but, in so far as it does attain to the

knowledge of any part of it, it must attain to a knowledge of *truth*; it must have succeeded in the *discovery of truth*.

It may be thought, at first sight, that this definition of truth contains nothing important; nothing more than is self-evident. It may be observed, simply, that the more correct a view is, the more is it likely to seem self-evident, when once expressed, but the more important it must actually be. It will probably be presently perceived, that the having of a clear, definite, and precise idea of what does constitute truth, and what only *can* constitute truth, will aid very much in the discovery of truth; and that the want of it has been, and very generally is, a material cause of difficulty in the attempt at the discovery of truth.

It having been thus attempted to be definitely ascertained what, in the endeavor to discover truth, is the precise object to be sought, the next point which comes under attention is, how is truth to be sought, how determined and known to be *the truth*. Is there any criterion or standard, approaching to exactness, by which the truth may be tried?

Lord Bacon alludes to the different modes of demonstration, "by the immediate consent of the mind or sense, and by *induction*;"* and Cicero justly says,† that, "by the *senses* we perceive nothing but that which is immediately present; by the *mind* alone (which he here used in the sense of *reflection*) we perceive the past and future." These two brief quotations may be said to embody the statement of the source whence truth, or a knowledge of actuality, is to be attained. It is here intimated, that there are two sources of knowledge; the senses, and,—since every thing cannot be immediately presented to the senses for their inspection,—something within us which for the present may be called *reflection* which is not dependent upon the immediate sensible presence of the object for its activity, or for its power of action.

It is not of moment to the present subject, and would lead us too far astray, to discuss in detail the point, whether an external world does actually exist; a question which some, doubtless very wise philosophers, have amused themselves with discussing; and respecting which doubts

* Advancement of Learning, edit. 1633, p. 306.

† De Finibus, I, § 17.

have erroneously been ascribed to others.* It is sufficient, that every one necessarily recognises his *own existence* as an undoubted truth or actuality. In so far, at any rate, each man rests satisfied, that he has attained to the discovery of truth. Now a man's consciousness can be said to consist in nothing else than in the ideas or perceptions and emotions existent within him. *Each of these*, it matters not to the present purpose by what law, *is accompanied by a consciousness of actuality*. No man, in whose mind an idea is present, can for a single moment doubt, whether that idea exists or not. Its presence is, in fact, *felt truth*; proof of its actuality. It may, or may not, be the case that it represents, correctly, some object in the external world; the idea, the impression on the mental retina, is an *actuality*, a truth, at any rate. And here, it is thought, will be perceived the practical utility of a precise definition of the word truth. In the very felt existence of an idea, there is, in so far, an attainment of truth. We *know* that the idea exists. Even the ideas or visions present in spectral illusions are *real existences*. There may be nothing in the external world which is perceived through the medium of the eye; the whole may originate in a diseased condition of that organ upon which the functions of mind in this life depend for their healthy exercise; still the ideas *are there*; they are actualities: we may reason upon them as we like, and infer or not the existence of corresponding external objects, but there is no doubt of the reality of the *ideas*. And this is the only sense in which the word, *intuitive*, can be correctly used. We all have, and must necessarily have, *intuitive belief* in the reality and *actuality* of our ideas; we have not, and cannot have, in fact, intuitive belief, in the only correct sense of that term (immediate, uncompounded), in the reality and actuality of the external facts which those ideas present; that belief is a result of *reflection*. It would seem that this confusion of the *idea* with the *thing* to which that idea refers, has occasioned much of the obscurity and doubt in philosophical discussions, and has led to much obscurity in the discovery of truth. It all originates in the want of

* There can be little doubt that Bishop Berkeley's views are very generally misunderstood on this matter. He had not the slightest doubt of the reality of an external world. See his "Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous." London, 1725. *Passim*, but especially pp. 74, 124, 161, and 164.

a precise definition of *what is truth*. Thus PLATO denied that the senses can ever lead to true knowledge, while EPICURUS, on the contrary, taught that the senses are always to be trusted; that they *alone* are the foundations of all real knowledge; and that they are infallible;* infallible, however, inasmuch as the impressions received by them, are true impressions, which must be reflected upon by reason, to ascertain their consistency with the external world.

It is hoped that these very brief and condensed remarks will have sufficed to render it evident, that there are *actualities* or *truths*, of the reality of which the mind can by no possibility entertain a doubt. That point once established, a basis is fairly laid, whereon the whole superstructure may be raised. It is a point, however, which it is necessary very clearly and thoroughly to understand, but which the definition given of *truth* will, it is apprehended, enable every person to recognise.

Having thus established, that every individual must, necessarily, be cognizant of certain truths or actualities, and which he necessarily perceives *to be* truths or actualities, we next proceed to inquire, in what manner these ideas, intuitive truths, or actualities, must be employed, in order to arrive at the truth or actuality with reference to *other objects*, the correct *idea* of which (still continuing to use the term, "idea," in the same sense, as, simply, *mental cognizance*) cannot, without this effort, be, by any natural means, produced within the mind. This must be by that mental or internal process commonly known by the name (it is a mere *name*, not in actual existence; it signifies a *mode*, not an *essence*) of *reflection*. Before proceeding to examine in what this consists, an important observation presents itself.

It appears to us, that there exists one principle, one *actuality* or *truth*, which universal experience, through countless ages, without a single exception, has shown to exist as a constant relation between *every existent fact* and *some other*; which ought to serve as a guide in all physical, as well as moral investigations, but which is too frequently lost sight of, or rather, is seldom at all considered. This principle or truth is, that there is no *single*

* Lucretius, Lib. IV, *passim*; especially, see line 380, &c.

circumstance, or fact, or actuality, in nature, which is simply and independently existent in itself; which does not stand in the relation of *necessary connection* with some *other* circumstance, or fact, or actuality, in nature. Few men recognise this principle; most men think and reason as if such a principle had no existence; and yet its denial involves an absurdity; it implies that something, in our sphere, may be underived, uncreated. If one single circumstance or fact can exist without a cause, where shall we say, that a cause, or a creator, or any necessary connection, is to be presumed? Were this principle constantly borne in mind, we should never hear of there being *exceptions* to laws of nature, &c. Exceptions may exist to rules of grammar, for there is no necessary connection between the termination *us*, for example, and the masculine gender. *In facts of nature*, there is a necessary connection, or there is not. If there is, no exception can exist, for the statement of such exception involves a contradiction, viz., that there is *not* a necessary connection. In that which *nature* presents in *necessary combination*, there can be no exception to the combination. In that which man, *finding it created*, places in certain arbitrary combinations, there may be endless exceptions; for the combination is not necessary to the existence of the object, as in the former case. Thus, although Erasmus may have written it, and Lilly sanctioned it, and all men since have read it and obeyed it, that

“*Propria quæ maribus tribuuntur, mascula dicas,*”

yet this is not a case to which nature has affixed her eternal *signet*, as one between the parts of which a necessary connection must exist.

This principle, then, *that there is no circumstance or actuality in nature which is simply and independently existent in itself* (which may be termed, in brief, the principle of *nihil disjunctum*), ought ever to be borne in mind, as the foundation of every process for the discovery of truth. Here is an *actuality*;—say the simple *idea* of the table before me,—of which I am conscious, which I know to be an actuality or truth. I know that this actuality must be, necessarily, dependent for its existence upon some *other* actuality, or true and necessary existence. *What is that other actuality?* This is

the simple form in which every proposition will present itself, if the principles already endeavored to be explained be taken as the guide.

We are now arrived at the third point, and a most important one, in the process. A perception of one actuality has been attained (and the perception of one or more actuality must necessarily, by the very principle just explained, be the foundation for the discovery of another actuality), and another recognised actuality has been applied to it,—that it must necessarily be connected with some other actuality: thus, the principle of *nihil disjunctum* acts as a kind of feeler, thrown out to discover the connected actuality or truth which we are anxious to discover. The question now arises, How are we to set about making this discovery? The answer is, by the process called *reflection*.

It is foreign to the object of this article to discuss, in any way, the *essence* of *mind*, or the merits of any system of mental philosophy. It is wished carefully to avoid any thing like an involvement in the peculiar doctrines of any mental theory. The mental processes to be now considered shall, therefore, be spoken of simply under the term of *mental acts*, without any controversy as to this or that faculty.

Reflection is a mode of mental activity,—the most mysterious of all the modes of mental activity,—the distinguishing phenomena of which appear to us to be, that it is not, as in the case of a simple perception of any simple object, one simple isolated idea, as it may be called, which is present to the mind,—but *two or more distinct ideas or actualities are present together, at one and the same time, and are compared together*. This extraordinary and mysterious power, by which alone we are capable of forming any notion of the attributes of omnipotence and omniscience in the Deity, is possessed in any appreciable degree at least, by man alone, of all living creatures on earth. In this it is that he stands distinct from the brutes. It is this, and this only, which constitutes him a *reasoning being*. It is by this, alone, that man is able to proceed at all in the discovery of truth, with respect to any objects beyond those which are immediate, and simple, and isolated. Yet how has this noble power been often abused by man in the professed pursuit of truth;—

how has it been perverted, so as to give to error the semblance of truth, rather than to discover truth itself!

It appears to us, that the chief reason of the abuse to which man's capacity of reflection, or *comparison* (as perhaps it should be more precisely termed), is liable to be, and has been so often, subject, is, ignorance as to the modes in which the operations of reflection are conducted. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that a correct knowledge of these modes would, of itself, enable us to attain to a criterion or standard, by which we should be enabled, in part at least, to decide how far we had arrived at a correct determination of the truth. We shall endeavor to examine this point; and it must be immediately perceived, that it is a point of eminent *practical* importance.

In saying that the distinguishing phenomena of reflection are, *the presenting of two or more distinct ideas or actualities together, at one and the same time, and comparing them together*, the *generic* characteristics of reflection were stated. But the act of reflection is not a simple or single one. It is an assemblage of distinct mental acts, each distinguished by *specific* characteristics. To enter fully into the discussion of these, and to demonstrate the necessary truth of them, would require a volume. A very brief outline shall be here given, which the reader is requested candidly to consider. Be it observed, that nothing is said here of the *power* by which the acts are performed, but the acts themselves alone are mentioned.

It has been stated, that the *general mode* of the mental act of reflection is, to render two or more ideas present to the mind at the same time, and to compare them together. But this *comparison* must be made in *three ways*: and probably every person, accustomed to reflect at all upon the mode of action of his own mind, will recognise the truth of the following remarks.

In every *pure and deliberate*, and not partial or hasty, reflection or comparison, three distinct mental acts take place. The *first* of these is that by which the *similitude* of two distinct and separate actualities or ideas, present at the same time, is perceived. This is a most important element in reflection, as will be immediately perceived. The *second* is that by which the *necessary connection* (in accordance with the principles already explained) be-

tween one actuality and another, each present at the same time, is perceived. This can be the only source of certainty as to any truth or actuality, other than those simple isolated actualities or ideas already mentioned. The *third* is that by which the *dissimilitude* between one actuality and another, each present at the same time, is perceived. It will be immediately perceived, that this last mode of mental activity is full as necessary to the discovery of truth as either of the former, since it guards from admitting similar connections between objects essentially different. To explain this point fully, however, would require a lengthened discussion, into which we cannot, at the present time, enter. The first two mental acts of reflection are noticed in that order, because they are almost invariably combinedly active, while the *third*, though no less essential, is less frequently so. It will be perceived, that these three mental acts are frequently simultaneous, or so immediately combined, that, without careful attention, their distinctness may be lost sight of. That they are distinct mental acts, however, cannot admit of a doubt; and careful attention, as well to cases of correct conclusion, as to cases of hasty and erroneous conclusion, will serve clearly to illustrate the truth of the position.

In the remaining observations we must be brief. A careful consideration of the preceding propositions,—for it cannot be pretended, that there has been room here for lengthened *argument*,—will perhaps enable the reader to perceive, that a recognition of the three distinct mental acts comprised within the general act of reflection may be practically employed, with great, if not infallible, effect, in the determination of what is certain and necessary truth, and, *therefore*, in the discovery of truth; for the principal difficulty at present existing is, not that propositions enough are not presented to the world, as truth, but that ten thousand different and opposing propositions are presented, on the same subject, each asserted to be truth. It will be immediately perceived, that, according as one of the mental acts comprised within reflection or comparison, is allowed more play (to speak in popular language) than another, so surely will error, instead of truth, be the result. A man who, in comparison, sees only *similitudes*, will, at once, set down two facts, be-

tween which any point of similitude exists, as referring to the *same* necessary connection in the way of cause and effect; he never stops to search for discrepancies and dissimilitudes. This particular tendency, which is very strong among the majority of mankind, is the source of innumerable evils in religion, morals, and science. To take illustration from criminal jurisprudence,—in which especially its effect is to be dreaded,—how many have been the cases in which execution has been unjustly inflicted, on some grounds of circumstantial evidence which appeared strong, but which were, in fact, fallacious. The explanation of this, upon the principle already laid down, is this: there were many points actually proved in the conduct of A. B., the accused, for example, which bore exact *similitude* to conduct known to have been exhibited by many known murderers. By the second act of reflection, therefore, this conduct of A. B. was immediately set down as having the same connection with cause and consequence, and the individual pronounced a murderer. Had the third mental act of reflection been allowed full play, it would have been perceived that a dissimilar connection of cause and effect might have existed;—that the connection presumed was not absolutely *necessary*. To give an example of this: a case took place many years ago, of the following nature. A man was tried for murder. It was proved, that he was met running quickly, and apparently in great agitation, from the spot where the murdered body was found; his clothes and hands exhibited marks of blood; and near the body lay his spade, covered with blood, evidently the instrument of the fatal deed. The circumstantial evidence appeared complete. There was no hesitation in the mind of the judge, of any one in court, or of any of the jury, save one, as to the guilt of the party. That single one of the jury maintained, that the guilt was not clear; and by that just (as we think), and, as it proved in this case, protecting rule, by which unanimity in the jury is required, the man was, after a long consultation, acquitted. The judge was so much struck with the conduct of the individual member of the jury mentioned, that he requested a private conference with him. The man stated, that, if he were assured of protection and silence, he would explain all. He then stated, that the death of

the supposed murdered man had been caused, by pure accident, by himself; and that the accused was perfectly ignorant of the mode of the transaction. It subsequently appeared, that the accused was intimately acquainted with the deceased; that, upon returning to his field after an absence, he found him lying dead under the hedge; that, in his sudden emotion, he seized his hand, and thus became marked with blood; that he presently saw his own spade was lying by the side of the deceased, and apparently the cause of death; upon which he became alarmed lest suspicion should attach to him, and consequently fled.*

This case is remarkably instructive. It will show, that the principles laid down in this article are not metaphysical subtleties, but of *practical utility* and importance. Here were known facts or actualities, which the jury knew to be in very general connection with actual murder. The *similitudes* fixed their attention, and they pronounced that that connection was necessary in *this case* also. They did not exercise that act of reflection sufficiently, by which it would have been recognised, that, although there were many similitudes, all these actualities or facts *might be* totally disconnected with the *supposed connected fact* of murder;—that *other* facts might be the immediate and necessarily connected facts,—such as sudden emotion at the sight of a murdered friend, horror, alarm, &c.

The *criterion for the discovery of truth* will then be found to consist, in obliging each of the three modes of mental act embraced within reflection to be equally active:—one not being allowed a superior force to another. Thus the truth will be considered as established, only when disconnection between two or more facts is found either impossible, or in the highest degree improbable. But thus, also, will the means for the discovery of truth be rendered much clearer, and much more free from that doubt and difficulty which seem, at present, to attend the determination of every point.

It had been intended to examine this subject more in detail; to proceed to investigate the different modes in which the principles touched upon may be applied in the investigation of truth, in connection as well with physical

* The particulars of this case may be relied upon as authentic.

as with moral science; to exhibit the reason why man can never attain to an adequate conception of the attributes of Deity; and to examine, in detail, the principles of evidence laid down and employed by Paley, in his "Evidences of Christianity," and in his "Horæ Paulinæ," as also those employed by the learned author of the "Rationale of Circumstantial Evidence," compared with the principles laid down and attempted to be explained here. The length to which these remarks have already extended prevents such intention being fulfilled. It can only be added, that the "Essay" above mentioned, contains an exceedingly interesting and careful examination of that important branch of morals,—not only in its *legal*, but in its *general* application,—*circumstantial evidence*, or evidence of probability. It is a work peculiarly attractive, on account of the frequent and judicious illustration of the subject by reference to actual cases, so that no point or position is left unsustained by an example. We are glad to understand that the work has already been recommended, by the highest authority in this country in such matters, for republication here. It can hardly fail to command the attention and interest, as well of the general reader, as of the members of the profession of which the author is himself an ornament.

This, and every other contribution to the enlightening of the course of proof and evidence, has a direct bearing upon the subject treated of in this paper; the most noble and most worthy object to which the faculties of man can be directed; and which we cordially agree with our author in saying *ought to be* "the great object of all intellectual research," namely, THE DISCOVERY OF TRUTH.

S.

ARTICLE VI.

LIFE AND SELECT DISCOURSES OF REV. SAMUEL H. STEARNS.

Life and Select Discourses of Rev. SAMUEL H. STEARNS.
Boston. Published by Josiah A. Stearns, and Whipple
& Damrell. 1838. pp. 420.

WE have read through this unpretending volume, with more than common pleasure. It is an unostentatious sketch of the short-lived career of one of those simple-hearted, high-minded men, whose characters it is always refreshing to contemplate. We love to turn away from the stir and strife that often so sadly disfigure the scenes of the common world, and even from the pages of literature which describe them, and trace the calm course, even though it end in a too early grave, of an aspiring scholar, whose sensibility to the beautiful in nature, and in human character, was ever fresh, and of an ardent and pure-minded Christian, whose interest in man remained undiminished, amidst all the manifestations of human folly and corruption. We reverence the heavenly grace, that sits upon a meek and quiet spirit,—a spirit which, though in love with contemplation, does not forget the necessity of action,—which, in communion with itself and with the Spirit of all truth, sits down to think its own thoughts, to form its own opinions, and shape its own plans for the conduct of life; and we are ever ready to welcome a biography which gives us glimpses of such a character, even though it does not, in all respects, come up to our notion of what a biography should be. The interest, with which we contemplate the manifestations of such a spirit in the life of a clergyman, is increased by the contrast which it presents with the features of the age in which we live. The present is a time when the clergy are peculiarly exposed to secular influences, and are in special danger of becoming men of business, rather than scholars; creatures of expediency and policy, leaders of sects, and promulgators of reforms, rather than independent and devoted students and

eloquent teachers of the gospel, like those, whose purity of character and dignity of manners were so deeply impressed upon the early forms of our New England society.

It is with a pleasure like this, that we rise from perusing the life of Mr. Samuel H. Stearns, the late lamented pastor of the Old South church in Boston. Before we had found a place for the notice of the work, which we had meditated for the last number of this Review, we were surprised by the appearance of a second edition, in which the Life has been published by itself, while promise is given in the preface, of a volume of the Discourses, should it be demanded. That such a volume would find a ready sale, among the many friends who have been called to lament the early blighting of so much promise and hope as was centred in this gifted young man, there can be little reason to doubt. It is true, that both the Life and the Discourses are illustrations of a character that had not reached the maturity of its powers, or the fulness of its usefulness or fame; "for he fell on the threshold of his profession, the message on his lip undelivered, the errand untold, the great work, to which from childhood he had devoted his life, scarcely begun." Yet the reader cannot fail to perceive in them the promise of what he might have been,—the earnest of the glorious harvest of usefulness he might have reaped,—had his life and health been spared, to accomplish the high labors to which he nobly aspired.

The events of Mr. Stearns's life are none of them impressive, or in any high degree important, by themselves considered. But they furnish so good an illustration of the manner in which the characters of many of our best New England clergymen are formed, that we cannot forbear to present a short sketch of his personal history, before we attempt any delineation of his character.

Samuel Horatio Stearns was born at Bedford, Mass., September 12, 1801. He was of clerical descent, for at least two generations. His father was the Rev. Samuel Stearns, for nearly forty years the pastor of the Congregational church at Bedford, and his grandfathers, in either branch of his family, were both honored ministers of the same denomination. His early life was passed principally at home, under the guidance and tuition of his parents; both of whom seem to have been exceedingly judicious

persons, and to have aimed to impress upon his opening mind the principles of truth and virtue, and to inspire his young heart with feelings of honor and generosity, and a thirst for every elevated and ennobling pursuit. At the age of fourteen, he began his classical studies, under the instruction of his father; mingling the employments of agriculture with the severer labors of study,—it being a maxim with his father, that “a boy is not fit for college till he knows how to work.” To his father’s love of *thoroughness*, and the frequent illustrations of it which the labors in the garden called forth, Mr. Stearns was accustomed, in later life, to ascribe many of the habits which he prized most highly in the pursuits to which he was devoted. The paternal maxim, “a thing well done is twice done,” and the rule so often enforced, in the occupations of gardening,—“leave no weed, my son, as big as a pin,”—are capable of indefinite generalization, and he, who, in boyhood, has made them the basis of his habits, will rarely fail of at least respectable success. In his sixteenth year, he entered Phillips’ academy, at Andover, for the purpose of completing his preparation for the university. From an early period of life, he had exhibited in his character the traces of serious reflection upon his religious obligations, had cherished the reverence for the Sabbath in which he had been educated, and had seemed to take a pleasure in the study of the Scriptures, to which he diligently devoted himself. It was not, however, till June, 1816, during the first year of his residence at Andover, that he made a public profession of his faith in Christ, and became a member of his father’s church at Bedford.

In the autumn of 1819, Mr. Stearns was entered a member of the freshman class, of Harvard College. In consequence of the narrow income yielded to his father, by the parish at Bedford, he was obliged to place himself on one of the college foundations for indigent students. The assistance thus furnished, being intended as a stimulus to exertion, as well as a relief to necessity, would naturally call forth the most unremitting efforts of an ardent and sensitive mind. Urged on by incitements like this, in addition to his natural love of knowledge and sense of duty to himself and his parents, he applied himself to study, with a devotion that his frail constitution was but ill calculated to sustain. The result was,—as has been so

often sadly recorded of aspiring minds,—that, from neglect of the laws of his physical nature, his frame gave way, and he was obliged to leave college for the recovery of his health, before the third year of his residence had expired. He was, however, so far recruited, as to be able to rejoin his class at the university, in the ensuing autumn. In 1823, he was graduated from Harvard, with the unqualified respect and esteem, both of his instructors and his fellow-students, and with high distinction as a scholar.

The period of a young man's closing his early studies, and taking leave of the cloistered retirement of his academic life, is always an era in his history. It is usually the period, especially if success has crowned his efforts, and disease has not crushed his energy, when, before all others, hope is bright and glowing, and resolution strong and buoyant. The thousand pathways of the world are open before him, and all that is alluring to the youthful spirit skirts the horizon that lies around him. The gorgeous dreams of youth then first begin to give place to the more sober, yet not less impressive, realities of manhood. The pulse of benevolence beats strong within him, and he forms to himself plans of usefulness and distinction, which experience only can teach him he cannot accomplish. But Mr. Stearns, though he did not despond, was yet cut off from hopes and anticipations like these. He had completed his collegiate education, and had reached the period to which he had long looked forward as the goal of his hopes and exertions; the period when he should enter upon the more immediate preparation for professional life. But, instead of a heart beating with joyous hope, the prospect before him must have filled it with doubt and apprehension. Instead of a frame strong with manly vigor, he found his constitution shattered and enfeebled, unable to endure the labors of the profession he had chosen.

The two years immediately after his leaving college, he passed, in part, at Phillips' academy, in the capacity of an instructor, and in part at home, in the labors of agriculture, for the benefit of his health. Having in some measure recruited his wasted energies, in 1825 he entered the junior class of the theological institution at Andover. The three years he passed at this honored school of the prophets seem, in every way, to have been exceedingly pleasant and profitable. The habits of regular and assiduous

study, which had borne him on to distinguished success at the university, against the united pressure of infirm health and a narrow income, still attended him and enabled him to make attainments in the science and the literature of theology, far surpassing the ordinary meagre standard of the times. During this period of his life, his intellect seems to have risen to higher independence and an intense devotion to the investigation of truth. He was careful, in all his theological studies, to form opinions for himself, to discern the impress of heavenly inspiration upon every doctrine, before he made it his own, with proper deference, indeed, to the authority of the great and good, yet with no blind submission to their dictations. He thus planted in his mind the germ of a spirit of philosophical inquiry, which, had his life been spared for its full development, might have shed some valuable light upon the more obscure problems of theological science. While thus settling his views of the doctrines of divine revelation, he was at the same time breathing more largely of its spirit, and cultivating a piety that should fit him to withstand the temptations and endure the trials of the life before him. From communion with the gifted and sanctified minds of other ages, from daily reflection on the Providence that had shielded and guided him, and on the holy labors to which he had consecrated his days, and, more than all, from prayer, and the study of the Scriptures and the mighty truths they reveal, his spirit had gained strength for loftier soarings of devotion, for clearer and wider visions of faith. While at Andover, he seems to have deeply and thoroughly studied the nature of the profession he had chosen, and to have formed to himself a full and perfect ideal of what a Christian minister should be. The doctrines of the Bible, in their varied applications, he considered as far transcending in importance every other subject of inquiry, and, next to these, he devoted himself with fullest ardor, to the study of the manner of presenting the truth so as to affect the minds of men. Thus to enforce the principles of religion, he regarded as the great, the peculiar work of the Christian preacher. He was no believer in the inspiration of the ministry, or in the power of pulpit addresses, otherwise than as they conform to the laws of the human mind. He, therefore, wisely conceived it to be the duty of him, who would successfully preach the gospel of Christ, first

of all, to know how the minds of men are to be addressed, to study those great principles of eloquence which he must practise in common with the orator of the forum and the deliberative assembly, and those which are peculiar to the sacred profession, to trace them as exemplified in the master specimens of ancient and modern oratory, to meditate on them in retirement, and practise them in the exercise of preparatory discipline, until he should be able, as it were, to compel the reluctant attention of men to the truths he would proclaim. In devotion to an ideal like this, Mr. Stearns passed the years of his residence at Andover, in pursuits that were kindred to his taste, and fitted to prepare him for eminent usefulness in the church. Before leaving the seminary, he carefully examined the question of his duty to the cause of missions, in all the light which he could throw upon it, from the experience of others, and the best advice of his parents, instructors and friends, and, without fully making a decision of the question, he seems to have left it for the future indications of Divine Providence to determine. The following resolutions, written during the last year of his theological studies, serve to illustrate the character of his piety at this period of his life, and his views of the nature of the Christian ministry :

"I wholly renounce ambition and self-indulgence, as motives of action.

"I must be absolutely and entirely devoted to God, in heart and life; and live not unto myself, but unto him who loved me and died for me.

"I must glorify God, in the improvement of my own character, and in doing good to mankind.

"I will follow my own taste and genius, so far as circumstances allow; and trust in God that his providence will guide me. 'Trust in the Lord,' &c.—'Be careful for nothing.'

"I will never intrude myself on the public, or take a conspicuous part, without good and important reasons; nor will I shrink from the exposure when duty calls, but generously go forward, and endeavor to acquit myself with Christian propriety.

"My intercourse with the world, as far as it extends, shall be perfectly honorable, Christian, frank, kind and magnanimous;—any good attained or done at the expense of this, costs too much.

"It shall be my pleasure to exert a happy influence on all within the little circle in which I move.

"I will never be disturbed or diverted from my purpose, by the remarks, conduct and opinion of those who do not know my character or understand my motives; but will ever maintain that self-pos-

session, freedom, independence and liberality of feeling which constitute true dignity.

"Why should we be for ever undoing the work of life? Why should we wish to be just like every body else? I will be myself, and make the best of it. God grant that I may grow better."

Mr. Stearns left the seminary in August, 1828, at which time, in addition to his regular academic performances, he delivered an address to the Porter Rhetorical Society, which is published among his Discourses, and exhibits the reflections of an ardent and aspiring mind, on the duties of the profession into which both he and the members of the society were about to be ushered.

Having thus closed his career of preparatory study, and formed for himself, so far as he was able, his plan of life, he delighted himself with the thought that he was ready to enter any field of professional labor which divine Providence might open before him. And it was with feelings of grief and disappointment, such as none can fully know but those who have passed through the same sad experience, that he found his health so much reduced as to be unable to endure even the comparatively light labors consequent upon a short engagement with the church of Rev. Dr. Skinner in Philadelphia. He retired from a situation which, had he been able to retain it, would have furnished many means of improvement, and ample fields of usefulness. He retired, as a wounded soldier leaves the field of battle, fearing his days of service were over, trusting nothing to himself, and reposing all his confidence in the Master for whom he toiled. He saw every hope of immediate labor in the ministry, which he had allowed himself so fondly to indulge, now either irrecoverably blighted, or long deferred. Yet he murmured not at the appointment of Heaven. In a letter written about this period, he declares his trust in God, and says :

"Let us bow to his authority, without *one murmur*, and only say, with a firm, reverential voice, Let him do, for he hath a right to do. Yes, there is a providence that directs all things. I do not find, after much investigation and reflection, that it promises much, *specifically*, but it does promise, 'I will never leave you, nor forsake you.' And why is not this enough? We have no demands on God; but we know that he is a very kind Master,—an indulgent Father; he will do *whatever is best*, and he will always be with us. This is enough. Let us trust him cheerfully, come what will. For my part, I may say, that, though a wanderer and a stranger in the earth, I never felt more contented in my life."

Thus defeated in his plans, at the very moment when hope would naturally be strongest and brightest, he relinquished all thought of immediate settlement, and retired to the mansion of his father, at Bedford; where, with little interruption, he spent the four or five succeeding years of his life. But here he was not idle. In the bosom of his family, and amidst the cheerful scenes of his childhood, he gave himself up to the studies and contemplations with which his mind had ever been most delighted. During this period of retirement, he planned a philosophical work on the moral nature of man, and made considerable progress in the preparation of some portions of it. He also rendered occasional assistance to his father, and preached, as often as his health would permit, to the destitute churches in the neighborhood. Thus withdrawn from the stations of usefulness he had hoped to occupy, and in the midst of all the uncertainties and infelicities to which an invalid is exposed, he saw the golden years of his early manhood glide away. But they were not spent in vain, for they left behind them the treasures of thought they had accumulated, and the lessons of piety they had taught. From the spring of 1830, his health had been gradually improving, and he again began to cherish the hope of being able to labor in the cause to which he had consecrated his days. Having, in 1833, preached for a few Sabbaths, at the Old South Church, in Boston, and at the Tabernacle Church, in Salem, he soon afterwards received an invitation from each of these churches to become their pastor. The question of settlement was now forced upon his attention, and he could not shrink from its decision. During his retirement, he had gained a fund of knowledge and experience, which had greatly contributed to his qualifications for the pastoral office. His stock of health and strength was now apparently greater than it had been for many years, and the season in which the labors of life are usually accomplished was rapidly passing away. Under the influence of these considerations, he doubted whether he was at liberty to remain longer unemployed in the permanent ministry of the gospel.

"He was much affected," says his biographer, "and at times overpowered, with the mysterious dealings of God, who, after keeping him in the school of discipline so long, had suddenly thrown open

these two large fields of labor, distinctly saying, as he thought, 'Thrust in the sickle, and reap.' The responsibilities of the pastoral and ministerial office, sufficient, if they could be appreciated, to crush an angel, had been growing in importance upon his imagination for years. They now rose up before him like a mountain, which the voice of Providence seemed to command his feeble shoulders to sustain. 'Sometimes,' he says, 'I am ready to sink, and feel as if I had well nigh finished my course. Sometimes, I stand amazed at the providence of God; and very commonly am overwhelmed and overborne with a sense of his goodness and forbearance. I am melted under it, and depressed with it. And then, again, I am startled, like one that looks from a giddy height down a precipice; or a dreadful awe comes over me, as over one who looks up the side of a huge or overhanging rock. Much of this week has been spent in taking a review of my past life,—running my eye all along the way in which the Lord has led me. I wish to look at all that is past, as if I had now come to the end; to see its errors, its sins, and its honest purposes, too; to see how God has overruled all, and to learn, as well as I can, from the past, what are the indications of his providence for the future.'"

After much deliberation, he was induced to accept the invitation from the church in Boston. Alas! how transitory are the hopes and the relations of man. Little did that ancient church anticipate, as they heard the clear and eloquent voice of their young and promising pastor, that he was destined so soon to pass away. Mr. Stearns preached to them two Sabbaths, and part of a third, and never again raised his voice within the walls of the Old South. As the excitement which had sustained his spirit passed away, and left him to the unassisted strength of his shattered constitution, he found himself wholly unable to complete the third Sabbath of his ministry. He tried the usual means of recruiting his health; but it was all in vain,—nature, exhausted, and worn out, refused to resume her wonted offices; and, after spending the summer in travel, with but little benefit, he asked and received a dismission from the pastorate of the church in which his hopes were garnered up; and around which his affections were beginning to entwine. He spent a few months at Bedford, and in making a journey to Virginia, and having been urged to undertake a voyage to Europe, he embarked for London, in June, 1836, in company with his friend, Rev. Professor Stowe, and arrived in England on the 28th of the same month. He travelled in England and Scotland, and, passing to the continent, visited Germany, Italy, and France; his health varying with the circum-

stances in which he was placed, yet, during the latter part of his journey, very rapidly declining. Of his observations in these several countries, he had taken copious notes, of which some interesting extracts are presented in this memoir, and which would have been given to the public had their author lived to return to his native land. He died at Paris, in August, 1837, surrounded by the friends whom the gentleness and goodness of his character had won for him in a land of strangers.

As a scholar, both in general and in theological science, Mr. Stearns had enjoyed unusual advantages; and, considering the infirmities which, through his whole life, pressed heavily upon him, he had made no ordinary attainments. He felt the benefit of learning and philosophy to the health and progress of his own mind, and labored in their acquisition with all the enthusiasm of his nature. His mind was largely and somewhat peculiarly endowed, combined with a clearness of perception and an independence of judgment that admirably fitted him for philosophical studies: there was a delicacy of sensibility, and a fervor of fancy, such as usually characterizes the temperament of the poet. The productions of his intellect give evidence that he had attained that repose of spirit, and confidence in an inward energy, which belongs only to highly gifted and cultivated minds. In study, his aim was not acquisition merely, but the development and perfection of his own nature. He made no narrow and vain calculations of the results which intellectual cultivation would enable him to accomplish; for he felt, with a certainty which nothing could shake, that truth and beauty are the appropriate aliment of the soul, from which alone it derives its immortal vigor, and its perennial freshness. He carried into manhood the resolution of his youth,—“to be himself,”—to follow, whenever he could, the bent of his own taste and genius, and trust to Heaven for guidance.

His heart was filled with every generous and Christian sentiment. He was, perhaps, more than is usual with Christians of the present day, fond of the retirement of meditation and devotion, where he might explore the mysteries of his own being, and gather strength for the labors and conflicts of life. He shrunk, with a sensibility, perhaps too keen and delicate, from the rude and

vulgar intercourse both of the religious and the secular world.

"His piety," says the biographer, "was of the *simplest* character. He used no cant phrases,—attempted no exhibition of peculiar goodness,—was above parade and affectation,—and made it a rule, both in the pulpit and in conversation, never to express, by tone, language, or gesture, an emotion which he did not feel. Strangers, though they might observe in him a propriety of Christian demeanor, would not, probably, discover at once the depth and fervor of his piety. But no one could be long in his company, without perceiving something of that fulness and heartiness of religious sentiment, and that calm and peace-giving confidence in Christ, which marked his Christian course, and was so conspicuous in his dying hours. His feelings towards God were those of strong *filial love*. He seemed to make him his *confidant* in all things. For many years before his decease, he had scarcely a doubt that he was the child of his heavenly Father. But he considered himself an unworthy child, who needed chastisement; and who, through much tribulation, must enter into rest."

As a minister, the character of Mr. Stearns was not fully formed. But, if we may judge from the promise given in the few discourses he has left, and from his own views of the nature of the sacred office, we should place him in a very high rank among our American clergy. His careful study and diligent practice of the principles of sacred rhetoric,—the science to which he devoted his best attention during his residence at Andover,—had given him no ordinary skill and power in the composition of sermons. His taste was unusually simple and correct; the style of his pulpit performances was accurate and chaste, free alike from the studied elegances of classical diction, and the uncouth familiarity of vulgar declamation. "His sermons were written after much study, and preparation of mind. Many of them were arranged, composed, and finished, in all but the language, before a word was committed to paper. His texts were not chosen as 'a peg to hang a sermon on,' but rather as a *germ* of truth, which he was to unfold and exhibit in maturity, with its fruit. His discourses are, for the most part, a *single sentiment*, presented in its relations, illustrated, enforced, and applied. Hence, it is often said of him, that he rarely preached a discourse which was not long remembered."

In every relation of life, Mr. Stearns exhibited a delicacy and reverence that could not fail to command the love of all who are capable of appreciating these qualities

of the soul. In no part of his character, however, do they appear to us so amiable and just, as in his views of the station and duties of the clergyman. He revered the office of an ambassador of Christ, and felt that it was not to be lightly assumed. He looked upon it as an office demanding no common gifts and discipline, and even after years of toilsome preparation, he shrunk from its labors and responsibilities, as too great for his unaided strength. We cannot but commend his example, in this respect, as teaching a salutary lesson to the young men who, at every stage of their academic or theological studies, are ever ready to anticipate the duties for which they are preparing, but for which they are not yet prepared. In his view (and we apprehend, that most intelligent Christians are of the same opinion), this readiness to stand in the place, and undertake the duties of an appointed minister of the gospel, would be alike inconsistent with the modesty of youth, and injurious to its intellectual and moral improvement. At best, we have but little respect for the practice, so prevalent in this age, and particularly in this country, of elevating young men to be counsellors and guides of the people. We should be slow to believe, that the republic has derived the slightest political benefit from the youthful conventions which have been so frequently held, since these days of party strife began. But this practice assumes a graver character, and deserves a more decided reproof, when it calls from their appropriate discipline, students of our academies and colleges, before they have even begun their theological studies, and places them in the pulpit, in the high capacity of teachers of religion. Whatever may be said in its defence, we are persuaded this practice is productive of most serious evils. It lowers the standard of clerical character; it diminishes the authority and sanctity of the pulpit, and, too often, destroys in the youthful mind its respect for an assembly of immortal beings, and for the holy services of the sanctuary, and begets, in its place, a feeling of self-sufficiency and a thirst for applause that ill become the candidate for so sacred and venerable an office. As it seems to us, the days have gone by, when this is necessary or even excusable. The glorious gospel of the blessed God is a theme too vast, and too sublime, and the instruction of men in righteousness a work too great and responsible, to be entrusted unnecessarily to undisciplined tyros.

If there is a class of men on earth, whose minds should be free from the dominion of whatever is narrow and gross, and be made the home of all that is pure and lovely,—who should be models of lofty character to the young, and pioneers of the people in all the nobler interests of life; that class assuredly is the pastors of the Christian church. The station which they occupy, if rightly understood, is one of the most elevated and ennobling which society presents. When filled by piety, by dignity, and by intellectual and social worth, the pastoral office can hardly fail to command the respect, and promote the best interests of all classes of men. On the contrary, when its nature is mistaken, and its dignity inadequately conceived of, when it is filled by narrowness or ignorance, by dulness or recklessness, its influence may be pernicious, and the pulpit, instead of being

“The most important and effectual guard,
Support and ornament of virtue’s cause,”

may become the oracle from which precepts of error and discord are delivered to the people.

We have met with few men who seem to have thought and felt more justly, on the character of the clerical profession, than the subject of this sketch. His early resolution never to obtrude himself on the public, and on all occasions to act on the principles of Christian honor and magnanimity, he seems never to have departed from. He had no relish for the bustle and tumult even of religious affairs. He formed opinions for himself on all subjects, and when occasion demanded, he fearlessly expressed them. But it was more congenial with his own taste, and, as he conceived, more in harmony with the dignity of the Christian minister, to retire from the grosser strifes that agitate the spirits of men. He loved “the still air of delightful studies,” and the calm prospect of the glory and grandeur of outward nature. His spirit drank in exquisite delight from the bland sympathies of friendship, and from the hallowed associations of private and social worship. He loved, too, the duties of the pulpit, and, though it was with feelings of reverence that he stood forth as the ambassador of God to guilty men, yet he was no timid preacher of the gospel, no sanctimonious seeker of popular applause.

He has been summoned away from the stations of usefulness and honor, which he seemed so well fitted to adorn, and has gone down to an early grave; but we rejoice to know that the light of his example is still around us, and that his character still lives enshrined in the affections and respect of all who knew him.

ARTICLE VII.

PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

WE use the term, practical, in the title of this article, in distinction from theoretical; yet we do not intend to represent them as really opposed to each other. For theoretical knowledge may agree with practical, and greatly enhance it. Still they may exist independent of each other; at least one may possess theoretical, without practical knowledge. He may be acquainted with the character of another from mere general description, or he may be acquainted with it, from intimate converse, and reciprocal affection. "And this is life eternal," said the Saviour, in that affecting prayer which he offered for his disciples, just before his death, "this is life eternal, that they might *know* thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." But "life eternal" cannot be the result of simple or theoretical knowledge, however profound; for we may understand "all mysteries and all knowledge," and yet be "nothing." "Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? Then shall I profess, and say to them, *I know* you not; depart from me, ye workers of iniquity."

That knowledge, then, of God, and of Christ, which constitutes eternal life, is intimate, practical, endearing. It is a knowledge derived from fellowship and sympathy, a knowledge that binds and blesses. Of course, such a knowledge is founded upon scriptural and adequate views of the Divine character; but it goes far beyond this, and like the intimate acquaintance of two friends, which binds

heart to heart, and soul to soul, it binds the spirit of man to the spirit of his God. This is the precise connection subsisting between Christ and his people. Christ is in them,—they are in Christ. Thus our Saviour is represented as the head of the church, just as if *one heart* animated them both. In the same manner, Christians are united with God. “Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.” One glorious bond of knowledge, affection and sympathy unites them all. “Ye are Christ’s, and Christ is God’s.” How beautiful and impressive is our Saviour’s prayer, when viewed in this light! “Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one: as thou, Father, *art in me*, and I *in thee*, that they also may be *one in us*; I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one, and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast *loved* them, as thou hast *loved* me.”

It must be evident to every one who looks abroad, with an observant eye upon the great mass of mankind, that most indefinite and erroneous views prevail among men with regard to the character of God, and the relations in which, as rational, responsible, and immortal beings, they stand to his government. Sin hath blinded their eyes, and extinguished the light of heaven within the soul. And although ample means have been provided in the gospel of Christ for dissipating the gloom, and recalling the light, yet such is the perversity of the heart, that men will not come forth from the dark region of unbelief in which they have entrenched themselves. The Sun of righteousness shines brightly around them, and all nature is instinct with the spirit and power of God; but they love the darkness of their own prison more than the light of heaven’s effulgent luminary. It is not for want of information that men are ignorant of God; nor of capacity to take advantage of that information. The fault is in the will, or rather, in the disposition of the heart, which is alien from God, and full of opposition to the strict purity, and spotless perfection of the Divine character. The affections frequently control the intellect; and, since the heart has become adverse to God, the intellect does not recognise “the truth as it is in Jesus.” It is too *holy* to be even understood, still more to be received and cherished. “Be-

cause I tell you the truth, ye believe me not," said our Saviour to the proud and self-righteous Pharisees, who rejected the gospel, for no other reason than its perfect purity. "The natural man discerneth not the things of the Spirit, neither can he know them." This, however, does not happen because the natural man has no capacity for believing it, but because he hates it, and turns away from its high and holy claims. "God is not in all his thoughts;" or if he gives his mind to the contemplation of the Divine character, he looks at it through the imperfect medium of disordered affections. Hence, his very heart is enmity to God, is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." But let his heart be purified, and he will form and cherish the true conception of the Divine character; for he will then gaze upon it through a pure medium. Again, the light is offensive to him, because it discovers his corruption. The truth of the gospel pains his apostate heart, as the rays of the sun do a diseased eye. Hence, he will not come to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd. This is always painful; it must always produce either contrition or despair, feelings from which it is natural for guilt to recoil. A right acquaintance with God would make him happy; but he dreads the process through which the mind in such a case usually passes. Conviction must precede conversion; the pang of conscious guilt must usher in the birth of immortal hope. This transition, from a state of comparative indifference to one of agitation and dread, and through this to hope and joy, is greatly disrelished by the sinner.

It is true, men often conceive of a God whom they can love, and upon whose image their minds can repose with complacency; but this is only a figment of their own imaginations, as unreal as the forms with which the ancient Greeks peopled Olympus. Nothing is more common than to measure the Deity by a human standard, and bring him down to the narrow limits of our own views and feelings. The consequence of this is, the formation of a great variety of fictitious deities. They are of course suited to the conceptions and the feelings of the various individuals who form the great mass of unsanctified humanity. Were it possible for all such idols, now enshrined in the hearts of men, to start into palpable forms before our eyes,

we should find as great a diversity of gods, even in this Christian land, as the Athenians could boast of, among whom it was said to be easier to find a god than a man. We should discover, too, that they all had something human about them, that they were of the earth earthy, even when most resplendent and glorious. Now these are the gods "that guilt makes welcome;" gods that will not punish sin, or if they punish it, will do so with no special severity. They are gods who will not too strictly scrutinize the conduct, and who will make the most ample allowance for the follies and frailties of human nature.

This transference, of our own views and feelings to the character of God, has a natural tendency to lull the soul into the slumber of utter indifference, both as to its present state and future prospects. It hides from us our own true character, and fills the future, so dark and portentous to every enlightened sinner, with unreal and visionary splendors. God being viewed as altogether such as we are, ingratitude of heart is not regarded as an evil which drags the soul to perdition; the curse of a violated law burning into the heart for ever, is neither acknowledged nor felt; hell is thought of only as a word which sounds harshly in our ears, and the fearful denunciations of the sacred oracles against every species of sin, though ringing upon the ears of men from the throne of Omnipotence, fall upon their heedless hearts like the distant echoes of the receding tempest. While the storm of vengeance is gathering in the distance, and the thunders are rolling through the sky, the sun still shines upon their heads, and they bask in its beams, as if this state would last for ever. For a moment, they may be aroused by the voice of conscience, and of God, but they relapse into a sleep still more profound.

Man is sinful, God is holy. Heaven lies far above the din of earth, and the fading vanities of the world. Whatever, therefore, brings the soul into close contact with God and eternity, is disliked, and consequently avoided. The renovation of the heart, the influence of the Divine Spirit, communion with God, abstraction from the world, death as an introduction to the presence-chamber of the Deity, and the perfect purity of glorified spirits, if not regarded altogether in the light of poetical fictions, bring

God and his claims too vividly before the mind and the conscience, not to be shunned, and sometimes even loathed.

We generally wish to regard ourselves as secure and happy. But an unconverted sinner, a man of the world, an ambitious man, a sensualist, cannot think of the holy God, of the sacred oracles, without an impression and a foreboding of "the wrath to come." Such a one, therefore, shuts out, as much as possible, the idea of God from his mind as an unwelcome intruder; or he forms in his conceptions an imaginary god, upon whose image his unsanctified thoughts may rest with complacency.

And yet it seems wonderful, that men should thus deny God, and exclude him from their minds. There is something so august, so glorious, so thrilling, in the thought of such a being, that it appears a prodigy of madness for a rational and immortal man to turn away from it with an infidel aversion, or an imbecile dread. Why is it, we naturally ask, that creatures, formed in God's own image, and destined to partake of his glory, think so little of him, or, if they permit their minds to recur to the subject, that it is done with so little reverence and awe? Why is it that they feel so unconcerned about his character and government,—that they are so regardless of his favor? Why, again, is his blessed word not searched, with the ardor and assiduity of one who must understand it, or perish? Why, in one word, do multitudes go to the house of prayer, as they would go to a theatre, and hear the most solemn and startling declarations concerning God and eternity, the guilt of man, and the perdition of the soul, with so little seriousness and alarm? O, it is because they know not God, either as a Saviour or a Judge, nor reflect upon the affecting relations in which they stand to him.

For the same reason, they are ignorant of themselves. Not recognising the holiness of him who has revealed his wrath from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of man, and who will by no means clear the guilty, they feel neither their guilt nor their danger.

Why is it that, even when they admit the reality of their guilt and condemnation, they do not feel the immi-

nent danger of such a condition, nor make the slightest effort to free themselves from it? It is because they know nothing of God as they ought to know, and scarcely consider that he exists. Though they know him not, they assure themselves that all is well, because, forsooth, they have heard that he is gracious and merciful, slow to wrath, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin. But how he is such, in what circumstances, and under what conditions, they neither know nor care. Yes, our God is a God of mercy, ready to forgive, and willing to save; but he is also holy and just, and will by no means justify the unrepenting, unbelieving sinner. God must be true to himself, and act in consistency with the great and immutable principles of his government, must maintain the dignity of his throne, and the claims of his law; and, although he hath formed a plan of mercy for the benefit of apostate man, yet he hath formed it upon principles of justice. He intends the gospel for the promotion of holiness, and, unless it conduces to that end, it will only secure our deeper ruin. "We are a sweet savor to God," says the apostle, "in them that are saved and in them that perish; to the one, we are a savor of life unto life, to the other, of death unto death." Sin is just as hateful in the sight of God now, as it was when he appeared in thunder upon Sinai, or when his only begotten Son, bearing its curse upon Calvary, cried out, "My God, my God! why hast thou forsaken me?" But now, vain, foolish, infatuated man, unmindful of this, congratulates himself on his state of fancied security, lays himself down to rest on the lap of indolent repose, and dreams of nothing but endless joy, while the thunders of divine justice are gathering over his devoted head, and hell itself, ay hell itself, we cannot mince the matter, is ready to receive him. O the utter infatuation of the human heart! Looking for light, when there is nothing but midnight darkness; for joy, where despair clanks her chains and weeps tears of blood; slumbering upon the very precipice, smiling upon ruin, and making a covenant with death and the grave. Wrapt in triple delusion, he glides in fatal tranquillity down that stream which is sweeping onward to perdition.

It is only "in Christ," that a true and saving knowledge of the character of God can be obtained. Here all

the moral perfections of the Deity are most gloriously and distinctly reflected. Here mercy and truth meet together; righteousness and peace kiss each other. Here, all that is tremendous in justice, all that is cheering in mercy, blend together, and present a more beautiful and attractive aspect than when they are viewed singly and apart, just as the clouds of the evening sky mingle with the rays of the descending sun, and blend in beauty. Christ is the representative of God to man, the brightness of the Father's glory, and the express image of his person. In him all the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily, somewhat shadowed and subdued, it is true, by humanity, but still resplendent with the uncreated brightness of the Godhead. "He that hath seen the Son, hath seen also the Father; he that knoweth the Son, knoweth also the Father." They are one, and yet Jesus Christ is a man, and united by special ties to humanity. He unites heaven and earth, brings God to man, and man to God. Thus, he is the only medium through which God can be known, so as to furnish hope and joy to the sin-burdened spirit. "No man cometh unto the Father, but by me." It is in Christ, and Christ alone, that God is felt to be just, and yet the Saviour of man. Here only will he meet the sinner with pardon and peace, with fellowship and love. "God so loved the world; that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life." Hence, there is no other name given under heaven, among men, whereby we can be saved, but that of Christ. He is the way to the Father,—“the way, the truth, and the life.” In him is light, or the true knowledge and enjoyment of God, and this light is the life of men. "This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."

If God could at any time have forgiven one sinner, and admitted him into favor, without satisfaction to his justice, he could do this at any other time, and to any other sinner. If righteousness, or justification, "come by the law," if it is, in any case, a reward of good conduct, or an act of mere justice, then "is Christ dead in vain;" then all that he has done and suffered, as the great High Priest of our profession, glorious as we may have deemed it, is only a dream of the distempered imagination; the

work of redemption, with its stupendous provision of mercy, a mere pageant; the glowing language of prophets and apostles, with regard to the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow, is hyperbole and extravagance. But "in Christ," God is reconciling the world to himself; proffering to the guilty and the lost, through the great atoning sacrifice, pardon and everlasting life. If, then, in the matter of human salvation, Christ is all in all to God, he ought certainly to be all in all to us. If he is the great animating spirit, ay, and the very *substance* of the gospel; if he is the Alpha and Omega of divine Revelation; if he is the foundation of the church, and the very centre and glory of the spiritual world; if he is at once the victim on the cross, and the king on the throne; we cannot regard him with a love too ardent, a confidence too full, a veneration too profound. He who knows not Christ, knows not God; he who rejects Christ, rejects God.

We have said, that Christ is God,—the perfections of God embodied. "Great is the mystery of godliness, God was *manifest* in the flesh, seen of angels, believed on in the world, received up into glory." Reposing in his bosom, and gazing on his divine countenance, we are in no danger of forgetting God. Once admitted into union with him, we bask in the beams of an all-pervading Deity. Jehovah reveals himself to man, only by means of Christ. Here, alone, we obtain a practical knowledge of God. Here, alone, we are admitted into his privacy, and behold him face to face.

How inadequate and tame are the conceptions we form of a beautiful landscape, or a distinguished character, from the descriptions of others, in comparison with those which we acquire by personal observation, and intimate acquaintance! How, then, can we adequately know God, but in Christ, through whom we are admitted to personal intimacy and fellowship with him? Where else can we recognise him as a father and a friend, and hold communion with him in these endearing relations? "No man knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." But here, "the whole Deity is known."

Indeed, the glory of Christ's sufferings, and the whole interest and value of his mediatorial work, are derived

entirely from their connection with the moral attributes of God, and the great principles of his moral government. The redemption of a ruined world by means of the death and resurrection of the Son of God, presents these attributes and principles in a new and more glorious aspect, to all holy and intelligent beings, throughout the universe. It brings to bear upon all minds rightly disposed, whether in heaven or in earth, stronger motives to admiration, gratitude, and trust,—the grand constituent elements of a pure and permanent happiness. It presents new views of God, views to which the mightiest intellects in heaven would never have attained. It would seem to be necessary for the full development of the Divine character. Without it, God might never have been perfectly known; neither his holiness nor his benevolence would perhaps have been so fully appreciated. The revelation of mercy to man has shed a new light around the throne of God, presented a new aspect of the Divine character, and furnished a new reason for wonder, love, and praise.

The entire moral history of man, and especially that part of it which relates to his redemption by Christ, may be regarded in the light of a great moral scheme, the nature and issues of which are, with a benevolent design, subjected to the contemplation of the whole intelligent universe. Angels, we are told, desire to look into it, while “the manifold wisdom of God” is represented as “known,” or made known, by means of it, “to principalities and powers in heavenly places;” language which would seem to intimate, that the facts, the moral bearings, and the results of the gospel, have a sphere of influence wide as the vast dominions of the Deity. It was worthy of the Son of God, to assume the nature of man, and in that nature to suffer, bleed, and die, for an object so transcendent, so glorious, as this. And who can tell the extent of the intelligent universe thus affected by “the abounding grace of God?” Perhaps all the millions of human beings that have ever existed, or that shall ever exist, may be only as a drop to the wide ocean, in comparison with the number of those who have never sinned, and yet are not excluded from the benefits of the gospel. Had mankind been left to perish, those holy beings would never have murmured; but they would have wanted those peculiarly high and glowing conceptions of the Divine

benevolence they now possess in consequence of the death of Christ. If mankind had been saved without a ransom, supposing such a thing possible, then the holiness, and, by consequence, the benevolence of God, would, in their estimation, have suffered an eclipse. Probably the whole universe, with the exception of those that perish, has been benefited by the salvation of man, through the blood and righteousness of the Son of God.

There are treasures of knowledge in the redemption by Christ but dimly seen by mortals, which the loftiest intelligences in heaven contemplate with wonder, and which it will require eternity adequately to develop.

But upon a subject like this, our ideas are inadequate and tame. We see darkly, as through a glass. The grand results of redemption appear dim and distant. They lie far beyond us, covered with the shadows of eternity. But in a few years, these shadows will be removed, and the glories of another state will be brought fully and distinctly before our eyes. We shall know even as we are known; and all our previous ideas, elevated and glowing as we may have deemed them, will appear like the feeble and imperfect conceptions of childhood. But the little, that we do know, gives promise of something ineffably great. By means of it, we are admitted to the vestibule of that house not made with hands, where, by the aid of God's word and Spirit, we hear unutterable things, and behold scenes of grandeur and beauty which language cannot describe. O, how do the impressions hence derived tend to humble us; to chase away the miserable vanities of earth; to chasten and subdue the spirit, ennoble its aims, and purify its affections!

Thus, the truth as it is in Jesus, or the knowledge of God's character, as revealed in the gospel, exerts a transforming influence upon the mind. It generates love, and love is the fulfilling of the law. For this reason, the whole circle of gospel truth is denominated *light*, while the ignorance and delusion of unbelief are denominated *darkness*. Christ is at once light and life. And what but *light* and *love* constitute the light and life of man's immortal soul? To know God is to love him; to love him is to keep his commandment.

"The grand morality is love of thee."

To love him is to fulfil the law. To love him is to be supremely blest. "He that loveth abideth in God, for God is love." "His favor is life, his loving-kindness is better than life." It is heaven!

Thus, it is the great object of the gospel to make men acquainted with God, and to produce sentiments of reverential affection founded upon such knowledge. Whenever this is done in the case of an individual, he hath passed from darkness into marvellous light; in other words, he is "born again," hath passed from death to life, from the kingdom of Satan to the kingdom of God's dear Son.

Hence it is, to a great extent, by false and unscriptural views of the Divine character, that the reign of sin is maintained in the human heart. On the other hand, it is by growing in acquaintance with God, that the Christian grows in grace, in love, purity, and obedience. This idea is beautifully expressed by the apostle, when he says, "But we all with open face, beholding, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." The likeness will be made perfect in heaven; for there we shall not see dimly and imperfectly, as in a glass, but "face to face."

The state of the spirits of just men made perfect is a subject confessedly beyond our comprehension. This much, however, may be said of it, that it is a state of perfect knowledge and perfect love. This will produce a harmony of soul with soul, and, above all, with God. The result will be "peace within and peace without," a pure, and sublime serenity of spirit, associated with joyous activity. "The service of God" will engage attention "day and night," while the spirit will pass through new and glorious fields of thought; and rise to new and more magnificent heights of bliss. But "thought cannot picture a world so fair," and we leave it to the sanctified imagination of the Christian to dwell upon the mysterious and delightful theme, till a scene of glory and happiness is brought before his mind, which words would only shadow. There is no possibility of conceiving anything more glorious than the reality. Perfect knowledge, perfect love, and perfect bliss, transcend all our conceptions. Here, our brightest visions are dim and puerile; still, they may serve to warm our languid hearts, and prepare them for the more perfect revelations of eternity. *Scotus.*

ARTICLE VIII.

PROGRESS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE.

Democracy in America. By ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, avocat à la cour royale de Paris. Translated by HENRY REESE, Esq., &c., &c.

THERE are two ways of contemplating passing events. We may either look at them as furnishing illustrations of some principle which has been already established in a satisfactory manner, or study them, for the purpose of ascertaining what principle they do exemplify. In the one case, we have a general truth before our minds, of whose reality we entertain no doubt, but which it delights us to see particular instances of, each one suggesting some new thought, adding to our stock of ideas, and furnishing a copious variety of apt illustrations, whenever it shall become our province to teach this general principle to others. The habit of mind, given by this process of thinking, is exceedingly useful; and, if cultivated in a scholarlike manner,—diligence and industry being united to improved taste,—is adapted to make a man a brilliant writer, as well as to give him great colloquial power. A good specimen of a train of thought pursued on this plan, is the address delivered by Gov. Everett, at the opening of the Mechanics' Fair, in Boston. It does not pretend to great depth of reflection, but exhibits a quickness of parts in gathering an array of captivating illustrations relating to one or two general principles, in themselves familiar to us as household words. Of books constructed on this plan, we may mention Alison on Taste, the leading principle of which may be stated to be,—That God has formed the eternal world according to the highest rules of taste; or, to borrow the language of Akenside, to show,

“With what attractive charms this goodly frame
Of nature touches the consenting hearts
Of moral men; and what the pleasing stores
Which beauteous imitation thence derives,
To deck the poet's or the painter's toil.”

In illustrating the truth of this sentiment, that author levies contributions from every department of nature; all the sweet sounds that regale the ear with melody, and all the objects that charm the eye with their beauty, grandeur, or sublimity, adorn his work.

It ought, however, to be observed, that this process of thinking, while it subserves the most valuable purposes, in the way of diffusing knowledge, is not by any means that which calls the intellect to its highest exercise. This is done by the other way of viewing passing events, to which we alluded above, viz., when we set ourselves to the study of objects or occurrences, to *see what they teach*, or to learn what general principle or law of nature is wrapped up in them, and hid from vulgar observation. This is the process of thinking conducted by the philosopher, and summons the mind to its severest task. It demands the soundest understanding, the calmest judgment, the most patient attention, a very retentive memory, and a thoroughly disciplined imagination. Of this mode of inquiry, modern times have not furnished a fairer specimen, than the work of Tocqueville, upon America. He arrived upon our shores, ignorant, to a great extent, of the practical working of our institutions, and, after a course of patient observation, having treasured up a large amount of facts, began the task of generalizing his ideas, the results of which constitute the treatise now before us.

It is not our purpose to analyze this work, which would be no easy matter, were we to attempt it; nor would it be the most useful plan of a review, were we to succeed. In the following remarks, it is our purpose to show, from our own sources of illustration, the progress of the democratic principle throughout Christendom,—the favorable effects to be anticipated from it,—and then suggest some means suited to give it a right direction.

It frequently happens, and the present is one of those cases, that, owing to the shape of political parties, certain words have acquired an accidental meaning, which the mention of them is sure to suggest to the mind. And so strong is the association formed between these words and their transient signification, that it is nearly impossible to employ them for the purpose of general discussion, because the hearer will be continually reverting to their meaning in caucuses and newspapers. This remark is

especially necessary, when the discussion is such as to require the frequent recurrence of the terms *democracy*, and *democratic*. Unfortunately, these words have acquired a party signification. They now mean, whatever is in *favor* of the present administration, as the term *whig* and its cognates are understood to mean whatever is *opposed* to those who are in power. All will, however, be agreed in this, that these meanings are purely casual, growing out of those contingencies to which the political world is always subject. In its general sense, the term, democracy, means simply the sovereignty of the people, as the source of all civil authority.

There being, then, a meaning of the word, which is totally independent of the situation of political parties in this or any other country, and perfectly distinct from the fact, whether this or that man is seated in the presidential chair, we beg *that* to be considered as the sense of the term when used in this discussion. Far be it from us, to employ this review as an engine of party warfare. And we employ our pen, at this time, to write, not in the spirit of partisans, but rather, in the tone of philosophers,—not as those who confine their attention to a small section of the social cone, but as those who wish to contemplate the influence of the democratic principle upon mankind at large.

To be convinced of the *fact*, that this revered principle is making steady progress in the world, we need only to cast our eyes over Christendom. We know of nothing, which is receiving fuller confirmation by the events that are brought to light every year. One can hardly open a newspaper, without gathering fresh evidence that the people are “rising up as a great lion.” They are beginning to understand, as never before, the important doctrine, that every man can best take care of his own interests and his own affairs. And, understanding it, they show a growing boldness and disposition to enforce its practice. There is plainly, a new, and a widening, and a deepening current of free thought, flowing through the popular mind, before which oppression, and all sorts of abuses of power fall, as if smitten by a supernatural arm. There is a widespread conviction, fastened upon the people, that all men are essentially equal, that the rights of one are just as important as those of another, that the happiness of one is

as dear as that of another, the liberty of one as precious, and the conscience of one as sacred and inviolate, as that of another. Disciples to this creed are rapidly multiplying in every section of the christianized world. The people are every where awaking to the undeniable truth, that, absolutely, all political power and authority rightfully emanates from them. Themselves they consider as the only source whence these can flow, in opposition to the principle of their flowing from *one*, as in an absolute monarchy; or their flowing from the *few*, as in an aristocracy. And in almost every country, in which these latter principles are in vogue, or constitute the basis of government, there the democratic principle is arraying itself in stern conflict with them. Led on, as it seems to us, by a divine hand, the people are contending for, and establishing, one after another, doctrines favorable to universal liberty; and designed to place in every man's hand,—be he ever so poor and humble,—that which is his birthright, the civil right of doing just as he pleases, provided that he invade not the similar rights of his neighbor. With this only proviso, he is to form his own opinions upon politics, mature his own belief in religion, pursue his own business, make choice of his own pleasures, in one word, be the sole independent arbiter of his own conduct. The people are steadily asserting their claim to govern themselves. And thus, if any tax is needed, they insist upon the right of saying how much shall be levied. If any law is to be passed, they declare that their influence shall be felt, directly or indirectly, in passing it. If any groundless change be made in the leading principles of those who administer the affairs of state, they assert their privilege to speak in loud tones through the ballot-box, and thus designate others to succeed the offenders against the popular will. Success, indeed, has not invariably crowned these efforts. Oppression still exists; abuses are yet numerous. Much remains to be done. But, generally, the people are becoming fully aware of their prerogatives, and feel disposed to stand by them manfully.

What we have now stated, as *generally* descriptive of the progress which the democratic principle is making in the christianized world, must agree, we think, with every reader's observation. Were it necessary, it would be easy to establish all that has been said. Were we to consult

the leading journals of the times, we should be continually reminded of the great fact, that, whereas a few centuries since, governments were carried on mainly by court intrigues, and the cabals of prime ministers and royal favorites, whose machiavelian tortuosity the people could not trace, and whose dark meaning they could not fashion, now, it is necessary, that "prince encounter prince, state encounter state, and faction contend with faction, on the broad arena of representative chambers, and through the open controversies of an unsparing press." Intrigues in courts and cabinets there may be yet, but they are frank in their nature, and impotent in their result, as compared with the dark, and complicated, and perilous machinations of former times, when the dearest interests of the people were managed by a few favorites of the king, whose chief aim, like Mirabeau's, consisted in making words the *disguise* of their thoughts, and thus, effectually, hiding their measures from the public eye. But the age for conducting the affairs of state in knavish darkness is gone. The time for governing a nation by secret cabal is past. There is a spirit abroad, that demands every thing relative to government to be done in open day. And the main cause of this change is, of course, attributable to the ascendancy of popular control, the vigilance of the press, the publicity of all state documents, and above all, the necessity there is, of fighting every political battle before the eyes of the people, either on the floor of a house of representatives, or, as before observed, through the columns of a perfectly free and unshackled press.

If, now, from these observations of a *general* nature, we turn our attention to those political events which have been taking place in the several *parts* of the christianized world, we shall see, still more clearly, the progress of the democratic principle. And first, let us look at *France*. Not more than a century since, the people of that empire may be said to have enjoyed hardly any rights at all, being in the condition of an humble, oppressed, ignorant, slavish peasantry. They regarded the government much as they would some mysterious object, which must be contemplated with awe, and spoken of only in whispers; and well they might, for the Bastille then stood, and kings could be influenced to decide the fate of their subjects by royal courtesans, like Madame Pompadour. Political

opinions and religious belief were all made ready to hand; and were to be received by the people, just as if they had neither understanding nor conscience. When they saw a noble, they looked upon him as one who had a kind of right from heaven to enjoy distinguished privileges and monopolies; and if they raised their thoughts from the nobility, a step higher, to the throne, their idea of the king was that of a being to whom God had mysteriously but expressly given power to reign over them, and treat them pretty much as he pleased. To show how insensible men may become to their rights and dignity, it is remarked by some writer, that at the time of Louis XIV, it was quite common for the French people to *boast* themselves the subjects of a king who had unlimited power over their lives and property.

If we compare such a degraded political condition with that which is now presented in France, we cannot fail to see proofs of a most gratifying change, nor help being struck with the progress of the democratic principle. The people had hard work, we all know, when, amid the appalling scenes of the French revolution, the principle of popular rights first grappled with the despotic and monarchical principle. The waves of popular fury dashed high and wildly against the throne, till they swept it entirely away. The conflict between the spirit of liberty and the spirit of oppression was dreadfully fierce. And on it went, till, in the friction of mind with mind, such an intense and glowing heat was generated, as to light up the flames of a widespread civil war. Nor was it extinguished, till for many years it had burnt fiercely as the fires of Etna. This was an evil, no doubt, which, as philanthropists, we shall always deplore. Still it may have been necessary to the breaking down of that despotism, against which the people struggled so hard.

But not to detain the reader on this point, we merely observe, that the democracy of France, as is well known, triumphed. They established the doctrine, that the people were to have an influence in the government. They compelled the adoption of the representative system. They partially broke the shackles of the press. They procured the acknowledgment of liberty of conscience. True, this part of the reform was not thorough, since the government still claim the right of paying the clergy out of the funds raised

by taxes, instead of leaving the people to pay voluntarily for their religious instruction. Yet religious liberty did make a long stride, as compared with the insufferable tyranny formerly exercised, since now the people are not obliged to embrace any particular faith. This is a matter left entirely to their option. But we have not told all they did. They also smote to the ground the claims of the privileged orders to a great extent; and, by abolishing the principle of hereditary descent in the nobility, for ever and effectually prevented that class from acquiring an overgrown, and exorbitant power. In France, then, the democracy have been pushing their claims with great success. In that land, free principles received an impulse from the conqueror at Austerlitz, which insures their future triumph. Let us ask, will not this triumph be hastened by the grand funeral obsequies which a whole nation are preparing to pay to this hero's bones, when they land from St. Helena?

Let us now glance our eye at *England*. Our limits forbid our going back to the time of Elizabeth's reign, when the spirit of popular liberty began to spread like an electric fluid through the nation, and soon "burst forth in the storm and thunder of the civil wars." All we shall attempt, therefore, will be a mere allusion to the several steps which mark the progress of the democratic principle in the land of Cromwell and of Pym.

The democracy of England have been demanding one thing after another, ever since the revolution which demolished the throne of Charles. And, as they are celebrated in history for wielding a very strong arm, they have seldom or never failed to secure, eventually, what they have claimed. Among their leading demands, was that of liberty of conscience, which they obtained partially, when the principle of dissent from the established church was allowed. But it was not satisfactory to them. They relished not what was odiously attached to this privilege, viz., the law compelling them to aid in defraying the expenses of a costly, yea, gorgeous religious establishment, from which they derived no benefit whatever. The British democracy have always eyed this odious law with indignation, and have long been virtuously laboring to have it abolished. And there can be no doubt of their final success. Measures more decisive against it are

adopted every year, till now the question has been carried to the ballot-box; which in our view will render one or the other of two things certain—the annulling of the law, or the fall of the establishment.

Connected with this, the people of England have pressed other points with great vigor and success. Thus they have procured the abolition of those laws which obliged them to be married by clergymen not of their own faith. And now they are loudly demanding, that all disabilities to a Dissenter's joining the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, arising from religious belief, shall be done away. They stigmatize it as an unrighteous law, and contrary to that liberty of conscience which is a Briton's birthright. Hence, they are bringing against it a force, before which it is already tottering, and must sooner or later fall.

If we now direct our eye to events of a *political* nature, we shall see the growing ascendancy of popular control as strikingly illustrated. Thus, the English have fought their way to almost universal suffrage. They have demolished the rotten borough system, which gave to the crown and nobility an enormous power at elections, and made the elective franchise an empty blessing. By its destruction, they are enabled to make their influence felt in every House of Commons. Nor can that branch of the legislature hereafter help being thoroughly popular. Not content, however, with these triumphs of democracy, the people are at this moment demanding annual parliaments, and absolutely free suffrage. But they do not confine their attention to the legislature. Witness the prostration of the East India monopoly. Behold them at work, in assemblies of twenty thousand, to prevent the operatives from being oppressed and ground by their employers. At one of these popular meetings, the sentiment announced from the hustings was substantially this, "That in the fair land of merry England, it could not be the will of a just Providence, that vast numbers should labor hard from morning to night, and yet starve." This sentiment we think true, and fear only lest by some crafty demagogues it should be pushed so far as to become agrarianism. Behold them, still farther, putting down the cruel custom of impressing seamen for the supply of the British navy; and declaring, in the most impressive manner, that no

man should be torn ruthlessly from his family, and driven off to sea, against his will, any more than he should be forced to work in the mines, or do any thing else contrary to his free choice.

Having dwelt so long upon England and France, it will be necessary to pass over the other portions of Christendom more hastily. Indeed, a cursory glance is all we shall aim at, and all that will be important, since the popular condition of the countries above-mentioned, added to that of our own land, must for ever give a decided tone to all the rest of the civilized world. As it regards Spain, there prevailed in that country, from the peace at Paris among the allied powers, a disposition highly favorable to the people, on the part of the Cortes. Our authority for this is the character of the constitution then given to the Spaniards. A writer,* who travelled through that peninsula a few years subsequent to the close of the French revolution, says, "The essential excellence of the Spanish constitution, the quality that makes it dear to the friends of liberty, and odious to the partisans of arbitrary power, is its honesty. It is, what it professes to be, a real representative government; and is not, like some others that bear the name, a mere mockery and pageant, more abhorrent to an independent mind than tyranny in a plain, unsophisticated shape, because insulting as well as oppressive." This places beyond a doubt the fact, that in Spain, and probably the same is equally true of Portugal, there has been long at work the principle of popular advancement, though the civil wars, which a just Providence is permitting to desolate those lands, are sufficient to deter us from depending upon any illustrations drawn from thence, in favor of the progress of popular sentiments. But that a strong love of freedom forms one of the elements now at work in Spain, to produce the violent political agitations, of which that country is the bloody theatre, seems to us evident, from the manner in which spiritual despotism has been uprooted from its deep foundations. We refer to the demolition of the convents, the confiscation of their estates, and the dispersion of their inmates, who have not seldom met with a speedy death from the hands of the enraged populace. We view such an act, on the part of the people,

* Europe, by a Citizen of the United States.

as a sure index of their aversion to all despotism, and the means of acuminating their hatred to it when exhibited by their political rulers.

In many other parts of continental Europe, the *people*, at least, are making constant progress in correct views of popular government, though they have not yet succeeded in pushing such principles through to all their practical results. How loudly and unremittingly have most of the German states, since 1815, been demanding constitutions and popular representation! And, though kings, and electors, and countless dukes, have attempted to beguile their subjects, by conceding to them the form of popular representation without the reality, by so constituting their legislative bodies that the *people's* representatives shall have more honor than power, while the princes, knights, higher clergy, and other privileged orders, shall be able to carry all their measures; still, this very course only serves to give the popular will a more determined character of resistance, which causes it to burst forth on every occasion that is even slightly auspicious. A revolution favorable to freedom, in any state in Europe, is instantly followed, in the manner of an earthquake, by a shaking of thrones, from the Adriatic to the Baltic. Bavaria, Baden, Hanover, Brunswick, the two Hesses, Saxony, both the kingdom and the duchies, Wirtemberg, and many smaller states, have already succeeded in obtaining constitutions; and yet the intrigues of their sovereigns to destroy the efficiency of these constitutions have driven the people almost to madness, as the outbreaks of popular fury in Saxony, Hesse, Brunswick and Hanover fearfully show. At this moment, there is a struggling for religious liberty in all Germany, which indicates clearly, that the democratic principle is working deeply in the hearts of the people.

Let us now come to our own shores. And here, the first thing which arrests our attention, is the recent contest in Canada. We pretend not to pronounce any opinion upon the merits of the question at issue, which brought upon that country the horrors of a civil war. All that need be said here is, that the Canadian struggle was plainly the democratic principle arrayed against the monarchical. And the fact, that such abandoned, unprincipled, and cowardly leaders were able to arouse the people so gener-

ally against the British authority, only shows how strong must have been their spirit of liberty, and how deep their hatred to what they ever supposed to be oppression. Had this not been the case, such military leaders could never have stirred the Canadians to action, under such forlorn and desperate circumstances.

Crossing the St. Lawrence into our own country, we have need only to cast our eye around us, to behold the most striking exhibitions of the progress of popular ascendancy in America. We can take only a hasty glance. Here the democratic principle enters into every institution, civil, religious, social, judicial, literary, and political. It is at the basis of our town, county, state, and general-governments; and pervades every thing, from the petty office of a town clerk, to that of the chief magistrate of the United States. Nothing escapes its all-reaching all-penetrating, all-controlling influence. Of this, no better illustration can be furnished, than the late proclamation of the President, with reference to the Canadian rebellion. It must be allowed, we think, to be a document breathing most of the tone of *persuasion*, of any ever yet issued, by any executive in any country, in any age. And in this light, it may be viewed, as showing the progress of that spirit among the people, which aims at entire independence, and claims a supremacy for the popular will, that justifies its being approached by advisory proclamations, instead of imperial *edicts* or *ukases*.

According to the purpose announced at the opening of this discussion, we shall now mention some of the favorable results to be anticipated from the prevalence of that principle whose progress we have endeavored to illustrate.

Among these, the first that occurs to our minds is, the ameliorating of the human condition, *i. e.*, the *diffusion* of the comforts and conveniences of life, and placing within reach of *all* the ordinary means of happiness. This is one of the effects to be confidently expected. In countries where the government is thoroughly popular and the institutions purely democratic, there may not be as many overgrown fortunes and princely estates amassed and perpetuated; but there will be, what is far better, a more general competency, and a more equal distribution of wealth. The means of rearing a family respectably, and

comfortably, and usefully, will be placed within the reach of ordinary talent and a healthy, thrifty industry. In such countries, there may not be as many institutions of learning immensely endowed,—too often the nest of drones, though frequently furnishing places of retired study to men of rare genius, and decided talent;—and hence, there will not be as many deeply learned scholars and philosophers; but there will be a larger number of colleges, where the elements of science are well taught, and where instruction may be afforded so cheap as to be within the reach of the sons of our poorest farmers and mechanics. If, then, fewer men of great knowledge are reared, far more will be found in possession of general and valuable information, and capable, by their mental discipline, of thinking and acting for themselves, upon the subjects offered to their notice as republican citizens. There may not be as much science accumulated in any single individual, but the mass of available intelligence distributed among the whole people will be much greater. A few minds will not stand in solitary grandeur, towering above the rest like pyramids, but there will be more equality of attainment; and thus, what is lost in height and majesty, will be gained in length and breadth. And this we cannot help thinking far more desirable and useful. Just as a fertile plain is more valuable for the purpose of tillage, than some Alpine mountain, whose top is lost in the clouds, or “toying with the sun;” but whose sides are generally barren and unproductive. Its sublimity may please our taste, but its rocks and gravel will not yield us food.

Further, in such a country, where the popular will is ascendent, there may not be as many gorgeous palaces, and solemn castles, and magnificent temples. There may not be as many splendid specimens of architecture. Such a building as St. Peter’s at Rome, or the Tuileries at Paris, or the imperial palace at St. Petersburg, would never have been reared in countries where democracy reigned. We may be assured of this. So, also, there may not be as many colossal statues, monumental columns, and stately pillars erected, at huge cost, to commemorate battles and victories. But, in the absence of all these,—which are to be reckoned among the luxuries of life, which are usually wrung out of the people by the sweat of their brow, and, after all, add very little to the aggregate of human happi-

ness,—in the absence of these, we say, we shall be sure to find neat places of worship instead of huge cathedrals, comfortable dwellings instead of magnificent palaces and baronial mansions. We shall be sure to find a general appearance of thriftiness and honest independence, instead of a few cases of prodigious opulence, surrounded by a thousand cases of miserable, squalid poverty.

And how much more agreeable to the moral taste of the philanthropist and Christian, is the aspect of things produced by the democratic principle, than its opposite? How much better is it, that instead of overgrown and stupendous fortunes, perpetuated here and there, wealth should be more equally divided, according to the ratio of a man's talent to acquire it; that estates should, moreover, be of a size sufficient to enable a man to bring up a family, and give his children a solid education, and clothe them respectably? Who, as he travels through this country, will mourn the absence of splendid ducal palaces, and public buildings of costly grandeur, if he sees in every direction comfortable dwellings, and the marks of a steady, thrifty, independence? Who would not rather see many commodious places of worship, than a solitary, sumptuous minister? Who would not prefer the diffusion of knowledge among the people, sufficient for their wants as intelligent and immortal beings, to having an immense amount of learning stored up in a few minds, while the great majority are kept in ignorance?

This contrast is decidedly in favor of the democratic principle, because it shows, that its direct and necessary tendency is to ameliorate the human condition, by placing what is really essential to happiness within reach of the majority. To every philanthropist, this must be a gratifying truth; to every Christian, a matter of devout praise; to every republican, a theme of honest exultation. Cold, then, must be the heart, narrow and selfish the mind, that can look with indifference on these humanizing effects produced by popular ascendancy; hypercritical and fastidious, if not unchristian, the taste which can find fault in the captious spirit of a Cooper, in his last works,—that literary Ishmaelite,—because we have not on these democratic shores so much show, and pomp, and splendor, as exists in old monarchical countries; and fail to see, or refuse to acknowledge, how immensely the absence of

these is counterbalanced by "great and generally diffused blessings."

Another result, to be reasonably anticipated from the prevalence of the democratic principle is, the suppression of war. This is a game that *kings* play at, not the *people*, and the reason that the former are so fond of it, and plunge so readily into it, is their being placed in a position which exposes them to all the bad passions that drive armies to the battle-field, while they feel few of those counteracting restraints which they would experience, were their own persons more exposed to danger. It is an easy matter, to sit upon a throne, rioting in luxury, clad in purple, and faring sumptuously every day; elated with the pride of power, and intoxicated with the fumes of flattery; surrounded by an obsequious court, and instigated by ambitious generals; it is easy, under such circumstances, to fly into a royal passion at imagined injuries, and forthwith declare war, and make out a campaign on paper, and give the orders that set an army in motion. Wonderfully fine and amusing is it, for a crowned head to review his troops, and see their bristling bayonets glittering in the sun, and hear the martial music, "the pealing fife, and stirring drum," and then retire to his velvet couch, and read, amid the pomp and splendor of regal magnificence, the bulletins that announce victory after victory. But he sees not the gory field, and streams empurpled with blood; he sees not the mangled bodies, nor the scattered limbs; he sees not cannon balls burying themselves in human flesh, nor whole regiments mowed down at every fresh roar of artillery; he hears not the choking cry, the embittered sob, the agonizing wail of those who long to die, but cannot; he hears none of the groans that are wafted over a field of carnage; he goes not to the hospital to behold the mutilated masses of flesh, which are called men, but which have lost almost every vestige of the human form. Above all, a king *feels* no danger of being himself the subject of all this horrid suffering, the victim of such dread cruelty. But the people see, and hear, and feel, all this. They know on whom the tug of war must come, if the banners are unfurled for conflict. They know at whose breasts the deadly musket will be aimed, and by whom the sufferings, and toil, and want, must be endured. They know whose blood must

flow, and who must fill the gory bed. They know who have got, in the end, to pay for the immense expenditure of war, and by whose sweat and labor these gigantic losses are to be made up, and from whose hands taxes are to be wrung to defray the expenses of this kingly amusement. And, knowing this, will they be forward to bare their breasts to the steel in this thankless game? When the government is thoroughly popular, the questions of peace and war must be settled by the people's representatives, and will they delegate men who will be disposed to plunge the people into the odious business of fighting? Far from it. The democracy hate war, unless in cases of absolute necessity. They care not to be torn from their wives and sisters, except when patriotism demands it, to ward off the aggressor, and prevent oppression. They are not liable to the imperious passions that swell the bosoms of kings, nor to the vanity of thinking that an insult, or diplomatic peccadillo can be washed out only by an effusion of human blood. They pretend not to any such chivalry as this. They prefer the quiet and peace of their own cheerful homes, the smiles of their wives and children, the enjoyment of their innocent pleasures, the pursuits of their business, and all those domestic delights that cluster round the fireside of a well-regulated family. While in the fruition of this pure happiness, and having it in their power to say whether they will resign it or not, will they exchange it for the hardships of the camp, the bustle, din, and perils of war, the horrors and carnage of battle, and the shock of arms? Such a choice will never be made by the people; nor will they suffer themselves to be forced into it, when the democratic principle has gained its rightful ascendancy.

It only remains to suggest a word or two on the means of perpetuating the progress of enlightened democracy, and giving it a right impulse. One of these means is the diffusion of scriptural knowledge. There is no book, in any language, which so effectually secures the interests of the people, as the New Testament. The strain of its superlative teaching is always in support of the popular rights. Its principles are throughout irreconcilably opposed to tyranny and oppression. Its pages reiterate the sentiment of man's essential equality; leading our minds constantly upward to that high range of contemplation,

which places us all, rich and poor, all, of every grade, social, political, and intellectual, on a perfect level before that Being, in whose presence every human distinction vanishes. In one word, though it does not interfere with existing governments, but on the contrary enjoins submission to them, it breathes the spirit of true enlightened democracy, in all its parts. What could more justly lay claim to this praise, than the principle, so frequently taught, that we are to regard every man as our brother; and that, viewing him in this light, we are to do to him as we would wish him to do to us? This is one of the corner stones of democracy, sufficient to defend it against the imperious claims of aristocratic pride, and the encroachments of monarchy and despotism. Let all imbibe this principle, and what we have been contemplating as making *progress*, will soon be gloriously consummated. Were further encomium necessary upon the New Testament, as to its republican tendency, we might add, that the great Personage who shines throughout the book, like a superior orb, and "from which the lesser stars, revolving in their golden urns, draw light," that Being who gives the tone and character of the book, cherished the interests of the people. Hence, the common classes heard him gladly. With them he mostly mingled, in social intercourse. Among them he chose his most intimate friends. Out of their ranks he called the men who were to propagate his doctrines. On them he leaned to accomplish his great purpose of benevolence. His conduct, throughout, was strongly tinctured with the spirit of enlightened democracy. It is not meant, that he favored any political creed, or arrayed himself as a partisan to any political question, but that his sympathies were invariably with the people; his influence steadily exerted to raise, instruct, and benefit them; and his sternest rebukes administered to those who would mislead, injure, and oppress them. Such a book would naturally breathe into its readers a spirit favorable to popular ascendancy. Such has always been its effect. When its pages have been accessible to the common people, then they have risen in character, made progress in intelligence, acquired social and political power, before which the time-honored and venerable pillars of tyranny and oppression have crumbled. Of this, history gives many examples. Let that book, then, be studied

by every republican, as the best means of completing the triumph of true, enlightened democracy.

Another means, which, while it accelerates the progress of the democratic principle, will promote also its *healthy* growth, is a disposition among those who are highest upon the social cone to *level upwards*, at the same time that those who are beneath them, are *levelling downwards*. Both of these processes ought to be consentaneous. In that way only, can the point of general equality of conditions, towards which every thing is tending, be reached in safety. That it will be reached, somehow, no doubt can exist. The movement in that direction, which is making in society, is just as steady as the wheeling of Jupiter in his orbit, and as irresistible. This is partially shown by the illustrations already employed, and if our limits allowed, it might have been shown to be the lesson which history has been teaching us, ever since the Reformation. From its pages, we should learn, that all the great changes and remarkable events, that have occurred subsequently to that time, have been so many tributaries to the stream that is bearing mankind onward on its broad bosom, to a state of substantial equality. To put a stop, therefore, to this tendency, is beyond the power of any human arm. It has acquired too prodigious a momentum, from the accumulated impulses of centuries, to be now arrested. "To some," says Tocqueville, "it may appear to be a novel accident, which, as such, may still be checked; to others it seems irresistible, because it is the most uniform, the most ancient, and the most permanent tendency, which is to be found in history." In another place, he says, "The various occurrences of national existence have every where turned to the advantage of democracy; all men have aided it by their exertions, those who have intentionally labored in its cause, and those who have served it unwittingly; those who have fought for it, and those who have declared themselves its opponents, have all been driven along in the same track, have all labored to one end, some ignorantly, and some unwillingly; all have been blind instruments in the hands of God."

Hence, the question is not, whether this principle shall go on, and attain the end towards which it is advancing; but how that end shall be reached, consistently with the best interests of all. This is the great problem to be

solved, and its happy solution will depend much upon a disposition, religiously pursued, among the higher classes, to elevate their inferiors. However elevated their own position, there is some round of the social ladder, on which they must meet their brethren who are lower down. This is a matter of imperious necessity. By proper efforts, they who possess the wit and the learning, the elegance and the refinement, the influence and the power, of society, may cause the point, where they shall shake hands with those who are deprived of their advantages, to be much higher, than if that affair be left entirely to the choice of the latter. To them, it ought not, of course, to be left. But what is said, is, that they will assert the privilege of choosing where the level shall be, unless there be a good-natured compromise between the opposing social forces. By such compromise, the tendency to essential equality of condition, which is impressed upon mankind like a law of their nature, will not only be promoted, but also, at the same time, be wisely modified and intelligently directed.

It is in vain for the refined, the polished, and the enlightened, to spurn this sentiment. As to its particular application in given instances, they will indeed be the best judges. The general principle is all that is here maintained, viz., that they who have light and knowledge, and are bountifully favored with the richest gifts of Heaven, are called upon, by the equalizing tendencies of society, to shed a kindly and silent influence upon those below them. Imparting of their mental and moral riches, is the duty to which they are summoned. And it is an employment of the highest dignity. To encourage them in it, they have the example of the noblest minds and most exalted characters that ever adorned our race.

Before concluding this article, it may be proper to say something respecting the spirit in which the book before us is written. This we are happy to pronounce, in the highest degree, liberal, unprejudiced, philosophical and just. Though a foreigner, educated under the influence of institutions the farthest removed from our own, to all appearance he became thoroughly Americanized in his feelings the moment his feet touched our shores. From that time, through the whole progress of his observations, there is discernible no peevish caprice of temper at seeing the operation of

new social principles, though their practical exhibitions were sometimes calculated to call forth severe animadversion, had he been disposed to indulge a captious disposition. Nor are there to be found any traces of narrow-mindedness, nor ebullitions of national antipathies, nor the discussion of a mere partisan to some particular class of political principles. He sinks every thing of this kind in the simple desire of knowing the exact truth, and contemplates social and political phenomena on this side of the Atlantic, with a spirit as purely philosophical, as can be conceived. Hence there is no expression that can hurt the feelings of the most sensitive American. To be sure, there were some things brought under his notice, which he could not tolerate, and about the nature and tendencies of which, he felt obliged to utter his sentiments in a plain-spoken manner. But when he thus launches an arrow at us, it is never barbed. The spirit with which he rebukes is devoid of all causticity. If he reasons upon a social or political evil, the ratiocination is pursued with a clear-sighted regard to great and acknowledged principles, and the conclusions arrived at are in a temper so calm, that the reader, accustomed to the warmth and ardor that characterizes political writers generally, feels conscious of communing with a mind matchlessly disciplined, and superlatively trained to the established laws of investigation. And when you add to this, the evidence that gains upon you at every page, of the writer's political information,—observations being sometimes thrown off in a single sentence or two, which must have required years of reading to get the condensed knowledge that they evince, there springs up in our bosom a confidence in the author which few works in this book-making age are able to inspire.

It must have been perceived, that, in following closely the plan marked out in the opening of this article, we have deprived ourselves of the opportunity which a different scheme of thought would have afforded us, of entering at large into the discussion of the great principles that are embraced in the work of Tocqueville. Should we deem it advisable, therefore, we shall have it in our power to resume the subject at a future period, without danger of touching upon the present discussion, or incurring the charge of repetition. It would be, for example, a fertile topic, to examine how far he is to be believed, in the

alarming tendencies which he discovers in the jostling together of our state and national governments. But we shall not now enter these inviting fields of inquiry.

Let not our readers infer, from the rather laudatory air with which we have spoken of democracy, that we belong to the class of ultra-liberalists, or that our pages are to be devoted to promote that extreme of freedom which borders upon licentiousness. It is our resolute determination to steer clear of all ultraism, both in politics and religion. And thus, in the progress of free principles, we are ready to admit that we see great evils rising to view. Of these none can be more deeply aware than ourselves. But we feel disposed to set them down, either as ills to be expected in a formative state of society, whatever be its form of government, or as illustrations of the great compensatory law of providence, by which God "sets one thing over against another." In spite, however, of all these drawbacks, we are heartily disposed to range ourselves under the banner of freedom, and maintain, to the extent of our feeble ability, the cause of the people.

ARTICLE IX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

1. *Aids to Preaching and Hearing.* By THOMAS H. SKINNER. New York. John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 305. 1839.

Too many of our popular writers imagine that the public good requires them to write *much*. We could wish that the very next book from the press might be a strong and earnest plea to authors, under the motto, 'Let your books, as well as your words, be *few*.' Such counsel would be alike profitable to the author, the publisher, and the reader.

We confess that this train of thought, which we have very frequently indulged, has been revived in our mind by the examination of the work before us. We regard it as inferior in merit to the admirable production, from the same author, noticed in our last number. Some parts of it are truly excellent; some, rather too common-place; and some, we fear, of doubtful expediency. It would seem, from the manner of discussion, as well as from the choice of topics, that most of the detached pieces which make up this work, were, in their original form, lectures to a class of divinity students.

The first is on "Mental Discipline," in which there is much to approve, little to condemn, and something to admire. The writer's historical remarks are generally too sweeping, and not a few points of interest and importance, though ably discussed, are pressed rather too far. The following is an example. "Moved by his Spirit, I cry after knowledge; I seek for her as silver, and search for her as hid treasures. And I shall gain, if I faint not, the object of my desires; I shall find myself in possession of a better and still better mind; I shall be constantly acquiring a more and more perfect use of my powers; I shall be increasing in my ability to think, to analyze, to reason, to discourse."⁽¹⁾ Is it so? Is that "better mind," which the Holy Spirit makes one crave and seek after as silver, an "ability to think, to analyze, to reason, to discourse?" Are philosophy and science the objects of that knowledge? Is there any thing peculiarly religious in mental discipline, more than in any other lawful pursuit? May not the Christian merchant as truly say, "Moved by his Spirit, I cry after gain?" If there be any distinction made, it must be on the ground, that a scientific mind is better prepared for heaven, than the mind of a plain, honest, business man. Such a doctrine is often implied in our *enlightened* works on education, but it is not so much as hinted at in the Bible. We would crave mental discipline and knowledge not less than others, but on very different principles from these.

In the author's discourse or treatise on the "Studies of a Preacher," which follows next in order, there are the same excellences and defects as in the first. He rightly assigns the first rank to "The study of the Bible;" but in discussing this topic, presents nothing that is not already familiar to most readers. In regard to systematic theology, to which he gives the second place, his remarks are very sound and judicious. We can present but a brief extract:

"It should be one of the leading objects of a preacher's life to enlarge, as much as possible, his acquaintance with divine truth, in its systematic relations and affinities. Though a complete system of doctrines is no where presented, in Scripture, in one digested view, yet the truths of inspiration do pertain to a system, and like truths in the natural world, admit of classification. That any one has ever made or will ever make a perfect arrangement of these truths, I do not affirm, and do not believe. They are parts of a system, vast as the universe, and extending from eternity to eternity; and they are so sundered, interspersed, and interwoven into one another, as they lie every where in Scripture, that it is doubtless beyond the power of man to set them together exactly in their proper places, and in perfectly systematic order. Nor can the damage be estimated, which these truths have suffered in statement and exhibition, by attempts at systematizing them, not conducted with a just sense of the sacredness and difficulty of that work. Still, the relation which the truths of revelation sustain towards each other, as component parts of a system, are to some extent clearly perceptible by us, and the process of classifying them, must no more be abandoned, than an endeavor to acquire the true knowledge of them. They are truly

understood, no further than they are seen in their systematic affinities and bearings. In divinity, as well as in law and physics, to obtain true knowledge is not to obtain bare historical information, but correct and enlarged views of the connection of things with one another, and their mutual, various, and interminable relations and tendencies.

"It is incumbent on preachers, as their great business with mankind, to explain, defend, and enforce revealed truth; but *power* to do this depends essentially on a systematic knowledge of that truth; or a knowledge of it as interconnected and mutually related in its various departments and ramifications. It is most manifest, that no one can set forth any part of truth symmetrically, precisely defined, and in fitting color and costume, any further than he has understood and digested it in its systematic relations to other truth. He who pretends to go further with his explanations or descriptions, than he has gone in systematic understanding, advances in the dark, and knows not whereof he affirms, and whither his random assertions tend. Either we should not attempt to impart solid instruction from the pulpit, or we should constantly study to make ourselves thoroughly systematic theologians."

Thus far, we heartily agree with the author, in regard to the landmarks which he has set in the field of the preacher's studies. But when he finishes his outline, by subjoining the History of Theological Opinion, Anthropology, and Public Speaking, we hardly know how to express our surprise. He would make ecclesiastical history mainly subservient to "dogmatic history." In our view, a preacher needs to be acquainted with all the great *practical* lessons suggested by the experience of the church for eighteen centuries. This is something more than the history of theological opinions, or than such a sketch of church history as shall be merely subservient to that. This is the very point where we, Americans, are sadly deficient. Our historical training, instead of being narrowed down to our author's standard, ought to be made far more extensive and thorough. The study of church history ought to be preceded by a philosophical acquaintance with civil history, the history of mental and moral philosophy, and of general literature, as distinct branches. It should embrace nothing less than a comprehensive and philosophic view of the Christian religion, as a matter of experiment and observation, tracing out the effects of its various kinds and degrees of influence upon the world, and the reaction of the world upon the church. This knowledge is necessary, in order to give scope and expansion to ordinary pulpit discourses. Doctrinal preaching, without such a practical basis, is very liable to degenerate into mere logical discussions, or an exhibition of ingenious thoughts. The disciplined, intellectual few may be gratified and profited; but plain, sensible, business men, will betray symptoms of uneasiness and want.

As to our author's "Anthropology," we should know better what to say, if we knew exactly what he means. Does he allude to a science that is, or to one that ought to be? Does it include mental and moral philosophy, or is it a third coördinate branch, equivalent

to psychology? Sometimes he speaks of it as a distinct "science;" he then calls it, very vaguely, "the science of human nature," and again, it appears to be equivalent to "intellectual and moral philosophy." If he uses the term in its most general sense, including all the sciences pertaining to our spiritual nature, we can appreciate the importance he attaches to it; but if he employs it in the limited sense of the modern German philosophers, we cannot withhold the expression of our surprise, that it should be singled out and made so prominent.

But we proceed to the third subject discussed in this volume, viz., "Power in Speaking." We know not where we have seen so much important truth on the subject of pulpit eloquence, presented in so few words. This single piece is enough to rescue the book in which it stands from neglect. We wish we could quote it at length; but the following selections must suffice:

"The elements of power in speaking, are partly inherent in the structure of the discourse itself, and partly extrinsic or accidental to it, relating to those auxiliary circumstances which contribute to ensure a discourse attention and success. It is my present intention to do little more than enumerate the principal of these elements.

"Importance belongs to the subject of a powerful discourse. It is only deep emotion that prompts the tones and utterances of eloquence, and no trivial theme can excite such emotion. Power in utterance is the result of power in intellectual conception and emotion, and such power must have greatness in its object. The experience of every one attests the truth of this statement. How differently does he speak, who earnestly pleads for his country's honor, or for the life of a fellow-creature, or for the salvation of the human soul from everlasting death, from him who has no other object than to please men, or merely to meet a professional call.

"But he who would speak with genuine power, should not only confine himself to matters of importance, but, in speaking of such matters, should take the side of TRUTH. Truth is the law, the food, the strength, the delight of rational being. To commune deeply with truth is to acquire power; to speak of truth after long and deep communion with it, is, almost unavoidably, to exert great power upon others. I need not stay to show what advantages in speaking, truth gives its advocate over him who has the side of error to defend. How often, amidst a distracting diversity of opinions and arguments, has the mere statement of the truth, from judicious lips, proved at once decisive, and put all debate and all doubt to rest.

"It contributes greatly to power in speaking, that the subject of the discourse be one of personal concern to the hearers. It is impossible for a speaker to be interested himself, by what neither does nor should interest his hearers. The mere impression, on the contrary, that what he is about to discourse of, is what will, of itself, awaken strong feeling in the auditory, tends to stir up his spirit into intense exertion, and thus to prepare him to express himself with ease to himself, and also with great effect.

"It greatly heightens power, when the subject, besides being of general interest to the hearers, is adapted particularly to classes,

circumstances, and seasons. Many a speech has been thought, and justly thought, to have been very eloquent, not because it was intrinsically powerful, or because it was well pronounced, but because the speaker was wise in suiting his subject to the peculiar state and need of his hearers. It was eloquent relatively to them, though not so in itself. A word which rebukes a man in crime, or comforts him in trouble, or relieves him in perplexity, is a word of power, though spoken with stammering lips. It is this, above all extrinsic things, which gives a discourse pungency, that it be spoken pertinently to present wants and demands.

"It is essential, also, that the speaker understand well the subject of his discourse. He who speaks of what he does not understand, speaks with no confidence in his own utterances, or with an unwarranted confidence; and, in either case, his discourse will want the characteristics of true power. For assumed confidence always betrays itself, and to waver or faint in one's own judgment is to beget faintness, in those to whom that judgment is expressed. Distinct apprehensions, enlarged and comprehensive views of the extended and various bearings and connections of things, and firm convictions of truth, are indispensable to strong feeling and strong modes of expression. Without such inward furniture for speaking, a man, in discourse, can be expected to exhibit nothing in just proportion and symmetry.

"No one can speak with much force, who does not express what are strictly his own, and not another's, convictions. Where thoughts are borrowed, and held only in memory, however excellent they may be in themselves, as they are no legitimate part of the mind's own strength and life, they are apt to want something of nature, something of fitness and honesty, in the manner in which the mind gives them forth.

"It is essential to a powerful speech, that its parts, however numerous, should belong to one subject, and constitute a complete whole. Digressions, and graceful intermissions of earnestness, designed for relief, or as a foil to what should have peculiar prominence, are not only admissible, but often a very high excellence. But whatever has a tendency to divide attention should be avoided, and the more so, if it be in itself attractive and powerful; it will be injurious to the discourse, in proportion to its intrinsic excellence.

"This suggests another observation. A man who would speak with efficiency and success, should intend to accomplish some definite and specific end by his discourse. He should have but one subject, and cleave to that subject throughout, and should also aim in every thing to accomplish a chosen object. He should never arise to address an assembly, without distinctly proposing to himself to make some particular impression upon them, and engaging all his powers of argument and persuasion in fulfilling that design.

"Natural and simple method is greatly tributary to power. Three points should be prominent in the speaker's aim: to say what ought to be said, to say nothing else, and to say every thing in its place. The best thoughts, spoken out of place, may escape attention, or be injurious; and the most common ones, spoken fitly and in place,

may be of overpowering interest. All the parts of a speech should be so collocated and disposed, as to meet perfectly the demands of nature and propriety: one part should add strength to another; progress in speaking should be progress in strength; strength to the last should be cumulative; and the interest of the hearers should not only be sustained, but increasingly deepened quite to the end.

"It is impossible to be too regardful of method. But by method is not to be understood a formal, and much less a numerical division into heads. Judgment and taste will discern whether this be or be not expedient.

"Great attention is due to the style of a discourse, which is addressed to the public ear. The style fitting such a discourse is so different from that which becomes one intended for the press, that if it be given to the public through that medium, such important changes may be necessary as to require recomposition.

"Style is not natural, if it do not vary somewhat according to the nature of its subject, and is not marked with the speaker's individuality of mind. But with such variety there are certain attributes of style which always characterize powerful speaking. To speak with power, for instance, is to speak with plainness, and such plainness as will express the meaning not only so that it may be understood, but so that it cannot be misunderstood; for what power is there in an utterance, the sense of which is uncertain to the hearer? To plainness, must be added simplicity; because a meaning may be obvious when yet it is so expressed as to have attention seduced from itself to some vain word or ostentatious image in the sentence. From plainness and simplicity, purity should not be disjoined; since, in speech, as in every thing else, true power has no dwelling with vulgarity; and since the end of all legitimate speaking is the elevation and refinement of man. Further, the style of a powerful speaker is animated, as well as plain, simple, and pure. There is life and spirit and pathos in his words; and he deals gracefully and naturally in allusions, analogies and images. The highest order of public speakers, those who keep the attention of auditories enchained, are men of rich invention, fertile imagination, and deep sympathies; whose style of speaking is strongly stamped with these attributes of their minds. Finally, boldness rather than caution, and energy rather than elegance, are appropriate qualities of the style of a strong speech; it being the object of such a speech, not to please, but to persuade, not to give specimens of fine expression, but to impress some subject of great importance strongly on men's minds.

"One of the most important of the elements of power in speaking, is just *action*; or an external deportment in the speaker, becoming the subject of his thoughts, and the feelings which it should excite in his mind. * * * When a powerful emotion becomes manifest by its effects upon the speaker's look and manner, it communicates itself to the audience, *independently* of words, so as to make the most ordinary enunciation irresistible. If, before a man speaks, his eyes glow with delight, or be suffused by silent grief, he is already eloquent. By a sort of contagiousness, emotion so manifested, diffuses itself with a power which no one can withstand.

"The last specification relates to the connection of personal holiness in the speaker, with power in his discourse. This connection rests on two grounds. Such is the relation of truth to virtue, that an enemy to the latter is esteemed no friend of the former, and therefore insincere in its advocacy. And a discourse from such a man, however able in itself, will have but little good influence on the audience. No man, therefore, of an ill reputation, ought to be a public speaker; or, if he will speak, let it be for error, not for truth. 'Unto the wicked, God saith, what hast thou to do, to declare my statutes? or that thou shouldst take my covenant into thy mouth?' Personal holiness, on the contrary, gives the advocate of truth great advantage, by the command, which he has, by means of it, of the confidence and esteem of mankind. When a man, qualified for speaking in other respects, has a holy life and a good name, to sustain him in his challenges of public attention, he has an authority and a power, which, without these recommendations, the tongue of an angel would not exert. His pure character, his known love and practice of moral excellence, his bright example, point the sentences of truth which proceed from his lips, and fasten them in the minds of men."

"Preaching should be doctrinal," says the author, in the heading of another chapter. If this piece was written for the purpose of opposing a certain method of preaching which has gained some currency among a particular class of circulating preachers, and all the language here employed is to be interpreted with direct reference to that method,—of which, however, no intimation is made,—it may be regarded as substantially correct. But if, as the form and structure of it would indicate, it is to be regarded as an essay of a more general character and application, it must be pronounced as savoring strongly of ultraism. The inevitable tendency of it would be to exalt, in sermonizing, reasoning, at the expense of passion and imagination. The contemptuous manner, in which *experimental* and *descriptive* preaching is spoken of, is scarcely just or decorous. Either of these opposite modes of preaching, when exclusive, becomes defective. It is the intermingling of them all, that best accords with the dictates of nature, and with the practice of inspired teachers. If we are not mistaken, the greatest, we had almost said the only defect, in our author's practice, grows out of the doctrine here advanced. We refer to the attempt to call forth a passion by a *process of reasoning*, instead of *pourtraying the object* that is adapted to kindle such passion. This mania of doing every thing by logic, of attempting to *reason* men into love or "joy," so far, as it prevails, is, at the present time, greatly weakening the power of the ministry, and is, in itself, as absurd as dealing in experience without doctrine, or in illustration without principle.

The two succeeding topics, "Preaching on Ability," and "How to Repent," we find it difficult to characterize. The personal relations of the author to two great parties in the Presbyterian church, between which he seems to stand about midway in *doctrine*, while he is evidently attached to but one of them in *feeling*, give a strange air to this part of his work.

2. *The Harmony of Christian Faith and Christian Character; and the Culture and Discipline of the Mind.* By JOHN ABERCROMBIE, M. D., F. R. S. E., Author of "Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers, and the Investigation of Truth," "The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings," &c., &c. New York. Harper & Brothers. 18mo. pp. 146. 1839.

We are always pleased with the religious productions of this judicious and pious layman. He is not only a man of a high order of intellect, but of sober, practical views. We do not, indeed, regard the little volume before us, as a splendid effort of genius; on the contrary, it is a plain, simple, straight-forward work, adapted rather to benefit the "industrious classes" of society, for whom it was expressly prepared, than to augment the author's fame. Still, the most common thoughts in his hands betray the workings of a great mind. There is a dignity, composure, and elevation of thought, with occasional veins of originality and marks of power, that render it a pleasing book to the most enlightened reader, and give it, what too few of our popular works possess, a healthful influence over the common mind.

The first part of this book is a sort of sermon on 2 Pet. 1: 5—7. "And besides this, giving all diligence, add to your faith, virtue; and to virtue, knowledge; and to knowledge, temperance; and to temperance, patience; and to patience, godliness; and to godliness, brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity." It commences thus:

"In the style and composition of the Sacred Writings, nothing is more remarkable than the manner in which, by a few simple expressions, there is laid before us a detailed and harmonious display of Christian faith and Christian character. In such expositions, each single word is often found to be a clear and distinct subject of contemplation in itself, while the combination is arranged with such consummate skill, yet simplicity and clearness, that it becomes at once a study for the philosopher in moral science, and a guide to the most humble Christian in his daily conduct through life. A beautiful example of this nature is furnished by the passage which we have placed at the head of this essay; and, in its connection with the observations which go before it, taken along with the peculiar relation of its own component parts, it displays the foundation of Christian hope, and affords a delineation of Christian character in a manner the most harmonious and comprehensive."

The writer's train of thought may be sufficiently gathered from the following extracts:

"In attempting a brief illustration of a subject of such extent and importance, the first object of attention which meets us is, that, in all this exhibition of moral qualities, the primary and fundamental principle is *faith*. This is at once the source of spiritual life and the supporting element of moral health; and, until a man be firmly established in this great principle, it is vain for him to expect to make any progress in the cultivation of Christian character. When we thus consider faith as the source or primary moving cause, essential to the culture of every sound quality of the mind and to ev-

ery regulation of individual conduct, we have to view it in two aspects: in its relations to truths regarding things not seen, and more especially and peculiarly in its relation to the offers or promises of the gospel of peace.

"In considering the operation of faith in regard to the truths which relate to things not seen, we have to keep in mind the peculiarity of the situation in which we are placed in the present state of existence. In our connection with the things of the present world we are surrounded by physical or material objects; with these we communicate by means of our bodily senses; they are continually obtruding themselves upon our attention with little or no exertion of our own, and therefore they exercise over us a constant and extensive influence. But these are not our only relations; as moral and responsible agents, as immortal beings, we have to do with objects as real as those which are presented to our senses, though of a very different nature. The truths by which we ought to be influenced respecting them are addressed to a different part of our constitution, and are to be received upon a separate kind of evidence. They do not come under the cognizance of any of our senses, but are addressed directly to the mind; and their due influence upon us is produced through that mental process which we call faith.

"The word which is usually translated virtue is well known to imply, in its original and strict signification, fortitude. In its connection in this passage it appears to mean simply a firmness and consistency of mind in reference to the truths which are the objects of faith, a determination to contemplate them steadily in all their tendencies, and an habitual effort to keep them before the mind, so that they may become regulating principles in the whole conduct. It includes, therefore, an earnest endeavor to cultivate that character and conduct which the truths so believed are calculated to produce in every one who really believes them. This is the first great step in that mental exercise which constitutes living by faith; and it cannot be too strongly impressed upon us how much it is a process of the mind, of which every one must be conscious who really performs it. From the want of it, we see such inconsistencies of character in those who profess to believe the most important truths and who think they believe them. They have, it may be, directed some attention to the evidence of the truths, and have yielded a certain assent of the understanding to their reality, but this conviction has not been followed up by that necessary process of the mind which is calculated to bring the truths into practical operation upon the moral condition; they have neglected entirely the exhortation to add to their faith virtue.

"This important exercise of the mind must be in habitual and active operation in him who desires to live by faith. The things of time and sense with which we are continually surrounded exert over us a constant influence; and it requires a peculiar and intense direction of the mind to withdraw us from their power, and to cause us to feel as we ought the influence of events which are future and of things which are not seen. It requires this exercise to be in a state of peculiar activity when we are called upon to act under the impression of these future and unseen things, in opposition to pres-

ent feelings and present interests, and in circumstances it may be in which this has to be done by great exertion and at great personal sacrifice.

"That this discipline of the mind, so essential to the health of every moral being, may be conducted upon right principles, it is necessary to pay minute attention to the truth and soundness of those opinions which are thus received as objects of faith, and adopted as regulating principles in the character. Therefore, continues the apostle, to your faith and virtue add *knowledge*. This is a consideration of the utmost importance, which, though it may be recognised in theory, is less attended to in practice than it ought to be. Whatever is received as the object of faith must first be presented to the mind as the object of knowledge; that is, it must be received only upon full examination, and upon such evidence as is sufficient to convince the understanding of its truth. * * * * On this

subject various errors are committed, but all of them are of serious moment. One of the most common, perhaps, is indifference. *

* * * Others affect to disbelieve these great truths, and to consider them, perhaps, as the superstitions of vulgar minds. *

* * * There are persons of a third class who, professing a sincere love for the truth, wander from it by their own speculations. * * *

For preserving from all such perversion of the understanding, and that pernicious influence on the whole moral economy which follows, the only security is in a close attention to the apostle's exhortation, that to faith be added knowledge. For this purpose the utmost care must be habitually exercised, that the mind be calmly and steadily directed to an examination of the truth, and the utmost anxiety felt to prevent it from wandering into partial views or speculations guided by favorite fancies. Such is the discipline of a mind which seeks the truth in the love of it; and in the prosecution of its inquiries, conducted with humility and candor, it is encouraged to look for an influence from Heaven which will preserve it from error, and prove to it strength, and light, and wisdom.

"The mental attributes which have been referred to in the preceding observations, consisting of faith, virtue, and knowledge, may be considered as those which form the foundation of Christian character; but they are the foundation only, not the real structure of which that character consists. From the consideration of them therefore, we are naturally led to that influence which they ought to produce upon the moral feelings of the mind and the regulation of the whole character and conduct, without which knowledge is vain and faith is barren. This most important part of the subject is divided by the apostle into two branches; the one relating to the moral condition of the individual himself, consisting of temperance, patience, and godliness; the other having respect to his conduct to his fellow-men, in brotherly kindness and charity. All these qualities are required to be in constant and harmonious operation, to constitute a healthy moral condition; and there is either self-deception, or a pretension of what is not really felt, when there is the appearance or profession of some of them without the harmony of the whole. Though a man may show much conduct having the charac-

ters of brotherly kindness and charity, there is a radical error in the mental economy, if these are not founded upon faith and knowledge, and accompanied by temperance, patience and godliness. And, whatever display there may be of knowledge, these are but empty names unless they are accompanied by temperance and patience, and lead to brotherly kindness and charity."

Though the second part of this volume relates to a subject of a very different nature from that of the first, it exhibits the same spirit of practical wisdom. It treats of three leading features in mental discipline, mental activity in the acquisition of knowledge, in the formation of opinions, and in the culture of the heart.

3. *Home Education.* By ISAAC TAYLOR, Author of "Natural History of Enthusiasm," "Physical Theory of Another Life," &c., &c. First American, from the second London edition. New York. Appleton & Co. 12mo., pp. 322. 1838.

This is a work of great originality and power, and is thereby distinguished from the numerous brood of insipid books which are now appearing on the fashionable subject of education. Still, we are far from receiving this production as an oracle. It has nearly as many and as great faults as excellences. The author is too bold a theorizer, too warm an advocate of his favorite notions, too poetical in his conceptions, and too cloudy in his representations, for practical purposes. So far as his aversion to public schools, or his attachment to home education, is well founded, it applies to boys only, and not to young men. We agree with him, that in all the earlier parts of education, every thing is in favor of having a boy constantly under domestic influence, wherever instruction under these circumstances is practicable. But how few mothers, or fathers, or tutors, are competent to conduct a student successfully through all the departments of a liberal education! As a young man advances to maturity, he not only needs a teacher that is thoroughly qualified to instruct, but, in every new study, he needs to be brought in contact with an ardent and energetic mind, which shall impart its own character, and leave its own stamp on the young intellect. What teacher of the whole encyclopædia of literature, science, and art, can give even a tolerable vitality to all these branches of instruction?

But a large portion of Mr. Taylor's objections to a public education apply only to the state of public instruction in England. We should feel dissatisfied with his querulous spirit, were it not that gross abuses, to which we, in this country, are strangers, were immediately before his eye.

Having stated the defects of Mr. Taylor's book, and made them somewhat prominent, it is incumbent on us, also, to bear our decided testimony to its many and rare excellences. Even its aberrations are those of genius, while the just views which it exhibits are strikingly original and luminous. The following paragraphs, on the happiness of early childhood, will illustrate our remark:

"Adults look for external means of enjoyment, and seek happiness, in the gratification of specific wishes or desires; but an infant—

simply protected from positive suffering, is happy from the stock of its own resources, and by the perpetual gush of joyous emotions, having no determinate direction as they burst abroad, like rills from a hill top, and which sparkle and dance as they glide away.

"Every one who is not too fastidious, or too supercilious, to give attention to facts of this sort, must have admired the pertinacity of nature (if we might so speak) in securing the felicity of childhood under circumstances the most adverse—or adverse in our view. Particular instances of ill health, ill treatment, or ill temper excepted, children are as happy as the day is long, although grimed and grovelling about the gutters of the courts and lanes of London or Manchester: much more certainly are they happy—tattered, dirty, and ruddy, at the door of a hut on a common or road-side:—they are happy, more than might be believed, in the cellar or the garret of the artizan, or in a jail, or even in a poor-house! Nay, it must be granted by attentive and impartial observers, that the balance of joyousness would sometimes, and perhaps often, be on the side of children in some of these luckless positions, if put in comparison with those who, with golden ringlets and brilliant skins, make groups for the painter upon trim lawns, in front of sumptuous mansions; for it is true, that while, on the one hand, the spontaneous happiness of childhood requires only to be defended from positive disturbance, on the other, it may be curtailed, or totally dissipated, by an excessive and anxious interference, intended to promote it. The happiness of children is not a something to be procured and prepared for them, like their daily food; but a something which they **ALREADY POSSESS**, and with which we need not concern ourselves, any further than to see that they are not despoiled of it. This simple principle, if understood, trusted to, and constantly brought to bear upon the arrangements of a family, would at once relieve the minds of parents from an infinitude of superfluous cares.

"Let any one, familiar with children, analyse a child's tranquil felicity while amusing itself, for an hour or more, with nothing better than a crooked stick, or a handful of pebbles. What can be the bare gratification of the sense of touch, or of the muscular power, or of the sight, which such objects can convey? It must be reckoned as extremely small. Nor is it possible to watch the movements and countenance of an infant of fifteen months, or two years, whilst so engaged, and fall into the great error of supposing that its delights are chiefly animal. It is the **MIND**, it is the rich, and grasping, and excursive human mind (such even in infancy), that is at work on the poor materials of its felicity. This crooked stick, or these pebbles, are symbols of many things we adults do not dream of in such a connection: and they suggest conceptions of things dimly recollected, and now absent, which people the fancy in crowds, and lead it on, until the soul is lost in the chase."

Who does not recognise, in these vivid representations, the author of the "*Natural History of Enthusiasm*?"

Again: "The most powerful understandings become more or less enfeebled and perverted by a few years' seclusion in a closet,

with a stove temperature, and lamp-light. There is needed more than a little rough, farmer-like, daily occupation abroad, to keep the student clear of the *pedant*; and assuredly it is not an hour's pacing up and down a college-walk that suffices for this purpose. One would fain, in conducting a thoroughly intellectual education, counteract the debilitating effect of studious habits, so as to preclude the mortifying comparison, commonly made between the accomplished scholar, and the man of business, in whatever does not involve mere erudition. One would gladly spare a young man the pungent shame which many have felt—conscious as they may have been of high attainments, and yet compelled to feel that, in the broad and open world, no one has thought their opinions worth listening to a moment, in relation to the weighty interests of common life. And in such instances, what is felt to be wanting, is not so much the requisite information on the point in question, as a want of that intuition which seizes a notion in the concrete—that is to say, in its practical form; instead of groping about for it in the region of the abstract, where it has broken itself off from the actual concerns of mankind."

The following remarks are both very just and very important :

"Parents may be found, in the highest degree solicitous for the welfare of their children, and not deficient in general intelligence, who nevertheless are perpetually struggling with domestic embarrassments, and sadly depressed by disappointment, in the discharge of their daily duties. In such instances there may be observed, a something *too much* in the modes of treatment—too much talking and preaching, and a too frequent bringing in of ultimate motives, until the natural sensibility and delicacy of children's minds are, if the phrase may be allowed, worn threadbare; for all the gloss of the feelings is gone, and the warp and substance are going." * * *

* * * If we were to attempt to divine the secret of a prosperous management of children, perhaps it would resolve itself into the simple fact of a quick perception of the train of their ideas, at any moment, and a facility in concurring with the stream of thought, whatever it may be, which, by the slightest guiding word or gesture, can be led into whatever channel may be desired.

"The rule of management might then be condensed into the three words—discern, follow, and lead. That is to say, there is first the catching of the clue of thought in a child's mind; then the going on with the same train a little way; and, lastly, the giving it a new, though not opposite direction."

"Too much law breaks down all minds to a dull uniformity," are words which deserve to be written in letters of gold.

4. *The Tusculan Questions of Marcus Tullius Cicero*. In five books. I. Contempt of Death. II. Bearing Pain. III. Alleviation of Sorrow. IV. Perturbations. V. Virtue sufficient for Happiness. Translated by GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS, Esq., Member of the American Philosophical Society; Translator of Botta's History of the War of American Independence. Boston. 12mo., pp. 316. 1839.

Cicero, as a philosopher, is too little known, not only to general readers, but even to scholars. It is difficult to say, whether the

perusal of his philosophical writings contributes more to one's delight or to his profit. Such was the order of his mind, and the character of his investigations, that his writings are adapted to almost every class of intelligent readers. He was an orator, a statesman, and a man of letters; and his philosophical studies were pursued partly for practical purposes, to fit him for his public duties, and partly to console his mind, under the pressure of adversity. He is, therefore, not abstract; he is no inventor of new systems; he is not even original; and yet, as he studied philosophy with a practical end in view, as he keenly felt the need of its aid, either as a statesman or as a sufferer, he made every principle he embraced his own. Starting on such ground, he would not, naturally, seize a single great principle, and dwell upon it, till he could see it and trace it out in all its bearings. He, whose direct object is utility, never prosecutes investigations in this manner. He pursues a train of thought so long as he can perceive that it will be of any particular use to him; and then drops it, and takes up another. Hence the multiplicity of disconnected views, of historical notices, and good maxims, in the works of this practical philosopher. This very circumstance makes him entertaining and instructive to different classes of readers; but it also makes it impossible that generations of philosophers should yield to his power, as they have to the influence of Plato and Aristotle.

It is surprising, that there have not been more English translations (in other languages there have been many) adapted to general readers. It is true the translator's task is not in this case easy. He must be uncommonly versed in the niceties of the Latin language, in order to understand and appreciate that great master of it. He must also have great power over his own language, in order to make every word and sentence worthy of the brilliant and eloquent orator. Besides, no moderate acquaintance with the history, and philosophy, and literature of antiquity, will be requisite to understand and explain the author's innumerable allusions to matters peculiar to his times.

It would be unreasonable to expect that Mr. Otis, in the present low state of classical literature among us, should meet all these demands. He has evidently mistaken his author's meaning in several instances, and failed to convey it with the ease, the grace, and the perspicuity of the original, in others. Still, it would appear that he has been, upon the whole, successful. In the dialogue, in particular, he seems to be felicitous in his expressions, and, judging from a partial examination, we should think that, as he proceeds, he enters more and more into the spirit and manner of his author. The very worst part of the translation is, unfortunately, at the beginning. Certainly the first sentence in the translation does not make a very favorable impression. It reads thus: "When at length relieved, my dear Brutus, either altogether, or in a great measure, from the labor of the forum, and senatorial duties, I betook myself, chiefly at your exhortation, to those studies, which, held in mind, dropped at times, after a long interval of suspension, I have recalled; and, since the method and discipline of all arts, which relate to the right way of living, are contained in the study of wisdom, called

philosophy, I have thought it my part to illustrate this in our own language; not because," &c. Would an ordinary reader get at the true idea, "As I am at length freed from my public labors, I again betake myself to those studies, which, though they have often been interrupted, and even wholly dropped, for a long season, I have never ceased to cherish," &c.? "Quae ad rectam vivendi viam pertinent," is awkwardly translated, "which relate to the right way of living," instead of, "which relate to practical life." "Quid loquar de re militari?" he translates, "Why should I speak of *the military concern*?" instead of "the military art." Again, "For, as [while] with the Greeks, the most ancient of the learned was the race of poets; at least, if [since?] Homer and Hesiod existed prior to the foundation of Rome, and Archilochus during the reign of Romulus. The [;the] reception of poetry among us was rather backward." The sentence, as it is printed, makes no sense. "Although we read in the *Origins*, that it was customary, at feasts, for the guests to sing," &c. Would it not have been better to say, *the History of the Origin of Rome*, rather than *Origins*, or at least to add an explanatory note respecting this work of Cato? "That consul took with him, *however*, into Aetolia, as we know, Ennius," should be translated, "*Now* that consul took Ennius with him into Aetolia, *so far as I know*," ut scimus referring to the word "Aetolia" merely. Both the idiom of the language and the connection are violated. "For Galba, Africanus, Laelius, are transmitted by tradition as learned. But studious, in the age before theirs, as Cato." Is this a typographical error, or was it so translated? The sense of the original is, "According to tradition, Galba, Africanus, and Laelius were learned; but Cato, who lived before them, was a mere student or beginner." "For as aforetime I have *declaimed causes*, which no man has done longer than me [I]," &c. Declamitare causas, is good Latin, but "to declaim causes," is not good English. "When he who wished to hear had said what appeared to him [how?], I then argued against it." "Quid sibi videretur," is here imperfectly translated.

It would be doing injustice, however, to suppose, that these instances of imperfect or inaccurate translation, which occur on the first ten pages, were a fair specimen of the whole volume. In comparing many other succeeding pages, we found no such errors as these.

The translator deserves our cordial thanks for his arduous toils. He seems to have devoted himself to this labor, with feelings not unlike those which animated the philosopher of Tusculum, while writing these disquisitions. We quote, with pleasure, the following expression of his generous and almost plaintive feelings, from the preface:

"When, at length, weary of the toys of literature, and sickened with its trash, will the sons and daughters of this high-minded republic be likely 'to close their ears to the most eloquent voice of wisdom?' will they neglect to read a volume recommended by all the attraction of novelty; and which no one can read without being made wiser and better? which demonstrates that virtue, if not the

only good thing, is certainly the only road to happiness; that virtue, gratuitous, and self-rewarded, is the only true expediency; that in comparison with virtue, health, riches, fame and power, even life itself, are but as the dust of the balance? What people has the world ever seen, or the sun ever shone upon, more worthy to appreciate and propagate by their example these noble maxims, than the one to whom they are now addressed! Will they not place this work in the hands of all who can read, from the village school to the highest university? Will there be one among them to oppose the introduction of this hidden treasure into the currency of our literature, when the only recompense desired for the arduous attempt, is, that they will read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the Tusculan Questions?"

Still, the philosophy of Cicero, valuable as it is in many respects, will not, of itself, minister adequate consolation to the human heart in its anguish. It did not, it could not, in the time of trouble, support the philosopher himself, as he honestly confesses. "I consume all my time," he says, in one of his letters, "in the study of philosophy; not that it can furnish a constant remedy for evil, it can only procure a temporary forgetfulness of sorrow." It is the prerogative of another book effectually to assuage these sorrows, and give the mind *lasting* repose.

5. *Lectures upon the History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* By the Rev. HENRY BLUNT, A. M., Rector of Upper Chelsea; late fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Duke of Richmond. In two volumes, 12mo. pp. 284. 284. 1839.

Lectures upon the History of St. Paul, delivered during Lent. By the same author. First American from the seventh London edition. Philadelphia. Hooker & Claxton. 12mo. pp. 382. 1839.

These volumes constitute a valuable addition to our religious literature, and we trust their republication in this country will promote the object of the writer, viz., "that all into whose hands they shall fall, may derive from these pages a clear insight into that faith which alone can justify, and a greater desire after that holiness, at once its evidence and its fruit." The author,—of whom but little has before been known among us,—evidently belongs to that increasing, and already somewhat numerous class, who may with propriety be designated as the evangelical division or party of the Established Church of England. The general spirit and the exhibition of Christian doctrine which these Lectures evince, has frequently reminded us of the excellent John Newton. High expectations of a certain character are guarded against by cautions like the following: "These lectures are intended to be very plain, and simple, and practical commentaries upon the divine word. Nothing critical, nothing learned, nothing argumentative will be admitted into them." We think the author has pretty generally fulfilled his designs as thus set forth. The reading of his discourses will not be prompted by the hope of meeting with startling novelties, or profound discussions, or any of the originalities of genius; and yet we apprehend that the

pious and humble Christian, who takes up these volumes with the simple purpose of finding food for the soul, and promoting his own sanctification, and increased familiarity with the useful, rather than the brilliant and the new, of the truths of God's holy word, will not be disappointed. In this age of novelty and excitement, there is need of an admixture of such mental and spiritual aliment as is calculated to promote the quiet and healthful growth of Christian character, without endangering its safety by undue stimulants. Such a purpose these lectures are adapted to promote.

The first volumes above-mentioned contain thirty-four lectures, just as they were actually delivered, having impressed on every page their original and real character of homilies addressed to a promiscuous congregation. There is little or nothing that is abstract, or foreign to the immediate object at hand; and the history of Christ, from his birth to his resurrection, is only so pursued as to furnish a kind of thread, on which the various instructions, consolations, warnings, and exhortations of a practical character, with which the work is replete, are arranged. This plan renders the whole, and the several constituent parts available for reading continuously, or at intervals; and is thus adapted to the various circumstances of those into whose hands the volumes may fall. It will also be seen at once, that there is little resemblance in the general design, to that admirable work of Harris, "*The Great Teacher*," and still less, to the very complete and thoroughly biblical work of Archbishop Newcome, under the very unassuming title of "*Observations on our Lord's Conduct as a Divine Instructor, and on the excellence of his moral Character*." This last we have been accustomed to regard as of unrivalled excellence in the particular department which it was designed to fill. To ministers and students in theology, it will prove an invaluable aid, while, for the purpose of ordinary Christian edification, these lectures of Mr. Blunt are far superior.

The other volume, on the history of Paul, in twenty-four lectures, follows the same plan of the former. We have examined it, even more attentively than the other work, and with the same general satisfaction. There is no elaborate attempt at the delineation of the character of the great apostle of the Gentiles, by eliminating from the history the leading traits or the ruling spirit of the man. Instead of this, the author leads us in a natural and easy manner, to trace the events of his life,—from the early notice of him in the Acts of the Apostles, through all those scenes of action and suffering, in which he is placed so frequently in the fore-ground of the picture,—until he is seen in that truly sublime attitude of review and anticipation, presented in Galatians 6: 14, uttering the true Christian's boast, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

We insert a few extracts, just to show the style and spirit of the author. The noble disinterestedness of Barnabas, in his connection with Paul, is thus described:

"At the end of three or four years, which were spent by Saul at Tarsus, Barnabas, who appears from his first acquaintance with him at Jerusalem to have conceived a very great and permanent affec-

tion for Saul, departed, as we are told, to seek him, and having found him at Tarsus, carried him with him to Antioch, where he had himself before been the instrument of great and extensive usefulness. How disinterested an act was this on the part of Barnabas! By his preaching 'much people at Antioch had been added to the Lord;' that he was not insensible to the delight of being so employed is obvious, for we are expressly told that when he 'had seen the grace of God,' manifested in the conversion of sinners, he 'was glad;' and yet one of the very first acts of this successful preacher, was to seek Saul, and to bring him from Tarsus, to place him in the midst of the vineyard, where he had himself broken up the fallow ground, and then meekly and contentedly to take the second place, as we find throughout the whole history, he afterwards invariably does; and appear sufficiently rewarded by attending upon that chosen instrument of divine power, 'the man whom the Lord delighted to honor.' Most rare achievement of the grace of God, when it so completely triumphs over self-love, and self-aggrandizement, and self-applause, as to make this the language of our hearts: Let but my God be glorified, let my Redeemer conquer, and while other and more honored instruments may fight under his banners, and advance his glories, and partake of the spoils of his victories, I am well content to be overlooked and forgotten; 'less than the least of all saints,' 'a door-keeper in the house of my God.'"

The effect of the apostle's preaching at Iconium, and of the consequent persecution which raged there, was, "that the multitude of the city was divided." This incident gives our author occasion for the following remarks, on the nature of justifiable divisions, and the necessity and good effects of decision, on a subject of such transcendent magnitude:

"It is not a factious or irreverent difference from all around you; it is not a division for the sake of singularity; it is not a division of ill temper and unkindness, treating all who differ from you, as if they were unworthy of your regard; but a division like that recommended by the prophet of old, 'If the Lord be God, follow him, but if Baal, then follow him:' a temporary division here, which, by the grace of God, will frequently prevent an eternal division hereafter. For how often has the example and the testimony of one member of a family, really in earnest in taking up the cross, and following Christ through evil report and good report, been the blessed means of bringing a whole family to God: while, on the other hand, a timid, time-serving, compromising religion, while it dishonors God, and injures your own soul, too often deceives those around you into a complacency in their present state of spiritual darkness, and, therefore, into the loss of their future and eternal happiness."

In the first part of the same lecture, he thus truly describes the desires of ministers of the gospel:

"No higher reward could have been sought by the apostles, no higher reward is desired by the ministers of Christ, than this which was here granted to St. Paul and his companion—so to speak that a great multitude may believe. The orator of this world, would

experience but little satisfaction, unless it could be said that he so spake that a multitude applauded; that an admiring audience hung upon his lips, astonished by his eloquence, and attracted by his powers; the minister of Christ, on the contrary, is anxious that instead of the power of eloquence and the charms of oratory, the power of divine truth and the charm of divine love may pervade every sentence which he delivers; that he may himself be overlooked and forgotten in the wondrous message of mercy and condescension which he brings; all that he asks of you, all that he desires of God, is, that by the power of the Holy Ghost, you may be led to yield yourselves willing captives, not to the strength of his arguments, but to the sweet attractions of his Master's love."

To this last extract, may be appropriately joined the following solemn appeal to his hearers, which occurs at the close of the sixth Lecture:

"There is no feeling so deeply affecting to the heart of a Christian minister, as the apprehension lest any to whom he has been the appointed messenger to convey the bread of life should eventually perish. To think that any who have heard the offers of the gospel, or sat within the walls of our temples, and joined in our services, should not sit down hereafter in the kingdom of God; to think that while the children of God shall have entered in with the bridegroom to the wedding, you,—yes, if it be but one among you,—should be shut out,—you to whom the same gospel has been preached, the same Saviour freely offered, the same Spirit waiting to be gracious,—you, who have uttered, at least with the lips, the same prayers and praises as the people of God,—that after such privileges, and such opportunities, you should ever dwell 'amidst everlasting burnings;' that you should exchange the hosannas and hallelujahs of angels, for the repinings and curses of condemned spirits! Even the thought is too dreadful to entertain for a moment; O, what must be the tremendous, the indescribable reality? How invaluable, then, is the truth, that 'through this man,' even Christ Jesus our Lord, is still at this hour, 'preached to you the remission of sins.' Come to him now, in penitence and faith, and all will be pardoned, all will be blotted out, all will be forgiven. 'Behold, he stands at the door and knocks.' Suffer this day, this hour, this warning, to pass unheeded by, and he may have departed from you for ever."

We had marked a long and more eloquent extract, evincing a high degree of tact and originality in the appeal which it makes to women, but are compelled to omit it for want of room.

These volumes have been extensively and highly praised, and we have heard the claim advanced for them, of being entirely free from denominational peculiarities. This is not just to the author, nor candid in regard to the public. Mr. Blunt is a low, or moderate Churchman, holding and advocating the views peculiar to that denomination. We have noticed in these volumes, his taking for granted that baptism is the substitute for circumcision;—that Lydia had children, who were baptized with her;—and it is also said, page 193 of the history of Paul, that *the grace received in baptism, has, by*

some perhaps, been lost. These, and other instances of this kind, prove that the author was not careful to avoid allusions to his particular creed. Candor, however, would dictate the admission, that he does not seem to have written these lectures with a sectarian spirit, and we trust their perusal will be extensively blest, to the edification of saints, and the conversion of sinners. B*.

6. *Impressions of Travel, in Egypt and Arabia Petrea.* By ALEXANDER DUMAS. Translated from the French, by a Lady of New York. New York. John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 318. 1839.

From the days of Herodotus to the present, Egypt has been the favorite land of travel. After the descriptions of Pococke, Norden, Niebuhr, and many, many others, especially since the French expedition, what can a new traveller expect to say, that has not already been better said by others? And yet we read with eagerness every new book on Egypt. It is the land of wonders, the country of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies; of Ethiopians, Greeks, Mamelukes, and Arabs; abounding in monuments of art and historical recollections, beyond all example.

It is well that our author is a lively Frenchman, who can be merry in an African desert, can jest with privations and hardships of every kind, and who can make old things new, dull things interesting, and trifles instructive. Dumas, who is a dramatic writer, as one might easily infer from the bewitching style of his narrative, is the son of the general Dumas, known in the wars of the French republic.

The traveller's true character and genius appear the moment he sets foot on Egyptian ground:

"On the very edge of the wharf were ass-drivers in waiting, as one sees the conductors of hacks, cabriolets, etc., in Paris. In fact, these men were every where,—at the Tower, at Pompey's Pillar, at Cleopatra's Needle,—and, to their praise be it spoken, they surpass in officiousness the coachmen of Sceaux, Bantin, and St. Denis. Before I had time to make my selection, I was seized, carried off, put astride of an ass, torn from my seat, placed on another, dragged from this again, and thrown upon the sand. All this took place so rapidly, in the midst of cries and cuffs, that I had no time to oppose the least resistance. I took advantage of the respite afforded by the combat between my persecutors over my prostrate body, to look around me. I found that Mayer was in a still more critical situation than I; he was entirely a prisoner, and, notwithstanding his vociferations, was carried off at a gallop by an ass and its driver. I ran to his assistance, and succeeded in rescuing him from the hands of the infidel. This done, we darted down the first lane, to escape this eighth plague of Egypt, of which Moses had not forewarned us."

The description of the scene in a hot-bath at Alexandria, page 26—33, is a perfect comedy. The following graphic description of the country along the Delta, agrees with the accounts of other travellers:

* We are indebted to the kindness of personal friends for those notices to which signatures are annexed.—Ed.

"The road from Alexandria to Damanhour is remarkable for nothing but its sterility. We waded through a sea of sand, in which our attendants and asses sank knee-deep. Occasionally we were blinded by gusts of hot wind mixed with dust; and we knew, from the momentary oppression at our lungs, as it passed, that we were encountering the burning breath of the Desert. Here and there, on either hand, were circular villages, built on the rising ground, which, during the overflow of the Nile, become islands. The houses are of a conical form, built of brick and earth, and pierced with small, square holes, designed to admit just as much light as is strictly necessary with just as little heat as possible."

We select a passage on matrimonial engagements and obligations. The reader will need no comments of ours:

"When M. Amon came to the grave determination of eschewing bachelorship, he employed, as is customary, a female *marriage-broker* to find out a suitable person. In a few days she reported the discovery of a handsome Cophtish girl, fourteen years of age. M. Amon asked to see her. As a compliance with this request would have been contrary to all usage, he was told that it would be impossible; but, nevertheless, he might ask any questions he thought proper, and depend on honest and faithful answers. These answers proving satisfactory, a suitable portion was the next day offered to the parents, and accepted. The time was then fixed for the ceremony, and at the hour appointed, M. Amon on one side, and the lady and her friends on the other, appeared at the Cadi's. The money was counted out, the bride was passed to M. Amon as the receipt, and the husband marched off with his prize. He did not see her face until he reached his house. The parties, however, had dealt fairly with him; and he felicitates himself, to this day, on his *blind-man's-buff* sort of a marriage.

"But fair dealing does not always occur in these matters; and great disappointment often takes place. In such a case, the deceived husband sends his wife back to her parents, giving a second portion, equivalent to the first. The husband always reserves this right to restore the wife, when a moral deception has been practised on him, and when, at the end of a certain time, the pair perceive that their characters cannot assimilate. They then become free of each other; and after this divorce, which is valid by mutual consent, they are at liberty to marry elsewhere a second, third, or fourth time."

The best passage in the whole book (pp. 63—68), is but remotely connected with travelling. We would quote it at length, for its intrinsic merit as masterly portraiture of the history of architecture, did our space permit.

Whenever we are in the midst of a great scene of interest, whether for its monuments of art, or for its connection with history, we always feel desirous of securing a commanding position, and making it, for the time being, a kind of observatory, a centre of geographical reckoning. Our author has a strong propensity this way; of which his description of Cairo, as seen from the citadel, furnish-

as a good example. To render his statements, respecting this "capital of Egypt," still more clear, we may add to what he says, that the Nile is here divided into two arms, and that Cairo is directly east of the island thus formed, stretching in an oblong shape, in a north-easterly direction from the right bank of the river. The citadel is in the southern angle of the city; directly south of that is the City of the Dead, or Tombs of the Caliphs; between these tombs and the river is Old Cairo; at the northern extremity of the right arm of the river is the haven, Boulac, corresponding to Old Cairo at its southern extremity; and on the island, Roudah, is the celebrated *Nilometer*. But we will hear M. Dumas:

"The citadel commands the city: in every direction you embrace a semi-circular view, uninterrupted and of immense extent. Under our feet as it were, lay the tombs of the Caliphs: a dead city, silent and uninhabited, yet standing like a living city. It is the Necropolis of giants. Each sepulchre is as large as a mosque; each monument has its guardian, as mute as a sepulchre.

"Turning to the other side, the city of the living is beneath our feet. There are Arabs walking slowly, clothed in their magnificent *meallah*; there is a confused mass, from which come the bustling cries of merchants and camels; there are the bazaars; there is a myriad of cupolas, appearing, in their close combination, like a roof, or like the 'thick bosses' of a Titan's buckler; and there is an array of madenehs, like a navy of masts or a forest of palm-trees. On the left stands old Cairo; on the right, Boulac, the Desert, Heliopolis. In front, and beyond the city, is the Nile, with its isle of Roudah: on its opposite shore is the battle-field of Embabeh; farther on, the Desert; on the south-west, Gizeh, the Sphinx, the Pyramids, an immense wood of palm-trees where sleeps the Colossus, and where *was* Memphis; above their tops are Pyramids again, and again the Desert: the Desert on all points of the horizon,—an immense ocean of sand; with its ebb and flow; its dromedaries traversing it like boats; its caravans covering it like navies; its simoom sweeping it like a tempest."

The writer of these travels writes as if dulness were an unpardonable sin, and, with no little management, keeps up a constant dramatic interest, by selecting and interweaving affecting incidents. Still in the citadel, he proceeds to say: "On the platform where we were now standing, the Pacha of Egypt, I believe in 1818, assembled together the whole corps of Mamelukes, as if for a feast; and, having suddenly secured all egress, excepting the sheer and precipitous descent over the sides of the elevation, he destroyed them with cannon and musketry. They came, according to custom, in their richest costume, with their finest arms, and bearing about them all their wealth. At a signal, given by the Pacha, death burst upon them from all sides. Crossing and enflaming batteries poured forth their flame and iron; and men and horses were at once weltering in blood. The dismayed troop dispersed itself in the circumscribed arena, the individual horsemen dashing against the walls with infuriated cries of rage and vengeance. They rushed together; divided in groups; scattered

like leaves before the wind; then, uniting again, returned as in a last effort to crush the breasts of their horses against the muzzles of the blazing artillery: still again they dispersed, like flocks of frightened birds, again to be overtaken by the iron rain which followed them. Many precipitated themselves from the summit of the citadel, and were destroyed in the abyss. Two, however, recovered themselves. At the first shock of the concussion, both horses and riders were stunned; they trembled for an instant like equestrian statues when shaken by an earthquake, and then darted off with the rapidity of lightning: they passed the nearest gate, which fortunately was not closed, and found themselves out of Cairo." The one was overtaken and killed: "The other Mameluke, more fortunate than his companion, traversed El Arich, gained the Desert, escaped unhurt, and, in time, became the governor of Jerusalem, where, at a later day, I had the pleasure to see him,—the last and only remnant of that redoubtable corps which, thirty years before, rivalled in courage, though not in fortune, the élite of Napoleon's army."

The account, which next follows, of the mode of punishing thieves, is equally interesting. The Battle of the Pyramids, and the assassination of Kleber (with whom the father of Dumas was then residing, although his name is not even mentioned in the whole volume), and numerous other sketches, are of a similar character. Indeed, two thirds of the volume might be acted as well as read.

7. *Fireside Education.* By the Author of *Peter Parley's Tales*. New York. 12mo. pp. 396. 1838.

We have read this attractive work with much pleasure; and, for the most, with satisfaction. An eloquent plea in behalf of education occupies the first 64 pages; from 64 to 134 are devoted to the parental and filial relations in regard to education; 134—171 to religion, as the subject of education; 171—276 to morals, under the topics Truth, Justice, Mercy, Forgiveness, Pity, Patience, Discretion, Cheerfulness, Fidelity, Prudence, Courage, Self-government, Patriotism, Duties of Citizenship, Perseverance, Industry, Order, and Neatness, Warnings, and Charity. Then follows Health (276—301), Intellectual Culture, (301—364), Accomplishments, Manners, &c. (364—395). Such is the plan of this practical book; and to say that under the author's practised hand, grave subjects are made interesting by numerous illustrations, that the sentiments are throughout elevated, and the style graceful and flowing, is but to bestow an unnecessary commendation. Mr. Goodrich borrows largely from numerous popular writers, and seems to have aimed more at utility than novelty or originality.

The chief objection that we have to the work is, that religion and morality, though traced directly to Christianity as their true source, are, nevertheless, founded too much upon education, and too little upon the grand principles of human redemption and spiritual renovation. That all religious excellence, and even moral excellence, so far as it contains a religious element, depend, with respect to all human beings, upon those two principles, we regard as a funda-

mental truth, as one that must never be overlooked in morals or in education.

8. *Memoir of the Rev. James Manning, D. D., first President of Brown University, with Biographical notices of some of his Pupils.* By WILLIAM G. GODDARD, M. A., Professor of Belles Lettres in Brown University.

This little pamphlet constitutes the leading article in the May number of the American Quarterly Register, and has been published in a separate form, as we understand, for private circulation among the friends of the author. It is a beautiful tribute to the memory of a man whose life was devoted to the noblest ends, and, with the notes which accompany it, is a valuable beginning for a history of the university of which he may be considered the founder. Professor Goddard has not only been eminently successful in gathering up the few remaining memorials of Dr. Manning's life, but has invested them with the grace and beauty which we always expect from his rich and classic mind. The portraiture which he gives of this venerated man, is drawn in the colors of glowing, yet merited eulogium, and is well fitted to awaken in the minds of the present generation, the esteem and respect which the purity and dignity of his character did not fail to command from his own contemporaries. As we trace his self-sacrificing and conscientious career, we heartily respond to the sentiment of the author, that "it is delightful to turn aside from the scenes of political ambition and ecclesiastical turbulence which now mar our peace, and to repose for a while, upon a by-gone example of unaffected humility, of quiet duty, and confiding prayer." We may be allowed to express the hope, that this brief sketch of President Manning may be given more fully to the public, and that it may be followed by a history of the university. X.

9. *Sermons to a Country Congregation.* By AUGUSTUS WILLIAM HARE, A. M., late Fellow of New College, and Rector of Alton Barnes. First American, from the third London edition. New York. Appleton & Co. Boston. William D. Ticknor. 8vo. pp. 497. 1839.

In these days of periodicals, essays, and books, designed to instruct and amuse by story-telling, the press rarely affords us a volume of plain sermons on the duties of practical religion. We did not know, indeed, but that such things were entirely out of date, so seldom do we meet with a new collection of sermons, unless we chance to recognise them, after their metamorphosis into essays, or the chapters of a book.

The volume before us contains, without preface, apology, or introduction, fifty-seven plain and direct sermons, on the most common doctrines and duties of religion. The language, though easy, rich, and various, has no rhetorical flights, no learned allusions, but, like the familiar writings of Cecil, or John Newton, is admirably adapted to men of ordinary intelligence.

These sermons are richly stored with evangelical truth. The more important doctrines of Christianity are always made promi-

ment. The author presents truth itself, rather than its history or its philosophy, like one who confides in its own power and resources; and treats it in a manner eminently calculated to commend it to every man's consideration. Though his particular faith and religious connections are quite discernible in his writings, there is nothing which betrays a narrow or sectarian spirit. C.

10. *The Mode and Subjects of Baptism.* By MILO P. JEWETT, A. M., late Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Marietta College, Ohio, and a licensed minister of the Presbyterian Church. Boston. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 18mo., pp. 121. 1839.

It is rarely the case that the announcement of a new book on baptism gives us any pleasure. Most writers on the subject do, indeed, from the abundance of the heart bring forth things new and old; but, alas! they are new rancor and old arguments. The book before us is an exception: the spirit of it is good, i. e., *amiable and serious*; and, as to matter and form, it is *a clear and comprehensive, popular view of the whole subject*, presenting to the common reader, as no other work before the public does, the results of the latest investigations. It is exactly what it professes to be; and cannot be better described, than in the following language, taken from the preface:

"The following pages were originally prepared without any reference to publication. At the earnest solicitation of his brethren, the writer has consented to commit his views to the press. He has presented the reasonings on the subject, as they have passed before his own mind, freely availing himself of the labors of others, and endeavoring, with candor and fairness, to state and examine the arguments of those who have written on the other side. Having diligently studied, in the course of the investigation which resulted in his present convictions, numerous Pedobaptist writers, critics, commentators, and divines, and having also acquainted himself with the works of the more recent Baptist writers, the author ventures to hope, these discourses will show *the present state of the controversy in this country.*

"It would be a source of deep regret to the writer, should there be found in the *spirit* of these discourses, any thing meriting condemnation. If he knows his own heart, he cherishes towards the brethren with whom he was formerly connected, the warmest Christian affection. Having been uniformly happy in his church relations, and that happiness having suffered no interruption by his conscientious withdrawal from his Pedobaptist associates, the writer has yet to learn, that an honest difference of opinion among Christians is incompatible with the charity inculcated by the gospel."

11. *Beauties of Robert Hall.* New York. John S. Taylor. 18mo. pp. 108. 1839.

Truly a book of gems. If we should attempt to give specimens, we should find it difficult to know where to begin or where to end. There is a justness of views, a richness of sentiment, and a splendor of pure eloquence in Robert Hall, to be found in few writers,

ancient or modern. How many gay readers will take up this little volume from the centre table, who would never lay hand on the thick octavos of his entire works! And how many men of literary taste will fill up a vacant moment, by directing a glance to one of these eighty-six "Beauties of Robert Hall," where a larger work would be passed by for want of time!

12. *Buttmann's Larger Greek Grammar. A Greek Grammar for the use of High Schools and Universities.* By PHILIP BUTTMANN. Translated from the German, with additions, by Edward Robinson. Second edition. Andover. Gould, Newman & Saxton. 1839.

We regard it as an indication of progress in sound Greek literature among us, that a second edition of this valuable grammar is called for. For common use in our literary institutions, it is probably the best that has yet appeared in the English language. If we were to make any exception, it would be in favor of Rost, who has given all the substantial parts of Buttmann in an improved form, and with a far better syntax. But we are not particularly acquainted with the character of the English translation of it: we only know that it is not from the latest edition.

The edition of Buttmann before us is undoubtedly an accurate reprint of the first edition, "which was in an uncommonly perfect state." Prof. Stuart, under whose supervision it has been carried through the press, says, in the advertisement: "The work being a translation, I did not suppose that my friend, Prof. Robinson, if he were present, would make any alterations of consequence; particularly because Buttmann had already put his last hand to the work, not long before his death. I have ventured, therefore, in the absence of Prof. Robinson, to make the effort which he would make, if present, to meet the public exigences in regard to this valuable work; and the purchasers may be assured, that I have spared no pains to have the second edition come out in such a state as will satisfy all just demands on the publishers."

13. *A Sermon, delivered at Long Branch Church, Fauquier County, Virginia, at the Ordination of TRAVERSE D. HERNDON and CHARLES S. ADAMS, December 24, 1838.* By STEPHEN CHAPIN. Published by request. Washington. 1839.

This is a sound, judicious, polished discourse, exactly what we should expect from its author. It is founded on Isa. 42: 4. "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgment in the earth."

The object of this discourse is to specify some of the discouragements to the Messiah in his work, and to mention some reasons why he shall not be suffered to fail or be discouraged. The "inferences," which occupy more than half the pages of the sermon, relate to the employment of means in accomplishing the purposes of God. We have room for only one extract:

"In consequence of mistaken views on this subject [human depravity], two opposite and injurious schemes of religion have been

supported. But though these creeds differ widely from each other, yet their adherents are perfectly united in one opinion—that total depravity destroys obligation to believe and love the gospel.* If they both believed that this doctrine were a scripture truth, they would, at once, unite on one creed. The Antinomian reasons thus: All totally depraved beings are under no obligation to believe the gospel—unconverted sinners are totally depraved beings: Therefore, unconverted sinners are under no obligation to believe the gospel. The Arminian admits that this conclusion is fairly drawn from the premises laid down. He, therefore, instead of denying the conclusion, denies the minor premise, and maintains that man is not totally depraved—that some moral power is left him, some ability to render acceptable services to God. On this ground he maintains, that man is bound to receive and obey the gospel. Now we conceive, that these systems of religion are equally false in fact, and injurious in their tendency. If the Antinomian creed be true, there can be no sin in the world; for it sinks sinners below the law, and raises saints above it. Both, upon this scheme, are without law, and, therefore, without transgression. And, on the other hand, the Arminian plan tarnishes the lustre of salvation by free favor. For if the sinner have some moral goodness in him, independent of divine influences, then he is not dependent on God for converting grace. Yea, upon this scheme, he needs no conversion, but only to have his native goodness cultivated."

"* This opinion of theirs is founded in a mistake respecting what constitutes obligation. We conceive that ability to perceive duty, and physical power to perform it, are the essential elements of obligation. When the patriot sees a course in which he can benefit his country, he is under obligation to pursue it. When a parent knows the means by which he can promote the good of his children, he is bound to employ these means, and if he does not, he violates a parental obligation. In accordance with this view of the subject, the apostle says, To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin. And our Saviour also says, The servant which knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, shall be beaten with many stripes. In a word, while man is possessed of reason and conscience, he is under obligation to act as a reasonable and accountable being, however deeply depraved he may be. A right state of mind, or a good disposition, or, in other words, moral ability, is no element of obligation, and is, therefore, never to be taken into the account. But both these classes of professing Christians maintain that some spiritual power, or right disposition of heart, must be possessed by man, in order to bring him under obligation to perform religious duties. According to them, where there is no common grace, or right temper of mind, there can be no obligation. But do men act on this principle in the moral concerns of life? Is the swindler to be excused for the neglect of common justice, as soon as he pleads that he could not find it in his heart to be honest? Will the master excuse his servant, who neglects his task, on the plea that he does not love to work? or will the enraged man be content, when the adulterer tells him that he did not like to be tied up to the seventh command? Besides, if a right disposition, the result of common grace, as it is said to be, be necessary to bring a man under obligation to obey the commands of God, it is equally necessary to bring him under guilt in violating them. This is frankly admitted by many of those who maintain that spiritual power, or gracious disposition, must be possessed before there can be any obligation. The Rev. Daniel Taylor maintained, 'that man was so reduced by the fall, as to be totally unable to do any thing really good. That if he had been left in this condition, he would not have been to blame for not doing it, but that his inability would have been his excuse; yea, *let his practices have been as vile as they might*, upon the supposition of grace not being provided, he declares, that *he would have been excusable*, and that all real good whatever might be denied to be the duty of the unprincipled mind.' If these premises be correct, it must follow, that 'Christ did not die for the sins of any man; because, antecedently to the consideration of his death, and of grace being given him, there was no sin, or blame worthiness to atone for.' Of what vital moment, then, is it, to have clear and scriptural views of the nature and elements of human obligation."

14. *The Life, Times, and Characteristics of John Bunyan, Author of the Pilgrim's Progress.* By ROBERT PHILIP, Author of "the Life and Times of Whitefield;" "the Experimental Guides," &c. New York. 12mo. pp. 498.

Great industry seems to have been employed by Mr. Philip, in searching out the facts relating to the personal history of Bunyan. Of the use which the author has made of these facts, and the manner in which he has presented them, we forbear to speak particularly, as a review of the work will appear in a future number.

ARTICLE X.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

American and Foreign Bible Society.—The second anniversary of the society was held April 23, in Philadelphia. In addition to \$19,000 in the treasury at the beginning of the year, the receipts since that time have been \$24,745 75, and the expenditures \$37,202 82. The report states that not less than \$50,000 for Bibles in twenty-five different languages, are needed for the ensuing year.

Baptist General Tract Society.—The fifteenth anniversary was held on the evening of April 28. The amount in the treasury at the beginning of the year, was \$813 51; the total receipts during the year were \$9,223 26; and the expenditures, \$9,682 43, leaving a balance of \$354 34. The whole number of the Society's publications is one hundred and seventy, which are bound in sets of seven volumes, also of fourteen half volumes. The number of tracts printed during the year, is one hundred thirty-two thousand and twenty-two, making two millions seven hundred and seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and seventy-four pages; the number of pages issued from the depository, three millions two hundred and fifty-four thousand two hundred and twenty, leaving two millions one hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and eighty pages on hand. It is proposed to add to the series, 1. several brief narrative tracts of four or eight pages; 2. an evangelical almanac and Baptist annual register, to take the place of the Triennial Register; 3. bound volumes, to consist of a doctrinal series, an historical series, and a biographical series.

American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.—The Board held its annual meeting April 24. The following is selected from the abstract of the annual report: "Missions have been established by the Board, among twelve of the Indian tribes; in France, Germany, and Greece; in Liberia, among the Basas; in Burmah, among the Burmans, Karens, and Peguans; in Arracan, Siam, and China; and among the Asamese and Khamtis, or Shyans, and the Telooongs;—Total, twenty-five. Connected with these missions, are sixty-six stations, including twenty-nine out-stations. Fifteen stations are among the Indian tribes, sixteen in Europe, two in Africa, and thirty-three in Asia. One mission, the Omaha, is suspended, and several stations, including those among the Cherokees, are temporarily vacated, or transferred. The number of missionaries and

assistants is one hundred and six, forty-three of whom are preachers, five preachers and printers, one printer, three school-teachers, one farmer, and fifty-three female assistants. Of native preachers and assistants there are eighty-five.—Total, one hundred and ninety-one. Three preachers, nine assistants, and fifteen native assistants, have entered the service of the Board during the past year; one preacher, two female assistants, and one native assistant, have retired from their connection; one female assistant missionary has died. The number of churches is forty-five, embracing about two thousand members; and of baptisms, reported during the year, five hundred and seventy. There are sixty-eight schools reported, containing from twelve to fifteen hundred pupils. Printing has been executed in fourteen languages, amounting in the years 1836 and 1837 to thirty-four million pages. Two founts of type and a printing-press have been added to the printing department in Siam, and a fount of type prepared for printing in Shyan. Other founts are in course of preparation. The receipts of the Board during the year ending April 15, 1839, were \$88,240 73, and the expenditures for the same period, \$110,190 74—deficiency of receipts, \$21,950 01. On the other hand, the receipts compared with those of the previous year, have increased by about \$25,000, and the comparative deficiency decreased by \$21,000."

American Baptist Home Mission Society celebrated its anniversary April 26. The amount received into the treasury during the year is \$18,727 84; the expenditures were \$17,682 55; thus paying off the debt of the last year, and leaving a small balance in the treasury. During the year, one hundred and twenty-one missionaries and agents had been employed in twenty-two different States and Territories; eighty-eight and three-fourth years' labor had been performed; three thousand four hundred and fifty-three sermons had been preached; eleven ministers ordained; twenty-four churches constituted; two hundred and seventy received by letter; and one thousand and fifty-eight had been baptized. Rev. Henry S. Jackson was elected Corresponding Secretary, in place of Rev. Luther Crawford, deceased.

American Bible Society held its anniversary in New York, May 9, 1839. "The receipts of the year, from all sources, amount to \$95,125, which is nearly \$10,000 more than those of the year previous, but less by about one-third than the demands of the institution. The number of books issued is one hundred and thirty-four thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven, making an aggregate, since the formation of the Society, of two millions four hundred and eighty-eight thousand two hundred and thirty-five. The issues of the past year, including books imported, were in seventeen different languages."

American Tract Society held its anniversary May 8. The receipts during the year were \$131,295 40, exceeding those of the year ending April, 1837, which were more by \$25,000 than in any previous year. Circulated during the year two hundred and ninety-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six volumes; four million ninety-nine thousand one hundred and seventy publications; one hundred and nineteen millions seven hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and fifty-six pages; making the total circulation, since the formation of the Society, one million one hundred and fifty-three thousand three hundred and ninety volumes; fifty-one million thirty-nine thousand six hundred and seventy-eight publications; nine hundred and seventeen million nine hundred and eighty-three thousand five hundred and seventy-eight pages.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions held its meeting May 10. [Statistics not yet published.]

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

SILAS M. NOEL, D. D., in Lexington, Ky.,
May 5, aged 58.
JAMES PARKER, in Sharon, Vt., March 17,
aged 76.
JOSHUA ROBERTS, in Porter, Me., March 26,
aged 71.
JOSIAH STONE, in New Boston, N. H.,
March 22, aged 77.
ASHLEY VAUGHN, in Natchez, Miss., March
29.

ORDINATIONS.

JAMES P. APPLETON, at Dublin, N. H., May
1.
JACOB BRAY, at Bridgton, Me., April 24.
THOMAS BRAND, at West Troy, N. Y.,
March 12.
D. B. CRAWFORD, at Vernon, Miss.
JULIUS G. HALL, at Beamsville, U. C., April
19.
FOSTER HARTWELL, at Conway, Mass., May
2.
ADEL HARVEY, at Westboro', Mass., April
17.
E. G. LEACH, at New Portland, Me., March
24.

HENRY LITTLE, at Stamford, Ct., March 26.
SILAS LEONARD, at Norwich, Ct., March 29.
BUCKLEY C. MORSE, at Lyons Farms, N. J.,
March 4.
ANDREW POLLARD, at South Gardner, Mass.,
May 9.
NATHANIEL RIPLEY, at Coleraine, Mass.,
April 24.
EDWARD G. SHARS, at Marshfield, Mass.,
March 20.
JOEL TERRY, at Bethel Church, St. Clair
co., Ill., April 6.

CONSTITUTION OF CHURCHES.

At Mount Morris, Liv. co., N. Y., March 21.
At Covington, Tenn., March 23.
At Boston, Mass., March 27, the Boylston
St. Baptist Church.
At North Kingston, R. I., April 24.
At Champaigne co., Ohio, April 6.
At Memphis, Tenn., April 8.
At Boston, Mass., April 21, First Free
Church.

DEDICATION.

In New England Village, Grafton, Mass.,
May 8.

THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

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SEPTEMBER, 1839.

ARTICLE I.

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS OF LANGUAGE.

THE materials for a complete history of the progress of language, cannot be supposed to be in the possession of any human being. In order to trace such a topic through all its labyrinths, we should need an accurate knowledge of all languages, with their various idioms and modes of construction, and of all the various habits of thought which characterize, or have characterized, persons speaking those languages, living or dead. An individual, writing such a history, should have discernment to distinguish between real and apparent resemblances; to mark, definitely, the transition points of period after period, in the progress; and to estimate rightly all facts and conjectures, giving to each the weight it deserves. In the philological historian, something needs to be super-added to the qualities requisite to an eminent historian in other departments. Not only a compass and breadth of mind, to comprehend events and their bearings, but an accuracy and minuteness of knowledge, and especially an amount of linguistic attainment, almost more than human, is necessary to form him to his work. Nothing could be more interesting to a person, fond of that peculiar sort of investigations, than a philological history of the world. But no single age could furnish it. The most that could be done, by any generation, would be to present

a few contributions, or helps, towards it; the mass of which, increased by gradual accumulation, might at length be used by some master spirit, capable of managing so vast a theme, as the basis of reasonings, which would throw important light on many subjects now veiled in impenetrable obscurity. The lamented Greenfield, the editor of Bagster's polyglotts, might have done something towards such a history. The indefatigable Germans might do something more. The combined faculty of learned schools, as of the school of languages, at Paris, or of the Propaganda, at Rome, might do still more. Their united labors could easily lay a foundation, in the present age, upon which future and successive generations might build. A truly philosophic mind, such as it is ever the tendency of sound learning and discipline to nourish, loves to contemplate the affinity of nation with nation, the characteristics peculiar to each, or common to two or more, and the causes which have led to the production of that community of characteristics. Who can tell, but analyses of this description might lead us back, from age to age, till we should be brought again, almost to Eden, with its single pair and its single language; and thus silence the audacity which dares to doubt the records of the Old Testament? Much of the extinct registers of various nations might, also, thus, with considerable accuracy, be recalled. We do not affirm that it would be possible to settle the question of the original language of the human race by any such means. On the contrary, we believe that, whoever should attempt a history of the kind of which we have spoken, ascending up to the first man, would find a break at the period of the confusion of tongues, beyond which it would be impossible for him to proceed with any certainty; to say nothing of the aid which ingenious conjecture and lively imagination, added to nice discrimination, would need to furnish.

The following items, thrown in, as it may appear to the cursory reader, in a very desultory manner, will serve to illustrate our positions thus far. If all history and all remembrance of it were instantly annihilated, the prevalence of the English language, in various spots on our globe, would be a sufficient proof that there had, in time past, been some connection between England and those places. And this fact, once established, might lead

to a thousand inferences deducible from it, which would be of the greatest importance in illustrating the history of England, its conquests, its empire, its power, its influence, its arts. The numerous words of Latin origin, with which our language abounds, testify to the fact, of some ancient and very familiar intercourse with the Romans at the period when the language was in a forming state; or, to the existence of a Roman literature, with which our forefathers must have had a profound acquaintance. And the numerous words in every-day use, which are traceable to the same roots with the corresponding words in the German language, immediately suggest the idea of our remote, common origin. Any person, who has attained to the slightest knowledge of the Spanish and Arabic languages, is at once compelled to notice the influence of the latter upon the former. Though accidental, in part, the Spanish tongue is, also, in part, almost purely oriental; abounding in idioms and inflections unlike those of any other modern language of the west, but precisely like the Shemitish dialects. The very speech of the people is an enduring memorial of the ancient dominion of the Moors in Spain; and it would stand a philological testimony to that event, should all direct traces of it, in any other form, be blotted from the page of history. President Edwards held the opinion, that the elements of the vast number of dissimilar dialects, spoken by the various tribes of Indians on the American continent, might all be found in the single language of the Mohegans.

Statements like the above, to which, if our knowledge were competent, additions might probably be made, almost to an indefinite extent, seem to carry us back to the cradle of the human race. The confused elements of the speech of Babel are analyzed and classified. The multitudinous mass of forms assumes shape, and comeliness, and order, and relations. The thousands of dialects, which prevail upon the earth, are reduced to a few families. And, if our knowledge were more complete, and our critical discernment more thorough and penetrating, even these few families of tongues might, perhaps, be found capable of still further reduction, to two or three. Having ascended thus, to the beginning of the mystery of speech, it would be easy to return again, threading the labyrinth, and exhibiting, and illustrating the ramifications

of it, till we should once more reach our own times. It is this latter task, to which, incompetent as we feel ourselves, we propose to offer some humble contributions in the present article.

We leave out of the account altogether, the primitive language, of which we know so little; nor shall we offer any hypothesis in regard to the confusion of language at Babel. However that might be, soon after the dispersion society must necessarily accumulate afresh; and, with society, the necessity must arise of some medium of communication. With even the most limited degree of advancement, something more would be necessary than the language of natural signs. A people, raised but a single step above the crudeness of savage life, would need some means of communicating their thoughts, their projects, their desires, their emotions. And, finding by experiment that they were endowed with the power of articulating distinct sounds, they would probably soon combine a few of those sounds with their signs. In proportion to their advancement in the cultivation of their powers, they would gradually increase the number of articulate sounds, definitely fixing the sense of each, and at the same time diminish the number of signs; laying aside the more slow and laborious method of communication, and substituting the more convenient. Writing must have been an invention subsequent in the order of time, and the result of some new necessity. As articulate language is a translation of the language of natural signs, so writing is the translation of articulate language into the language of signs again. Natural signs are the signs of ideas. Artificial signs are either arbitrary words, or sounds, or, as in written language, the signs of sounds; and these latter are the signs of ideas. Natural signs suggest immediately the ideas of which they are the signs. Artificial signs (we refer here to that which takes place in written language) suggest, first, the sounds of conventional terms, and, through them, ideas. In deciphering artificial signs, we think, first, of the sounds for which they stood; and then of the idea which belongs to those sounds; unless, indeed, by practice, the sound and the idea become so associated, that there is no perceptible interval between the conception of the sound implied in certain artificial signs, as letters, and the apprehension of

the idea; the two appearing to occur to the mind simultaneously. The case of the deaf and dumb is, probably, an exception,—to whom the combinations of figures, which we denominate letters, are signs of ideas, and not of sounds;—and, perhaps, also, the Chinese, whose characters at the same instant represent both sounds and ideas. Written language being, therefore, a more complicated contrivance, evidently belongs to a later period of cultivation than that which is simply spoken. The gradation is, first, the language of natural signs; then, conventional terms, or words; then, artificial signs of these terms, or written language; ascending by degrees from rude picture writing to the most arbitrary characters, or letters.

In the views contained in the remainder of this article, we shall embrace both written and spoken language; as the theme we have proposed to ourselves could not be otherwise fairly treated.

Language is properly distributed into oral or spoken, and not spoken. The common division into oral and written is not perfectly accurate. It is not sufficiently comprehensive. It omits, entirely, the pantomimic language of the deaf and dumb, and of the early stages of civilization, which is, plainly, neither oral nor written. In addition to what has been said of languages, in general, it may be remarked, that the different languages are indebted for their peculiar characteristics and for their various degrees of perfectness, to the character, habits and mental constitution of the persons who gave to them, or to the parent languages, the first impulse; and to the peculiar circumstances under which those languages were placed, when they were, so to speak, in a forming state. Many influences, which cannot now be known, and many more, which cannot be appreciated, contributed to make them such as they are. Either the gay and vigorous, or dull and phlegmatic, temperament of those who were the master spirits of their various nations, at the period; the proximity to, or distance from other tribes, with the comparative amount of their intercourse; their being in a state of war or of peace, the climate, the character of various countries and their degree of cultivation, all played some part in moulding each particular language. Some instances of these influences have already been given.

Not-spoken language is divided into natural sign language and artificial sign or written language; or, generally, the language of natural and artificial signs. Artificial sign language is composed of hieroglyphical or of arbitrary characters. Hieroglyphical characters represent the object described, at once, to the eye. Arbitrary characters have a merely conventional signification, by virtue of which they express an intelligible meaning. These arbitrary characters are either signs of ideas, as in the Chinese; or, of sounds, as in most other tongues.

The progress of language seems to have been in the following order. First, the language of natural signs. Secondly, hieroglyphics; which are only natural signs fixed in permanent form; painted to the eye, in a fixed and enduring manner. Thirdly, syllabical languages, like the Chinese; partaking partly of the hieroglyphical character, and partly of the character of most other families of languages; the transition point between the former and the latter. Fourthly, the arbitrary forms of our own, and of most other tongues, which do not come from the Chinese stock.

The language of natural signs, the first in the series, is a subject of extreme interest. Every sort of pantomime, by which ideas are communicated, is included in this silent, but most expressive tongue. At the period of its earliest use, it was, of course, simple as it could be. It had not yet learned that extent, and richness, and accuracy of expression, to which it has since attained. The few plain ideas, which it was at first designed to represent, could be described in a very few common and constant signs. But even savage nations, at length, learned the necessity of making it more perfect. Those who could converse among themselves, in an articulate language of their own, adopted a language of natural signs, carried far beyond its incipient rudeness, to facilitate their intercourse with tribes of a different tongue. Major Long found the language of signs an organized medium of communication between various tribes of western Indians. But the natural sign language has been carried to its highest perfection in the efforts for the instruction of the deaf and dumb. The history of the instruction of that unfortunate portion of our race is, therefore, contemporaneous with the history of the progress of the language of

natural signs. The earliest attempts in this department, of which we have a definite account, were made by Pedro de Ponce, a Benedictine monk, in Spain, in the year 1570. He taught four deaf mutes, of noble families, to write and to speak. In 1620, the first book, known to have been written on the subject, was published by John Bonet, another Spaniard, who was, also, the author of the manual alphabet, which is the basis of that now in use at Paris. For more than a century afterwards, various methods were applied in Spain, Holland, and England, and with various success. But it was not till 1755, that the system of natural signs seems to have received that attention which was necessary, as the only sure means of pouring light upon the minds which sat in darkness. Cut off from the ordinary mode of communication with mankind, through the ear, the art of articulation, which was, at first, viewed as the great desideratum, at length gave place in the more successful schools to the perfecting of the language of natural signs. In 1755, Heinicke, in Germany, and De l'Épée, in France, founded their independent systems of instruction, and established schools for the education of deaf mutes at Leipsic and Paris, which may be considered as substantially the germs of the two modes of treatment which have ever since been in vogue. At the basis of Heinicke's system, was instruction in articulation, which he deemed essential to the progress of the pupil. De l'Épée, more rationally, as we think, gave, comparatively, no attention to articulation, but directed his scholars immediately to the acquisition of ideas, through the language of natural signs. The system of De l'Épée was improved by the Abbé Sicard, who is thought to have surpassed his great master. The American system, as taught by the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, at Hartford, is an improvement upon the Parisian, and well entitled, as experiments have proved, to be considered a universal language. In proof of this statement, it is remarked by a writer in the *Encyclopedia Americana*, that "he had employed it, or seen it employed, with complete success, in communicating with an American Indian, a Sandwich Islander, a Chinese, and the deaf and dumb in various parts of the United States, in England, Scotland, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy." A native of the Sandwich Islands, who

visited the Asylum, at Hartford, gave the pupils a history of his life, in the sign language, which was perfectly understood. A Chinese was several years ago at the same place, who did not know a word of the English language. One of the deaf mutes, in an interview of an hour or two with him, learned all his history, and the history of his family and friends; the manners, customs, and religion of China, and the meaning of two or three Chinese words. A king, residing near the Black sea, in Nero's time, on a visit to Rome, saw an exhibition of pantomime. He was so delighted with the expressiveness of their silent language, that he petitioned that the actors might be permitted to return with him to facilitate his communication with savage tribes whose language was unknown. Before the earliest missionaries from America sailed from the Sandwich islands, some of them spent a short time with Mr. Gallaudet, in order to become familiarly acquainted with the language of natural signs; and, on their arrival, they found that they could immediately make themselves understood by the natives.

The expression of the countenance forms one essential item in the language of natural signs. Indeed, on reflection, we shall easily be led to perceive, that this portion of sign language is always learned, first, by the infant, as a most important subsidiary to the acquisition of an articulate language. The babe, in its mother's arms, interprets her expressions of love or of approbation, not by any thing it understands in the terms themselves, but by the tones of her voice, and the expressions of her countenance. It is not the articulate words, which bring ideas to its little mind; but the natural signs, which enable it to interpret them. The young child becomes acquainted with words just as do the deaf and dumb; with the exception, only, that the latter learn the form only, the former the sound. For example, if we would undertake to teach a deaf mute the meaning of the sign for *hat*, we should first take a hat, and write upon it in conspicuous letters, H A T. After leaving him to contemplate it awhile, we should remove the hat, but leave the letters; which, ever after, wherever he might see them, would suggest to his mind the idea of a hat. So a child, on hearing the terms *good*, *bad*, *I love*, *I abhor*, &c., learns their meaning by noticing the expression of countenance,

or the tone of voice which accompanies them; and afterwards, in the absence of those natural signs, he retains the import of the words which he has associated with them.* Dr. Bell, in his "Anatomy of Expression," has made the statement, that there are muscles in the human face, not found in the face of brute animals, which are plainly designed to facilitate expression; and that these muscles, like all others, unless developed and strengthened by use, wither and become uncontrollable. Hence it is, that deaf mutes, and persons engaged in instructing them, seem to have so much greater power of expression than others. They have cultivated the muscles, which serve as the organs of this silent eloquence. A fine illustration occurs of the power of expression, sometimes attained. We remember to have heard the statement from Mr. Rockwell, formerly an assistant teacher in the Asylum at Hartford, that he had seen a person take his seat in a room with one of the deaf mutes; and, folding his arms, relate, by the mere expression of his countenance, the whole history of the Roman Brutus, and of Peter the Great, of Russia, in a manner so intelligible that the deaf and dumb person would go and write out the various histories accurately, to the extent of perhaps half a sheet of paper. If the mere successive expressions of the countenance can be made so effective as a natural language, to what perfection and fulness may we not expect it to aspire, when aided by all the available activities of the whole frame!

Thus it is seen that the language of natural signs is not only the language of infancy, adapted to its understanding and its utterance, but also the language adapted to the infancy of cultivation and of knowledge. The language of natural signs is, in fact, the infancy of language, or infant language. It is the germ from which all language, and all improvements in language, proceed. And, from the nature of the case, we should expect, that the

* If we would describe to a child the meaning of the terms *hard* or *soft*, we should do it by recalling to his mind something he had seen possessing these qualities. If we would describe the meaning of the term *ferocious*, it would not be by an abstract definition; but by acting out the quality before him; or, by citing his attention to some real or imaginary case, in which the quality had been exhibited. So Christ describes a *wise* and a *foolish* man, in Matt. 7: 27. The Scripture is, throughout, a collection of this sort of painting, which renders it so simple, and so intelligible, even to the meanest understanding, so powerful, so sublime.

next step in the progress would commence from, and, to some extent, involve, the language of natural signs.

Our expectations in this respect are fulfilled. Hieroglyphics, the next step in language, might almost be denominated the language of natural signs made permanent. The images upon which the rapid and often exquisite imagination of the deaf mute fixes, being seized and impressed, in enduring forms, upon paper, would constitute a hieroglyphical language. Indeed the natural sign language of the deaf mute presents an evident progress, corresponding to the progress of Egyptian hieroglyphics, through all their stages, down to the semi-hieroglyphic characters of the Chinese, the less expressive alphabet of the Samaritan tongue, and the arbitrary forms of the letters of our own. A beginner, in speaking of a man, paints out, in his expressive signs, the whole man. An advanced learner thinks it enough to allude to the circumstance, that it is a personage wearing a hat. The former would describe the whole external appearance of a female; the latter would only seem to divide the hair of the head, or adjust the strings of a bonnet. In other words, in the advance of the language of natural signs, a single quality, or action, or characteristic, of any subject, is put instead of the whole. So in hieroglyphics, while in the infancy of the language, every thing is painted in full, in its progress to the Chinese, and thence downwards to our western tongues, a portion of a figure is made to stand for the whole, until, at last, if any portion remain, it is so far refined and polished away, as to have lost all resemblance to the original; degenerating into the arbitrary, but more convenient, characters of our common alphabets.

The meaning of the term *hieroglyphic* is *sacred engraving*. The object of hieroglyphics, however mystical and obscure they appear, was never to conceal information, but to communicate it. Every man is ambitious to transmit the memory of his achievements to the generation after him. It matters not how trivial they may be; to him they are as important as the campaigns of Napoleon, and weighty as the discovery of the laws of astronomy, or the invention of the art of printing. This principle of our nature led mankind, very early, to seek some method of speaking to posterity. Moreover, the same

contrivance, which enabled them to transmit information to succeeding generations, furnished the means of communicating important facts to their brethren of the same tribe, whom, under certain circumstances, it was impossible for them to meet and address face to face. The earliest and rudest contrivance of this sort of which we have any knowledge, is found in the knotted cords of the ancient Peruvians. Very little is known, distinctly, of this ingenious method; perhaps, nothing beyond the bare fact that, by means of cords of different colors, variously knotted, they succeeded in preserving a dubious outline of events. Next in order are the rude paintings of the North American Indians, upon buffalo skins, and upon the trunks of trees, detailing the principal circumstances in the history of a battle, the character of the enemy, the number of scalps they have taken, and the direction in which they have fled, for the information of friendly warriors of their own tribe, or for the instruction of subsequent generations. These are true hieroglyphics. Of the same nature is the picture writing of the ancient Mexicans, which was used for all the common purposes of epistolary communication, and of historical record. When the Spaniards first appeared upon the coast, tidings of the event were sent, in this character, to Montezuma, with a description of the invaders. Many of the historical paintings were destroyed by the Spaniards. But Clavigero, in his "*Ancient History of Mexico*," enumerates the collections of them which have been preserved. Perhaps the most interesting is one which was imported to Europe by a Mexican, and translated into Spanish by the Marquis Spineto, who found it in the library of the Escorial. The translation is divided into three parts. The first is a history of the Mexican empire, containing the biography and conquests of not less than eleven kings. The second is a regular roll of the several taxes which each conquered province or town paid to the royal treasury. The third is a digest of their civil law. The whole painting is described at large in the *Lectures of Spineto*.

The writing of the ancient Mexicans was, however, inferior to the hieroglyphic system of the Egyptians. It showed, in itself, no such tendency towards a simpler and more exact written language. Mexico never became

what Egypt has been. Notwithstanding the antiquities it boasts, some of which are truly surprising, and remind us more of Egypt than of any other country on the face of the globe, it never rose, in genius and cultivation, to an equal rank. We turn from the country of the Colorado and the Del Norte to the country of the Nile, with the gratifying feeling, that we are making some advancement, not only in respect to all the arts of civilized life, but, especially, in respect to the point with which we are concerned in the present article.

The name *hieroglyphics* (sacred engravings) was given to the written language of Egypt, because it was used chiefly in engravings upon pyramids, pillars, monuments, and the like, and because it was long supposed to be a mystical language, known only to the priests. The name, however, came, gradually, to be appropriated to every kind of picture writing. From the sixteenth century, many efforts were made to decipher the language of Egypt, as it was seen upon pyramids, mummy cases, and obelisks. No success, however, crowned the efforts of the learned, until the fortunes of war were, at last, made instrumental of unraveling the mystery. While a division of the French troops, occupying the village of Raschid, or Rosetta, "were digging the foundations of the fort St. Julien, they found a large mutilated block of black basalt, which was covered with a considerable portion of three inscriptions, in different characters." One of the inscriptions was in Greek. It contained a decree in honor of Ptolemy Epiphanes; and, in the closing words, it was ordered, that "this decree shall be engraven on hard stone, in sacred characters, in common characters, and in Greek." It was, therefore, at once made evident, that the two other inscriptions were in the sacred and common characters of the Egyptian tongue. The stone fell into the hands of the English, and was removed to the British museum, in London. Fac-simile engravings of the inscriptions upon it were distributed to the learned individuals and societies of Europe and America. Porson, with some difficulty, on account of the oblique fracture of the stone, gave a translation of the Greek inscription. Other learned men, among whom was De Sacy, of Paris, labored with various success upon the Egyptian figures. But the honor of discovering the meaning of them was reserved for Cham-

pollion. Observing the fact, that the same combination of figures occurred repeatedly in the hieroglyphics, he set himself to discover, from their corresponding position in the Greek translation, the words and letters for which they stood. He thus obtained seven Egyptian characters. Shortly after, in another inscription, he had an opportunity to verify his conclusions, thus far, and to add five characters more to his catalogue. With the aid of these, he undertook to read the inscriptions on the Rosetta stone, and found himself completely successful. With the attainments he has since made, it is said that this gentleman has read, without much difficulty, all common inscriptions. The investigations of Champollion prove that the Egyptians used three sorts of characters—the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the epistolographic, called also enchorial or demotic. The hieroglyphic are composed of exact and often splendid resemblances of almost every material object in the creation. The hieratic are a reduction, or, as it were, the running hand, of the hieroglyphic characters; a less perfect painting of the same objects. The demotic are a still further reduction, bearing about the same relation to the hieratic, that the hieratic do to the hieroglyphic. The hieroglyphic characters were, without doubt, the earliest invention. They were used, chiefly, in inscriptions upon monuments. The hieratic characters, as the name imports, were employed by the priests, in historical records, in the registers kept in the temples, and are also found upon monuments and mummy cases. The enchorial were used for all the common purposes of life, for epistolary correspondence, letters missive, &c. These characters are, besides, susceptible of a threefold division, according to their use—figurative, symbolical, and phonetic. It is in this last use, as indicating *sounds* and not *ideas*, that the transition begins to be seen from picture writing to the arbitrary characters of common languages. And it is probably this threefold use of the Egyptian characters, which has served, more than any thing else, to baffle and discourage so many diligent students.

It is not necessary to the object of this article, that we should enter upon a more accurate description of Egyptian hieroglyphics. They have, already, conducted us to the point which we sought, in our history of the progress

of language. A few additional remarks, however, will, we hope, be deemed neither inappropriate nor unacceptable.*

It will naturally be supposed, that the number of characters requisite to hieroglyphical writing must be almost innumerable. But this is not in accordance with the testimony of those who are best qualified to judge. Bruce makes the number 514. Zoëga discovered 958. Champollion makes, in all, but 864; and supposes that some of these may be duplicates. It was absolutely necessary for the distinctness of the language, that the number should, in time, become limited. And, indeed, a variety of the hieroglyphic signs gradually becoming conventional, this could easily be effected. Moreover, the increasing prevalence of the use of the phonetic signs over the hieroglyphic, as the language approached its point of transition to the next general phase, would tend to contract the number of symbols usually employed, to the limits nearly of our common alphabets. It is found, indeed, that the number of phonetic signs, distinctly differing from one another, does not exceed forty-two.

The mode of reading hieroglyphic records was designated by the direction in which the faces of the various symbolic animals were turned; which was generally from right to left, though occasionally from left to right. In the prevailing method, from right to left, we see an approach of the Egyptian to the Shemitish languages. There are, also, other striking points of similarity. Some of the vowels, especially the medial vowels, were generally omitted in the hieroglyphic style, as they are in the Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, and other cognate dialects.

* To a person, whose mind is imbued with the doctrine of Egyptian hieroglyphics, the conclusion is almost irresistible, that the impression of Gaudama's foot, given in the Rev. Mr. Malcom's Journal, Vol. I, p. 255, is to be referred to hieroglyphical writings. The *nagaka*, or serpents, encircling the foot, may be substituted for the simpler cartouches of the Egyptians, merely to suit Burman taste. It is observable, that the living creatures all face the left, indicating, that the reading is to be from left to right. But such is the case in Burman reading, generally; and the writer of the hieroglyphic record might not think it fit to depart far from the customs of his own nation. If the pictures are not significant, if they are not historical, we do not see why these particular ones should have been used rather than others; or, why they should have been arranged in their present order of combination; or, why particular figures, as the figure of water, in a compartment near the bottom, should have been inserted just as they are, whereas symmetry did by no means demand it. If the whole of the figures are not significant, may not a part of them be—the rest being thrown in by the priests to baffle the uninitiated? May not the picture contain a history of the transmigrations and transformations of Gaudama, or of events which happened to him in some state of being through which he passed?

Thus, for Ptolemy (Greek, *Πτολεμαῖος*), on the Rosetta stone, Champollion found *Ptolmês*. Osiris was written *Osrê*. The usage of the Egyptians likewise coincided with that of the Hebrews in regard to certain divine names. It is well known, that the name *Jehovah*, called by the Jews the ineffable name (*quia non potest effari*), was never pronounced; but, whenever they met with it in reading, they pronounced another name in its stead. Champollion has found, by a comparison of various Egyptian manuscripts, that some hieroglyphic divine names were written in one way, and pronounced in another. By the same authority, we learn, that in hieroglyphic and hieratic texts, the names of divinities were written phonetically; and, in phonetic texts, always symbolically or hieroglyphically. This reminds us of a usage, which we have observed in some Persian work, in which there was a frequent repetition of the name of *Jehovah*. This name was not written in Persian letters, but in Hebrew, in a contracted form (𐤅𐤆). Do we not see herein the germ of a sacred language, used only for religious purposes, as the Sunscrit, the Pali, &c.?

Besides the analogies already noticed between the Egyptian and Hebrew tongues, perhaps we may trace some additional ones without much aid from imagination. Indeed, we can almost suspect we see the transition from the former to the latter, by a bare comparison of the respective alphabets and signs, and even by a cursory examination of the alphabet of the latter. There is not a letter of the Hebrew alphabet, of which the name is not significant of some object in nature. The Egyptian phonetic characters and the Hebrew characters also agree in this, that the initial sound of the names of given objects is the same with the power of the letters for which those objects are made to stand. If now, we should substitute, in every case, the picture of the object the initial sound of whose name corresponds with the letter whose sound we wish to express, for the letter itself, a sentence written out in arbitrary characters would immediately become a series of pictures, which it would require the same skill to unravel, as to unravel a sentence of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Or, curtailing and rounding off those pictures, putting a part often for the whole, and a rude resemblance of an object for the object

itself, we should come substantially upon the demotic characters of the land of the Nile. It is not surprising, if Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, adopted this latter method, or some sort of modification of it, in the written language in which he preserved the records contained in the first five books of the Old Testament. Indeed, why may we not seek, in some such process as this, for the original of the written characters of the Hebrew? It is true, that the present forms of the Hebrew letters, except in a few instances, do not remind us of the objects of which the names of the letters are significative. But the application of those significant names to the letters, respectively, undoubtedly guides us to the fact, that the letters once had a form more nearly resembling the objects whose names they bear. The Samaritan alphabet, which is supposed by many to be substantially that of the old Hebrew, is, in some of its forms, much more nearly hieroglyphic than the present square character. The Hebrew *yodh*, for example, which signifies *hand*, would never suggest, by its appearance, the idea of a hand; but the corresponding Samaritan letter shows the edge of the hand very distinctly, with the thumb erected, and three of the fingers depending.

While the language of Egyptian hieroglyphics, newly modified and variously compounded, was laying a basis of immortality for itself in the written language of China (although China is unconscious of any obligation to the land of the Pharaohs), causes were at work which tended to supplant it, in its peculiar forms, at home. The Coptic, which has been demonstrated by Quatremère to be the same with the ancient Egyptian, on the introduction of Christianity into Egypt, adopted the characters, which had already come into use among the Greeks; retaining only a few demotic letters, such as were necessary to indicate certain Egyptian sounds, not expressible by any elements of the Greek alphabet. Associating the memory of their ancient idolatry with the hieroglyphical symbols, which were full of it, they were anxious,—true to the prevailing spirit of the regenerate,—to abolish every vestige of that which might renew the temptation to their former sins. Here, therefore, we dismiss the hieroglyphics of Egypt, to contemplate language in the next stage of its progress.

The transition from the natural signs of savage life and of the deaf and dumb to the picture writing of the Egyptians, and thence to the almost picture writing of the Chinese, was perfectly natural and easy. We have somewhere seen the remark that the resemblances between the signs employed in writing by the Chinese, and the Egyptian hieroglyphics are so striking, that some have been led to suppose that one of these nations must be a colony of the other. However that may be, it is certainly an interesting circumstance, that three continents are known, by the most trustworthy and imperishable records, to have invented picture writing, as the means of transmitting their history to posterity; the Chinese, in Asia; the Egyptians, in Africa, and the Mexicans, in America. It shows the elements from which all alphabetic writing has sprung, and the harmony of the manner in which independent minds are often led to kindred inventions or conclusions; perhaps, also, the original identity of the whole human race, from whose first pair have descended the rudiments of writing, which have since been developed and perfected more and more, till they have, at last, resulted in our present convenient forms.

We proceed now to speak of the apparent connection of the Chinese language with the ancient Egyptian on the one hand, and with the Indian languages of our own continent, and with modern arbitrary tongues, as they may be called, on the other.

All the Chinese writing was, originally, ideographic; that is, its written characters were descriptive of ideas, and not of sounds; a circumstance most natural to be expected in the infancy of a tongue. But Abel Remusat, Chinese professor at Paris, has discovered, that now "full half of the characters in common use are phonetic, in the sense of syllabic;" that is, not representing ideas, but the sounds of syllables. The signs used in the Chinese written language are either simple or composite. They appear in their elementary, uncompounded form, or they are combined with one another, a single character being compounded and recomposed, till it becomes almost impossible for a beginner to decipher the meaning of it. Of these simple forms, keys or radicals, as they are often called, the best grammars make but two hundred and fourteen; while the Egyptian hieroglyphic elements are,

according to Champollion, eight hundred and sixty-four. The former, as we observed, are often compounded, so that several radicals enter into the composition of a single character. The latter, as might be judged natural in an earlier language, never admit of combination; or, if they do, in such a way that the elements are all preserved separately. We are here reminded that, as the Chinese language abounds in combinations of forms, so the language of the American Indians abounds in combinations of words. This accounts for the prodigious length of many words in printed Indian books; for example, in Eliot's Indian Bible. The transition of imperfectly civilized men from compound forms, presenting themselves to the eye, to compound sounds, presenting themselves to the ear, was most easy and natural. Nor is it necessary to suppose, if there be any connection between these natives of the eastern and of the western continent, that the uncultivated Indian has proceeded in the improvement of language beyond the educated Chinese. Far from it. The Indians, so far as we know, were entirely destitute of a written language (except some rude hieroglyphics, which perchance they brought with them from Asia), until the invention of the Cherokee, Guess.

But, we learn with interest, because of its important bearing on our subject, the fact of the existence of a common characteristic in the Chinese and Indian languages, viz., that both are, to a great extent, syllabic, though not alike monosyllabic. A philological confirmation is thus given to the commonly received theory of the passage of the latter to the new continent by way of Beering's Straits; or, further south, by way of islands, formerly breaking the distance between the main lands, but which have since become extinct. Yet the difference of the Chinese family of languages from the American Indian family is immense. In the Chinese, every word is a monosyllable; in the Indian, many are polysyllabic, even to excess. In the former, each word has four or five tones, varying its signification; in the latter, every word has only its own tone. In the Chinese, grammatical relations are indicated by subsidiary characters. For example, the possessive case of a word is expressed by setting a peculiar sign, used for that purpose, below the word, that is, immediately succeeding it. In the Indian,

grammatical relations are most copiously indicated by the change of termination. In the Chinese, from the nature of the case, there can be no such thing as grammatical inflections; in the Indian, the inflections are more minute than even in the Shemitish languages; many of the most trifling distinctions being expressed by some alteration in the form of the words, a stated form, appointed to indicate that particular shade of distinction. The people of China boast the great antiquity of their nation; and it is certain, that the connection of their language with the venerable symbols of ancient Egypt is more easy to be traced than its connection with any more youthful tongue. There is so much of the hieroglyphic appearance about its writing, that we are almost compelled to believe that its signs are all signs of ideas and not of sounds, or of grammatical relations. When we see the symbol of a hand, joined, in the same character, with the symbol of some material capable of being manufactured, or with the symbol of some peculiar species of employment, we can scarcely resist the conclusion, that every character represents an idea, rather than a sound, which is to be *translated* into the spoken language of the country, and not *read*. And, were it not that hundreds of Chinese, without any sort of concert, taking a piece of writing, read from it the very same words, and were we not assured that the poetry of China is always in rhyme (which could not be if the language were simply ideographic), we could not look upon its curious forms, without the feeling, that they were substantially the hieroglyphics of Egypt; not the demotic, or the hieratic, but a rough drawing of the proper or certainly of the figurative hieroglyphic.

The Chinese language stands at the extreme of picture writing. In some of its characters appearing almost arbitrary, like the families of western tongues, it is at the point of transition to our arbitrary alphabets. The figurative forms of its writing approach, also, very nearly to the figurative forms of Indian speech. It is easy to imagine, that the natives of America, having lost the written pictures of their own country, beyond the Straits, retained them in the glowing pictures of the language which they spoke. If the Chinese has infused traces of itself into any language on earth, probably those traces are to be found among the aborigines of this continent.

But the differences are so great and striking, that if the Indians came originally from any of the countries or islands where the Chinese language was either spoken or read, their emigration must have been very early. In addition to this, circumstances must have strangely concurred to produce a very rapid merging of the ancient language in a new one. The languages of America are exceedingly numerous. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, makes as many as twenty radical languages. But Heckewelde supposed there were only four, and President Edwards thought they all found their origin in one. Indeed, it is easy to distribute the various dialects of the earth into a few families, from which all the rest have sprung. Adelung makes only fourteen or fifteen of these families, exclusive of the African and American languages. One such family extends over the Sandwich Islands, Otaheite, New Zealand, and many of the islands of the South Seas. These tongues, which are radically the same, have great simplicity of grammatical forms; they are said to have no distinctions of gender. Grammatical relations are expressed by particles, as in English, and not by inflections. Superlatives are indicated by reduplications, as in Hebrew. Moreover, besides the progressive growth of language which we have traced, many tongues, apparently wholly independent of each other, have arisen in various parts of the earth. We find them in a state of tolerable perfection, as soon as we find them existing at all. We view them as independent tongues, as belonging to independent families of languages, because of their entire dissimilarity to other languages with which we are acquainted, in structure and idiom. Thus the Greeks had a language, both written and spoken, far less cumbersome than the language of Egyptian symbols, which, in the fifth century of our era, entirely displaced the antique hieroglyphics of the land of the Nile. The northern tribes of Europe, barbarians though they were, were under no obligations to the Romans for their forms of speech. And Latin literature, with all its elegance and its influence, has never been able to conquer the language of the conquerors of Rome. The Basque language, spoken by the relic of Iberians who dwell among the Pyrenees, differs from most other tongues. But how they became possessed of their language no one can tell. Yet, where

there is the greatest dissimilarity, there are not wanting some traces of resemblance, indicating, either the universal resemblance of the human mind, or the early connection of all languages with some common stock, or certainly, with a few not wholly dissimilar original sources. Thus, so strong resemblances have been discovered between the Sanscrit and the German, that they have been classed together among others, under the common title, Germano-Indian languages. Still, we are aware of the fact, that, in the order of providence, there may have arisen several different families of languages; for example, at the period of the confusion of tongues; perhaps, at first not strikingly unlike; but their divergence from one another, at the forming period, rapidly increasing under the influence of peculiar circumstances, might have created, in time, so wide a difference, as to render their originals entirely undistinguishable. If we could trace languages backward to their sources, as rapidly as they advanced forward in their divergences, we should, perhaps, arrive at views, of which we have, at present, little conception; and facts, sustained, at least, by philological arguments, might be brought to light, of great interest to the cause of science at large. But we generally look for a slow progress in the changes of a language, such as our prevailing theories and our present experience point out as most likely; as if, in ages when every thing else was in a different state of development, and of power, and under circumstances such as must necessarily produce a different rate of proceeding, the movement of language must, after all, have been as it is now.

Among the resemblances of languages, we may trace those which will continually throw more and more into a single class, till perhaps there will be but two classes upon earth; or, proceeding in the opposite direction, we may notice differences continually augmenting, till the whole mass will be distributed into a great number of families. Thus, the monosyllabic, like the Chinese, and the polysyllabic, like most other tongues, would combine the whole into two great classes. Again, the atactic, like the language of pure hieroglyphics, destitute of connecting particles, and the syntactic, like our modern dialects, the opposite of atactic, would also form two great classes. The languages whose grammatical relations and depen-

dences are indicated by inflections, and those which substitute auxiliary words and particles for inflections, and those which unite both modes, would form another series of divisions. The syntactic languages are, undoubtedly, more perfect than the atactic. They are adapted to a higher state of intellectual discipline and refinement. They are fitted to express, with the utmost accuracy, shades of thought and minutiae of distinction, such as the latter could not reach.

In investigations of this nature concerning languages, points of similarity are often discovered, where we had little expected them. Thus in the English and some of the Shemitish languages, for example, the Syriac, many tenses of the verbs are formed by means of auxiliaries. These tongues, so different in other respects, are alike in this. The Greek of the New Testament, also, has instances of the same kind. It would be an interesting topic of discussion, did our limits permit, whether a language whose changes and relations are indicated by auxiliaries, or a language in which they are indicated by inflections, is the more perfect. The conclusion would probably be, that the former is likely to be as accurate, but more encumbered; while the latter, on the whole, combines the qualities of accuracy, neatness and flexibility. In Greek, there is only one verb (*εἶμι*), which is ever used as an auxiliary. In Latin, there is, also, but one. In English, we have two. In French, there are two. In Spanish, there are four; and in German, certainly five. But these auxiliaries contribute much to the definiteness of speech. They belong to an age, in which cultivation demands accuracy in the use of words. But the advance of an age does not always secure these helps. If a language were, in any important respect, deficient, in its early history, and no expedient was then adopted to remedy the deficiency, it remains for ever. The Hebrew, as might be expected of so early a dialect, was deficient in tenses. With a preterite and a future only, it was obliged to express distinctions of time as it could. The French has no aorist. It commonly uses the present as a substitute; we are accustomed to say, the vivacity of the people is beautifully illustrated, by their style of narrating past events, as if transpiring at the instant of the narration. But who does not feel that this is a mere apology? In-

deed, if it were not, there are other instances, in which an aorist tense is imperiously demanded, for which they put an imperfect. Perhaps, while all languages are to some extent defective, being only human inventions, the Greek is more nearly perfect than any other. Yet we may affirm comparative perfection of many others; if not, when considered as specimens of regularity and euphony, at least, when regarded as vehicles of thought. The Arabic has thirty different words to designate a lion. The Greek, Latin and English, each have terms often viewed as synonymous; but which express nice distinctions, and shades of meaning. The Hebrew and cognate languages have a variation in the second persons of their verbs, both singular and plural, to indicate the different genders, as masculine or feminine. Some of the Indian languages go far beyond the Hebrew in the inflections of their verbs, by which they intend to designate various subsidiary ideas. Still, a perfect language, if it could be conceived, need not embrace either of these marks of copiousness, or accuracy, or variety of inflection: but if either be adopted, it must be the second.

The languages of all cultivated nations advance continually towards perfection. The accumulation of a literature is not only beneficial in other respects, but also, for its influence on the language. With the growth of literature, words increase in number, and in distinctness of meaning. The cultivation of science, likewise, tends to enlarge the national vocabulary. New sciences bring into the language new terms; either adopted from other languages, or compounded of elements, already existing in them or in our own. There is scarcely a department of learning, which does not furnish its share. The English language has received important and valuable accessions within the last ten years; and it is to the credit of our theological and missionary literature, that they have added to it nobly from their accumulating stores.

F.

ARTICLE II.

GRIFFIN'S SERMONS.

Sermons, by the late Rev. EDWARD D. GRIFFIN, D. D.; to which is prefixed a Memoir of his Life. By WM. B. SPRAGUE, D. D. In 2 vols. pp. 597, 596. New York. J. S. Taylor. 1839.

In taking up these volumes, the first thing that strikes one is the *price*. They cost five dollars. The type is large, the margin wide, so that you have less reading in these two great volumes than in a recent volume of Hare's Sermons, published by Appleton for two dollars. Every minister who purchases these volumes feels, that he has paid for them more than he ought, at least two dollars, and perhaps more. This is gross injustice to the memory of one of the greatest and best of men. His family are not left in such destitute circumstances, as to require such a plan for raising money.

It may be said, no one is obliged to purchase; but such is the interest felt in the work, so strong a hold had Dr. G. upon his pupils and friends, that many choose rather to submit to the imposition, than to be without it. It seems to be ungenerous to speculate upon the strength of Christian affection.

The Life occupies nearly half of the first volume. It is exceedingly interesting, but it is not, in all respects, what was expected. It contains the diary of Dr. G., which lets us into a knowledge of his early Christian history, and subsequent trials and conflicts. No young man can read this part of the Memoir without profit. On every page of the diary we see the impress of a vigorous intellect, of a warm heart, of humble piety. But we look in vain in what is written by the compiler, for the facts and the discipline which inform us how he became Dr. Griffin, one of the tallest men of the age. In a letter of his, which every young minister ought to read, he tells us how he became a direct and pungent preacher,

but we are not informed what gave a direction to his studies, how he became so great a metaphysician, what school left its impress upon his eloquence, or what minds more particularly stamped their image upon his. We have been disappointed in the Life, in these respects.

Surely, there are those living, who could have furnished incidents to illustrate the fine traits of his character, men who were young with him, who must have known much of his early habits of thought and study. It is said that Dr. Channing studied Bolingbroke; Dr. Emmons read deeply, in early life, Archbishop Tillotson; and Dr. Lathrop, Addison. It is interesting to trace the influence of one mind upon another. Generally speaking, when a man of thought and of power gives his days and nights to one able writer, he will become distinguished. We have now in our eye two of the most popular writers in the ministry, of whom this is true; and it has been true of the very men who, in past ages, by their writings, became standards of taste and eloquence. Dr. Griffin always spoke with profound respect of his theological instructor, the younger President Edwards. He was a warm admirer of Cowper, and left in manuscript a life of that excellent poet.

As a man, Dr. G. had upon him the stamp of greatness, both in the proportions of his body and the powers of his mind. Of him as a scholar, very little is said in the Life, by which we can form a conclusion. During the period of his youth, the standard of scholarship in New England was low. He was early placed in the midst of stirring scenes; with such a conscience as his, he could not retire from labor in the midst of revivals; he could not come down from the great work of laying the foundation of spiritual churches, to dwell in his study, to grope among Hebrew roots. His peculiar dispensation gave a direction to his studies. Like Luther, in the Reformation, he improved as a scholar and divine, while he was carrying forward the great work of raising up the church. He was an acute reasoner, a deep thinker, an eloquent preacher. In consequence of the prevalence of Arminianism when he first entered the ministry, he was led to study profoundly the great doctrines of the Bible. He often sounded the depths of depravity in the heart, and brought out the sovereignty of God in a strong light. Soon after

his first settlement in Newark, he preached a sermon on the offensive doctrine of Election. Many of his hearers were offended. Some of his principal supporters expressed a determination to leave him. They went to Dr. Richards, who lived in the vicinity, with their complaints. A great excitement was got up. A heavy blow had been struck. Dr. R. told them to be calm—not to act rashly; if that doctrine was of God, it would stand; and he cautioned them not to be found fighting against God. Soon Dr. G. called to see him. He was greatly agitated; he said, "I have ruined myself—I have broken up my congregation." "I hope not," said Dr. R. When Dr. G. inquired what he should do, "I will tell you," said his excellent friend and sound adviser. "Go home, and write two sermons on the doctrine of Election, with as much care and consideration as though your life depended on every sentence. Pray over them, and next Sabbath preach them, under the consciousness that the eye of the Saviour is upon you." He sat with a fixed look, while his friend was speaking. No sooner had he ceased, than Dr. G. sprang on his feet and said, as he left the room, "I'll do it." The Sabbath came. Dr. Richards obtained a supply for his pulpit and was present to hear his friend. In the interval, he had seen the disaffected persons, and others, and urged all to attend. He sat in a retired part of the house, and observed Dr. G., as he entered the church. His great soul was oppressed—his noble countenance beamed with light. His eye was full of fire. He preached like a dying man. The house was still as death. The Spirit of God was there. In the afternoon, every seat, and aisle, and corner, was crowded. All Newark was moved. Dr. G. stood up and vindicated the law and government of God. He rose with the subject, till an awe was felt which subdued every heart. The effect was wonderful. Those very men came round him as he descended from the pulpit, and wept. The Spirit of God subdued them. That day the "great revival," of which every one has heard, began, and before it ceased hundreds were converted to Jesus Christ.

As a preacher, Dr. Griffin was remarkably successful. Great efforts usually so engross the minds of the hearers that the conscience does not perform its functions; but when Dr. G. preached, he aimed to reach the conscience,

and seldom failed. For clearness of thought—directness and point—pathos and appeals, the sermons of Dr. Griffin are among the best specimens in the language. Some of them ought to be printed in the form of tracts and scattered on the wings of the wind. Those preached in a time of revival, and at seasons of communion have a peculiar unction and tenderness; they reach every chord and fibre of the heart. These sermons should be *studied*. They who barely read them as a mere work will be disappointed. Each one has an object,—that object was kept in view, and it was reached. After all, that is the only kind of preaching that will be effective. Having in our possession a brief outline of Dr. Griffin's plan of study in writing his sermons, we give the substance of it. 1. *Write down* the text on a loose piece of paper and *look at it*. 2. Inquire, what does this text teach? What is my object? Obtain clear and definite views of the *point*. 3. Then commence *thinking*. Put down thoughts as they occur, without regard to order, or language—get as much material as possible. 4. Then *reduce these thoughts to order*. This thought belongs under this head; that idea should come in there, &c. 5. Throw out all extraneous and foreign ideas.

It was his practice to write with care. So anxious was Dr. Griffin to expunge from his sermons every thing irrelevant, that he, as he says in a letter, was "in the habit of striking out every clause and word that was not subservient" to the great end he had in view in his ordinary sermons, viz., "to reach the conscience and the heart at every stroke."*

* And here a little incident occurs to the recollection of the writer. Dr. G. was once at his house and spent the Sabbath. On Sabbath morning he went into the study and began to read over his sermon; he called for ink and sand. He began to strike out and pour on the sand. The manuscript was already black with erasures and insertions, but the work went on, the paper growing darker every moment. One of the little children coming up and looking on the blotted and blurred manuscript, corrected and recorrected, said, "How can you read your sermon? It is all scratched out." He was peculiar in covering with ink every word erased, so that it could not be read.

The remark of the child led him to speak of his custom, and, said he, "This I regard as one chief excellence of my preaching, if I have any." He continued, "I have a plain figure which I use in the study; it will not do for the public ear; it serves to illustrate my point. If you put swingling tow upon a hetchel, you can ride to Boston on it; but if you pull out the tow," holding up his fingers to represent the process, "and let the points stick up, they will prick." "So," said he, "you may cover up the truth with ornaments and words, till the conscience cannot be reached. You must *pull out the tow*,"—the points are the truth—"pull out the tow, and let the points stick up." A better illustration was never given. If our sermons had less "tow," and more naked "points," they would do more execution.

Dr. Griffin was eminently an *experimental* preacher. There is much of what has been called "commercial preaching,"—a philosophizing upon the principles of human nature,—the business of common life;—a preaching that is sensible but cold—instructive but not stirring. Dr. G.'s heart was in his work. He saw that it was the design of God to build up the church in this day by repeated revivals of religion, and he aimed to promote the work of God. Many of his sermons were little more than the embodying of his own exercises of mind. Of course they would have a freshness and power, an unction and spirit, which would touch every tender chord in the Christian's heart. He tells us the sermon in the *National Preacher*, on "The Prayer of Faith," was a transcript of his struggles and triumph at the memorable time when his children were converted to God. The same is doubtless true of the other sermon published in connection with it, on the "Heavenly Mind." There we learn the process of sanctification in his own heart. We there discover how he walked with God. The history of many of his sermons possesses peculiar interest. Reference is made in the *Memoir* to a change in his views and feelings with respect to the priesthood of Christ; this was during his first settlement in Newark. The liveliness of his views, the ardor of his zeal, were like a new conversion. For some considerable time the change was so great, he could not refer to it without tears, nor preach on the subject without melting his audience. The sermon he wrote on the passage of scripture which so wonderfully opened to his mind, is the sixth sermon of the second volume, denominated, "The High Priest." When read in connection with these facts, it becomes doubly interesting.

He once preached in the pulpit of the writer the sermon called "The Tokens of Perdition." The effect was great; every sentence was like a trip-hammer upon the conscience. The next morning, we called upon a man of great wealth, who had been bred a lawyer, but who was living far from God. We found he had not slept a wink during the night, and he had a novel in his hand, striving in this way to rid himself of his serious impressions. On one occasion, he preached in a distant place his remarkable sermon styled, "Jesus of Nazareth passing by;" it was during a revival of religion; the whole assembly

were as much affected as though it had been a literal fact that Jesus in person was passing by. Nor is it strange the sermon should be so powerful. It is a most graphical description of the scene referred to in the evangelist. The sermon itself was conceived in a happy moment, which the author could never forget. When settled in New Hartford, he went over to visit his pious and excellent friend, the Rev. Mr. Hallock of Canton, the latter part of the week. From some indications of the presence of the Spirit, Mr. Hallock was induced to appoint a meeting in one neighborhood, and pressed Dr. G. to preach. He, at first, declined, as he had no sermon with him, and nothing occurred to his mind. But he was constrained to remain; and the subject of Jesus of Nazareth passing by, was suggested to him. He sought help from God. He commenced preaching,—the subject opened to him as he proceeded. The effect was beyond his expectation; many were deeply impressed with a sense of sin. As he returned home, the subject dwelt upon his mind; the scene he had just witnessed quickened his thoughts; he determined to arrange his ideas as well as the limited time would allow, and preach from that text on the next Sabbath. With his heart full, and encouraged by the recent manifestation of the Divine presence, he preached, when lo, the Spirit of God descended upon his people, and an interesting revival of religion commenced.

His typical sermons are peculiarly happy. He avoids the common fault of fanciful allusions and tedious particularity, while his fine imagination sheds over the whole such an air of reality that the scene is present to the eye of the mind. His sermon on the text, "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?" is a most felicitous effort. His heart is so deeply enlisted, that he pleads with his hearers, as the patriarch did with the angel of the covenant. He cannot let them go without securing for them a blessing. Take the following paragraphs:

"Time has been (I would not dismiss the pleasing remembrance though it is fraught with pain), when the voice of Jesus of Nazareth was heard in these streets,—when his majesty sat enthroned in our assemblies,—when the interests of the soul were more regarded than paltry self,—when Christians *lived*,—when sinners trembled,—when the new-born delighted to lip the name of Jesus. As we cast our eyes over this assembly we can descry those who will not

soon forget the scene. Yes, we have seen the day when some of you were trembling in near view of the eternal judgment,—when you verily thought there was but a step between you and death. We have seen the blessed hour when heavenly light broke in upon your despair,—when your eyes opened upon eternal day,—when your transported souls dropped the calculation of endless sorrows and hugged the hope of immortal joy. I live, I live, you cried, as your grave-clothes dropped at your feet. We have seen a parent's eye glisten with a trembling tear as his child looked up to thank his Deliverer. We have seen the solemn hour when, with palpitations before unknown, you stood in companies before the Lord to enter into covenant with him. We have seen the dear youth delighting to speak to each other of a Saviour's love, when tenderness melted in every eye, and their societies were full of the presence of Jesus and of love. Let me cleave to the fond remembrance. Tear me not from a scene to which my soul clings as to life itself. But ah, it is gone, and what do these distressed eyes now behold? One general waste of stupidity and death. No child is revived; no parent's heart leaps for joy; none are conscious of their guilt and danger; none experience the joys of their espousals. Their divine Deliverer, whose love, in that hour, they thought they never could forget, is forgotten and neglected. The world has rivalled him. The world has carried away the Christian, the convert, and the sinner. *The world, the world, the world:* this is the object which engrosses every care; this is the supreme deity that is adored. 'Buy and sell and get gain: out with the thoughts of death: away with judgment and heaven: name not a Saviour's love: my farms and my merchandize I will have, though the earth trembles under my feet and heaven weeps blood upon my head.' And is it thus? Yes, and it is an evil beyond our power to cure. We have done and said all we can do, and it alters not the case. Where then is the Lord God of Elijah? Where is the Lord God of our former sabbaths and sacraments? Where, O where is he? 'Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy glory: where is thy zeal and thy strength, the sounding of thy bowels and of thy mercies?—Are they restrained?' I do know that it depends solely on the sovereign pleasure of God whether there shall ever be another revival of religion in this place, or whether they who are dead shall remain dead to eternity. One look from him and our sleeping friends shall revive; one frown from him and every unregenerate soul in this congregation shall die in his sins. Men and angels cannot change the decree. Ministers may preach, Christians may pray, parents may weep, and a thousand pious hearts may break; but if the Lord God of Elijah do not revive us, the dead will not revive. This sentiment, though it has dwelt upon our tongues, I fear has never sunk deep enough into our hearts. In days of revival we have ascribed too much of the praise to men and means; and now perhaps we look too much to men and means for the relief desired. We never shall be revived until we realizingly feel our absolute and entire dependence on God,—until we can heartily and without reserve say, 'My soul, wait thou *only* upon God, for my expectation is from him.' O for this dependence, that

we may go forth in a body and lift our eyes to heaven as the eyes of one man, and cry, as though the salvation of a world hung upon our prayer, 'Where is the Lord God of Elijah? O that I knew where that I might find him, that I might come even to his seat.' Alas, can he not be found? While thousands lie dead around us, can we not find the only Being who can raise them to life? Where is he? Can we not find him?"

To feel all the force of this appeal, we must bring to our aid the tones of his voice, the tears he shed, his noble appearance, the soul he threw into his sermons. There were tones in his voice which never failed to melt his hearers into tears.

His sermon on "The Worth of the Soul," is confessedly one of the most splendid efforts of human genius. That on "The Knowledge of God," evinces great powers of mind, and deep Christian experience. That on the text, "How can I put thee among the children?" is considered by many exceedingly able. It is a subject well suited to his powers; and it must be confessed he has so completely exhausted the topics, that he has left nothing for any one who should afterwards attempt to preach from it.

Although we are so ready to bestow upon Dr. Griffin high praise as a sermon writer, and as a preacher of the first order, we are far from thinking him a faultless model. It is known that he often failed. If he preached many great sermons, he often preached very common-place ones. His constitutional temperament led him, sometimes, to dwell upon subjects at greater length than was profitable. He was so much in the habit of viewing things through a bright medium, that he often misjudged, and was in advance of his hearers. Then again he was occasionally dull. He needed a great subject, a great occasion, and a great audience, to arouse him to a great effort. When fairly aroused, few men could do so well.

These sermons now published, with some forty or fifty more left in manuscript, besides his works previously printed, are the labor of his life. He has done well to prepare them for the press. This was his last work; he lived to finish all his corrections. We bless God for sparing him so long to the church, and for grace given him to accomplish so much. He was not always wise in the selection of his subjects. He often suffered his feelings to bias his judgment. Perhaps he aimed too much at effect.

In the ardor of his zeal, he sometimes transcended the bounds of sound discretion. On one occasion, when settled in Boston, he took this method to expose a groundless rumor which had been circulated to his prejudice. It had been reported that he preached the doctrine of "the damnation of infants." One Sabbath afternoon a child was presented before the altar for baptism, according to the views of his denomination; he arose in the pulpit, and stood silent for some time,—the parents waited,—the silence became painful,—every eye in the house was turned to him; when he exclaimed in his emphatic manner, "There are infants in hell not a span long"—"So I am slanderously reported to have said." He then refuted the calumny and proceeded to the service before him.

At other times he was equally felicitous in his allusions. In his Memoir we have an affecting account of the dangerous illness of his eldest daughter, and of his trials connected with it. Some years afterwards, when by marvelous grace that daughter was brought into the kingdom of heaven, and had become the mother of children, she came forward, with her husband, "to offer them to the Lord;" he stood for a moment before he uttered a word, and then, with deep emotion, said, in a way that affected to tears every person present, "*I had not thought to see thy face; and lo, God hath showed me also thy seed.*" Notwithstanding these incidents relate to views and practices which the Baptists do not adopt, they illustrate so admirably the character of the man, that we were unwilling to omit them.

Dr. Griffin's sermons have not the sameness of structure with those of Dr. Emmons, nor do they evince the same fertility of invention or richness of resource. In some instances, he has failed in the plan of his discourse. In fact, he does not appear to have been remarkably happy in this part of sermonizing. Nor was the celebrated Robert Hall. Every one must have been struck with the absence of all invention in the eloquent English preacher, while he evinced so much genius and eloquence in the filling up of his sermons.

The late Dr. Dwight, also, was deficient in the plan of his discourses. His formal manner of laying out his subject gave a stiffness to the whole structure, which dimin-

ished very much the interest and power. So far as method and execution are concerned, leaving out of the account the peculiar views of truth, the late Dr. J. M. Mason, of New York, was far superior to both. He was prodigiously powerful. For style and arrangement, for majesty and strength, for completeness and execution, there are few such sermons in any language as his "Messiah's Throne." As an expositor of the Bible and an instructive preacher, he has had no equal in this country. Still he was unsuccessful in winning souls to Christ. Dr. Griffin sacrificed every thing to the desire of doing good. He would strike out a figure that would gain applause, if it would not save a soul. They who write and preach to be popular, have their reward, but our author had other aims.

We have said, some of his sermons were defective in the plan. We will refer to one to illustrate our idea, viz., the twenty-first sermon of the second volume, styled, "The Pilgrim," from Heb. 11: 13. *These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.* In his division, he says, "I shall

I. Inquire what it is to feel and conduct ourselves as strangers and pilgrims on the earth.

II. Suggest some reasons for doing this.

III. Urge the duty of believing and trusting in the promises of God."

The plan is evidently confused. The inevitable effect of such an announcement after reading so rich a text, would be to strike a damp upon the feelings. The inference, drawn at once by the hearers would be, we shall have a long didactic sermon. When a text seems to divide itself, we lose the freshness by a stiff division. How much more interest would have been given to the discussion, if he had preached what is called a textual sermon. We remember to have heard, many years ago, that Dr. J. M. Mason preached from this text with great power. He just explained it in the order of the apostle, described in strong and glowing colors the faith of the ancient believers, and applied it to Christians now. It presents a delightful view of faith and its practical effects. A subject connected with history, as this is, is divested of its life and vividness, by reducing it to a didactic form.

After a brief general view of the feelings of Christians, under the first head, in the character of strangers and pilgrims, Dr. G. proceeds, in the second place, to assign reasons for such feelings and conduct, and gives as many as *eight*. Under the third head, which at first seems to be a distinct subject, but is really little more than a repetition of the second in a different form, he urges the duty of believing and trusting in the promises of God, by five distinct considerations; and then applies the subject in two separate exhortations. Sermons constructed upon this plan would be heavy and uninteresting. The sermon itself is good, and contains many valuable thoughts, but it is far from being a good specimen of sermonizing.

Dr. G. seemed never to forget that he was an ambassador from God to guilty men. While he was affectionate, he was bold; though tender, he was uncompromising; he aimed to preserve the dignity and elevation of the pulpit, and at the same time to accomplish the great object of his mission, reconciliation with God. In this, he was to an uncommon degree successful. He aimed by all means to gain some.

A very shrewd man once said, "that one important thing in the preparation of a sermon is to get *the right elevation*. We must aim neither too high nor too low." Dr. G. very happily illustrated this original idea. He did not rise into the clouds to dazzle his hearers by the visions of his fancy, or the white fog of transcendentalism, nor descend to vulgarity and vapidness to catch the smile of the simple.

He was a plain, searching preacher. The hearer felt that he was in the presence of one who was deeply read in the science of human nature, who had thoroughly studied his own heart, and therefore knew how to expose the deceitfulness and depravity of those of others. Very few men communed more with their own spirit. He was a man of prayer. The views he obtained of truth were received on his knees. He knew they were correct; he was witness of their efficacy and sweetness; and because he believed, *therefore* did he speak.

Dr. Dwight's two volumes of sermons, after his life was published, were expected with great eagerness. The history of the success of the one on "The Harvest Past," induced many to purchase them, at a great price. But

they are laid aside. They have dropped out of the public mind. They are stately, able, well reasoned and forcibly written, but they are cold. They do not embody the struggles, trials and prayers of the author. We predict a different destiny for these sermons of Dr. Griffin. They are more like the sermons of President Edwards. They go down into the heart, they take hold of the conscience. They will be read in pious families on the evening of the Lord's day; and will lie on the minister's table to be read after the labors of the Sabbath, to refresh the spirit; before going to the conference to arouse the soul, and in the closet to humble the heart before God.

Although there is occasionally a vein of metaphysical reasoning in them, they are for the most part remarkably explicit. Dr. G., though at times profound, yet is never obscure. He calls things by their right names. He expressed great dislike to the fastidiousness of modern writers, who often go around the truth to avoid giving offence.

A worthy clergyman, at present occupying an important station in the church, when a pupil of his, carried to him a composition for correction. He thought he had succeeded very well. Dr. G. read it over. "M.," said he, "what do you mean by that paragraph?" He told him. "Well, why not say so?" and dashed his pen across it. Thus he cut out a good portion of it. The art of saying just what we mean is very difficult of attainment. Dr. Beattie, author of "The Elements of Moral Science," was one of the clearest writers in the language, and may be studied with profit on that account. Nor can a student of Dr. Griffin's sermons fail to derive benefit.

Some of his occasional sermons and addresses, to which reference is made in the Life, are out of print, and might be published in the appendix of a new Life, which we hope will be written, or of this, with additions.

Instead of transcribing passages of these thrilling discourses, we choose rather to refer our readers to the volumes themselves, as a depository of evangelical truth and sacred eloquence of rare worth. It was not the design of Dr. G., in preparing these sermons for the press, to strike out any new paths in theology, to agitate the church by any bold and original views of particular doctrines, but to *stand in the ways and see what others had seen before*

him, to ponder what others had said; and while many were going off in the pursuit of theories, to *ask for the old paths and the good way*, in which he had found rest to his soul, and believed Zion would find rest.

Dr. G. generally used notes when preaching. He has given his views of the best method of preaching, in his able sermon delivered before the pastoral association of Massachusetts. And who that heard him on that occasion, will forget his manner and appearance, as he concluded his sermon? Taking off his spectacles, and fixing his flashing eye on the distant part of the gallery, as though he saw an unfaithful minister enter there, he addressed him in tones that thrilled every heart.

We sometimes conceive of him as he appeared in his best days. We remember him, on one occasion, as he was about to preach before a large assembly of an evening. It was a time of deep interest in religion. He always took ample time to review his sermon and get his heart in a proper frame, before he went into the pulpit. As he entered the sanctuary, his majestic form and snow white head attracted every eye. He seemed to be pondering awful subjects as he ascended the sacred desk. He read the hymn in a tremulous tone. His prayer was short, simple and earnest. As he arose behind a temporary breastwork erected to accommodate his unusual height, he looked around upon the assembly with the solicitude of a parent. His text was Isa. 1: 18. *Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord.* His feelings, the subject, the place, the assembly, all conspired to give uncommon interest to the effort. After a few remarks, he said, "My business at present is with impenitent sinners. I would single them out from the crowd, and take them aside, and say in their ear, 'I have a message from the Lord to deliver to you.' I am sent to reason with you in his name about the high concerns of a future world, about your interest a thousand ages hence, about the claims which the Sovereign of the world has upon you, and the long score of uncanceled charges which he has against you." Let Christians stand by and assist me with their prayers, while I attempt to recall from death this interesting multitude." This happy introduction seemed to divest his manner of the formality of the preacher and his address of the regularity of a sermon. We could think of

nothing but a parent speaking in all the tenderness of his heart to his wayward offspring. His tender spirit and subdued tones served to render the illusion the more complete. "My poor hearers," he continued, "you have often considered an address from the pulpit as a matter of course, and felt no personal interest in it. But it must not be so now. I have a solemn errand from the Lord to do to you *one by one*." Each one seemed disposed to give him his hand and come to his side to hear his message. He then proceeded in an easy way to reason and expostulate with them. There was the most breathless attention. He was short, direct, and overwhelming. We think we see him now as he stood at the close, referring his weeping hearers to the awful scenes of the judgment. "My beloved friends," he said, "I expect soon to meet you at that bar, and give an account of my labors among you to-night." It is solemn to reflect that many who heard him on that evening are in eternity. They have met him before the throne of God. As though an unwonted solemnity had come over him, he said with deep emotion, "It is in full view of that awful scene, that I am speaking thus to you. I would not have you perish, but,"—gathering himself up he said, with great deliberation, "but if you perish, I would clear my garments of your blood."

As though not satisfied, and reluctant to leave them, he came forward in the pulpit and said, with impassioned tones:

"But you *must not* perish. The calls of mercy are still out. I have returned to my text and found it written, 'Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson they shall be as wool.' These heavenly words, issuing from the eternal throne, still mingle their sounds about your ears. There is yet hope. You need not perish. The door of mercy is not yet closed. That Saviour whom you just now saw on the judgment-seat, once died on Calvary. Though you have so long trifled with his blood, though you have so long abused sermons and Sabbaths, though you have ten thousand times been found in arms against the Sovereign of the world, yet in that blood all your stains may be washed out,—all your treasons purged. Only do not now seal your damnation by longer rejecting his mercy. Fall down now at his feet. Go not from this house, till you have bathed them with your tears and wiped them with the hairs of your head. This is an awful moment. Heaven, earth, and hell are now opened before you. From the throne of God, which is placed in the midst,

the invitation is still proceeding. Not man, but God himself is now speaking to you. If you turn away, it will be like those who turned away when their feet touched the borders of the promised land. They could not be forgiven, but must perish in the wilderness. Take care what you do, for you are now standing near the Shekinah. Drop the weapons from your bloody hands. With those trembling arms clasp his feet; resolving never to quit your hold;—that if he tread you down, you will sink, but that you will never leave the spot till one look of peace assures you that your sins are forgiven. O could we see you thus!—Are you *afraid* to go? Why, it is the same Being that left the realms of glory to die for you. Go with greater confidence than you ever went to an earthly parent. Go with all your sins upon you. It is not to *judge* that he has now come. He has come to heal the broken-hearted and to preach deliverance to the captives. The love of Jesus looks out of his eye. His hands, bearing still the prints of the nails, are extended to receive you. Go, and give pleasure to that heart which bled on the point of the spear. Go and find your heaven in the sweetness of that embrace. Go,—you see him there,—O go!”

Some of his tones yet linger on our ear. Some of his expressions of countenance are yet present to our recollection. That picture can never fade from our mind.

“This sun has set,
O when shall other such arise?”

ARTICLE III.

SELECTIONS FROM GERMAN LITERATURE.

Selections from German Literature. By B. B. EDWARDS and E. A. PARK, Professors in Theological Seminary, Andover. 8vo. pp. 472. Andover. Gould, Newman & Saxton. 1839.

WE accept, with no ordinary degree of satisfaction, this contribution to our scanty stock of translations from modern German literature. The present literature of that country has some undoubted advantages over our own or that of any other nation. In philology, history and antiquities, it is thoroughly critical; in philosophy, it is free and expansive; in poetry and romance, it is luxuriant and semi-oriental; in religious feeling, where true

piety exists, it is deep and all-subduing. Its faults, which are numerous and great, are so generally acknowledged, that they need not here be specified. If, in introducing it among us, we could extract what is good and omit the rest, we should thereby not only enrich our own literature, but improve our national character. We do not, indeed, believe that such a separation will be made. It is impossible to find a work for translation, which shall exhibit nothing but the better element of the German mind. In this world, good and evil are rarely unmixed. Every valuable object of human industry is to be acquired at some hazard. Neither can our countrymen, in many instances, recast a German production, and thus separate the precious from the vile. The few attempts of this kind that have been made, have been unsuccessful. We cannot sufficiently enter into the views and feelings of those mighty and enthusiastic spirits, that are powerfully moved by springs hidden to us, to render it safe or practicable for us to remove any thing of importance from their creations of art and to attempt to replace it by our own skill. And if our young men cultivate an acquaintance with German literature, and are left, in this wide field, to their own choice of works, it would be strange indeed if some of them should not become transcendently wise.

But it is not at our option, whether our rising scholars shall slake their intellectual thirst at German fountains or not. Even the brutes will go where they find the best pasture. There never was a time in the world's history, when any place, distinguished for intellectual preëminence or superior scholarship, was not a centre of powerful attraction, drawing to the very spot many of those individuals whose loftiest aspirings were after knowledge, and winning attention to its literature from thousands who never performed the pilgrimage. What scholar needs to be reminded of Athens, of Alexandria, of various Grecian cities in the time of Cicero, and of Rome under the emperors? or of Bologna and Paris in the Middle Ages, of Italy at the revival of letters, of France in the days of Scaliger, Stephens and Cassaubon, of Wittenberg at the time of the Reformation, of Holland during the eighteenth century, and of Paris again in the latest times? Especially in this age, when knowledge is the prize for which the great and good are contending, as the chief instrument of

influence and power, is it preposterous to expect that ardent youthful spirits, that are panting for distinction, will content themselves with any thing short of a mastery of the science and literature of the nation that stands highest in the scale of intelligence. If we interpose and advise them to beware of a German book, they will regard us as belonging to a past age; or as administering counsel that is suited only to dwarfish intellects. The question may be regarded as settled. German literary influence, now the highest wave on the ocean, is to sweep over us. Nor are we terror-struck. The waters will, in the end, find their right place. Truth is a universal leveller. A few years ago, how threatening, in its aspect, was the literary influence of France! But is the prospect for future ages now darkened at all by that cloud that was once so black? German neology has already spent its force. The strongest intellects in the nation are now, with Herculean labor, cleansing the Augean stables of her theology. And, though stains of pollution are still seen on the garments of those emerging from the mire of rationalism, not only is that class of individuals becoming a host, embracing the most hopeful youth of the land, but they are beginning to cast off their spotted garments and to put on others suited to their new state. We might almost lay it down as a general truth in regard to German theological works, the later the production, the more evangelical it is. Relying on the great recuperative principle there is in human nature, and on the potency of truth to work out its own victory, we may well stand erect, and meet with unshrinking confidence every challenge to investigation. In an active age, enjoying the liberty of free discussion, any *particular form* of error is short lived. Infidelity, in its general character, may outlive a hundred generations; but it must often change its form. In the shape it assumed among the English deists of a former age, it has been conquered by argument; in the hideous and ferocious form of French atheism, it has been hunted down by the friends of humanity; the last head of this hydra, which has terrified Christendom, is German neology. But the church is recovering from her panic. Rationalism is crumbling at its base. After a frosty winter in the land of the Reformers, the vernal season is returning, with a luxuriance proportioned to its long delay. Who can say,

but that the regenerated theology of Germany shall, in the process of time, become more healthy and vigorous than our own?—that it will be like a running brook, while ours shall be like a stagnant pool. We hope better things; but theological science, as a doctrinal system, among us, is becoming more and more shallow. In its higher principles, it is either rejected, or received on the authority of the divines of other days. By our exclusive regard to practical theology, we give it increased expansion, at the expense of its depth. The Germans go to the opposite extreme. But a half century *may* show, that it is easier for them to descend from their height, than for us to ascend from our lowly vale. Indeed, the practical energy which we possess is the result of the theology of by-gone days. Our stability and firmness, so far as we act on sound theological principles, is owing, in no small degree, to the writings of such men as Edwards and Fuller. If their day of popularity shall go by, and the character of the next generation shall be formed by our present theological writers (if it may be said we have any), can we expect any thing else than that it shall be deficient in solidity? We do not yet believe that these things will be so. We hope the time is coming, when the community, instead of frowning upon the man who gives himself to intense thought on any of the more difficult subjects in theology, shall regard him as its benefactor; when it shall perceive that the gospel is designed, not merely to teach us the common duties of life, nor merely to assure us of pardon and acceptance before God, but also to excite to action all the higher faculties of our mysterious spiritual nature. It is an unworthy view of Christianity, which supposes its object to be, to turn the human mind away from the lofty contemplations to which it naturally aspires, and confine it to the range of palpable things. Neither the gospel of John, nor the epistles of Paul, agree with such a representation. The same infinite Being, who raises man above the brute, by giving him undeveloped powers of mind, and concealing in the works of nature great principles of truth which are to be sought in order to be found, has, also, beside the common simple truths which lie on the surface of the Bible for every man's necessary use, laid beneath the covering many a golden mine to be opened only by him who digs for it. How much

did the profound Augustine, notwithstanding all his errors, find there to enrich his own mind, and the minds of others, who, like him, can grasp great truths! Perhaps three-fourths of Thomas Aquinas on Theology, is to us a useless book; but the other fourth contains a depth of wisdom, in vain to be sought for in many of our best theological writers. Who can deny that Calvin, whatever may be thought of his peculiar doctrines, drew forth much invaluable truth from the Bible merely by the greatness of his mind? Turretin, of the same school, though strained in some of his views, has, nevertheless, been a lasting blessing to the whole church, even to those who reject his system, by giving depth, and thoroughness, and power, to theological investigations. The elaborate Gerard, the moderate and judicious Buddeus, and many other Lutherans, though they are not without their faults, have greatly enriched the department of doctrinal theology; and dark will be the prospects of the church, when their writings shall be given over to contempt. What is it that gives imperishable value to the works of the old divines of England? Is it not their profound thought? Can any of the modern crusaders against profound and elaborate investigation in theology, dispense with the writings of Owen, Charnock, Howe, Baxter and Bates? Are not these mines of theological learning and wisdom, after all, a constant storehouse for supplying the demands of thinking minds throughout England and America? But it will be said, the Bible is the only storehouse of religious knowledge. True; but is it not the Bible as understood and explained by men? The Bible never speaks to mortals, or at least is never heard, as it is absolutely in itself; it speaks only according to the apprehension of the mind that receives it; all beyond is a perfect blank. So far as a man rightly interprets and understands, so far, as to any practical effect, does God speak to him, and no farther. Now if one man has a better comprehension of the Bible than another, if he enters more deeply into its doctrines and spirit, his instruction, unfolding the meaning of God's word, is more valuable to that other individual, than the mere reading of the Bible without understanding it. In such circumstances, he who is most familiar with truly valuable human productions is, after all, the most biblical; he comes in possession of

the greatest amount of biblical truth. If this were not so, why should Christians go to the house of God to hear his word expounded? Why not stay at home and study the Bible, and beware of human instructions? Some men reason, as if the act of receiving oral instructions on the Bible were submitting one's mind directly and purely to God's word; while the reading of those same instructions in a printed volume, is regarded as abandoning the Bible, out of preference to human authority. When we study the Scriptures alone, we receive them only according to the measure of our knowledge; we pervert them, and substitute something human wherever we misunderstand them. When we sit down to the study of the Bible, with another, and read, and inquire jointly with him, if we gain any new light by this method of mutual consultation, although there are now two human beings and but one Bible, which would seem to increase the chance of imbibing human opinions for divine revelation, yet, in reality, our views are more biblical and have less of human weakness and imperfection than before. When we take to our aid the ablest and best expounders and theologians that can be found, and study them in connection with the Bible, if all these great and good men can furnish our single minds, of ordinary capacity and limited research, with any new views of revealed truth, then by studying human productions, we have less of human system (our own crude and imperfect system), and more of pure, inspired truth.

But, it may be objected, that the new views derived from others are often false, and therefore corrupting. The same objection may be urged against preaching. Indeed, theologians are but preachers in the closet. There are the same dangers and the same remedies in both cases. We are never to surrender our reason, but must test every thing by employing it in discovering the agreement or disagreement of such instructions with the Bible. In this labor of discriminating between truth and falsehood, we have the aid of many others. There are always, sooner or later, men of competent skill to detect error; and after both sides have been argued fully by a few individuals, all Christendom with the statute book of Heaven in their hands, sit as God's appointed jury.

We are not unmindful of the fact, that the aids to

theology, which have been mentioned, are not directly philological, that they do not assume the form of commentary. But to our minds, this is no objection. We are far from being disciples of that school, which adopts the principle, that, in receiving the communications of God, we have little to do with doctrines, or the harmony of revealed truth with itself and with other known truths; but that we are concerned chiefly with lexicons, and grammars, and Jewish antiquities. The tendency of such a method is to overlook the *soul* of the Bible in consequence of exclusive attention to its corporeal structure. Besides, this overweening regard to mere letters and syllables not only begets pedantry, which is a small consideration, but produces a kind of *verbal alchymy*. How prevailing is the taste becoming, of working out by rules of art, with the confidence, not to say, the appearance, of an algebraic demonstration, results, against which common sense revolts! Thoughts and feelings, as expressed in words, are subjected to principles as gross as the laws of mechanics. The meaning of a word is sometimes settled in a manner as absurd as it would be to settle the question, "how much rain will fall on a given day," by ascertaining the quantity that fell during the last year and dividing it by three hundred and sixty-five. It is notorious, that an exegetical quackery is rapidly springing up among us; and, unless the mind of the theologian be elevated to a level with the *subjects* of which he treats, the Scriptures, in his hands, will lose their doctrinal power. If exegetical study is necessary to theology,—a point now universally conceded,—theology is in turn necessary to sound interpretation. What should we say of the student of Plato, who should maintain, that in interpreting the writings of that author, he did not need to understand the Platonic philosophy, but that verbal criticism was sufficient for his purpose? How did mere philologists, before the time of Winckelmann, succeed in the history of ancient art, while they were ignorant of the principles of art?

Let us not be understood as undervaluing the philological and exegetical study of the Bible. Nothing could be farther from our design. We only maintain, that *an interpreter should be a theologian*. But, if theological views, which are not the result of exegetical inquiry, be

brought in to influence our interpretation, may they not mislead us? Undoubtedly. On the other hand, if interpretations, which are not in harmony with all the principles of revealed truth, are made the foundation of our theology, may *they* not mislead us? The influence of theology and interpretation is reciprocal, and cannot be otherwise. If we take Andrew Fuller, and Knapp the German critic, as representatives of the two classes of theologians, we shall certainly do no injustice to the exclusive friends of exegesis. The one devoted his powers to theology with little exegetical aid; the other interpreted philologically without any very special regard to the harmony of doctrines. Now is the theology of the Bible so much better represented in Knapp than in Fuller, as the mode of reasoning so often adopted among us would lead us to suppose? If we compare Dwight and Storr, or the old English, Scotch and American divines, *en masse*, with the whole race of verbal biblical critics, we shall be brought to the same conclusion.

In fact, the more important and difficult parts of theology do not depend so much upon single words and expressions, as upon general principles. The Arian and Pelagian controversies were not settled, and could not be, by mere grammarians. Gieseler and Neander, Winer, and Tholuck, who maintain directly opposite views in regard to the proper deity of Christ, are agreed on the philological questions. So, also, Hengstenberg and Neander, Guericke and Tholuck, who are at variance in respect to the Calvinistic doctrines, are agreed as to the meaning of *words*. The subject of civil oaths, of self-defence, and many others of a similar character, do not turn on grammatical niceties, but on the adjustment and limitations of different, and apparently conflicting, principles. A mind of philosophic comprehension, that can master moral subjects, that can apprehend the internal mechanism of the gospel as a whole, is the one, other things being equal, that can best develop the truths of divine revelation.

But it is time to return to the work before us. We would by no means affirm, that this is a safe book for all classes of readers. To those minds, which exemplify the doctrine of passive obedience to theological writers, the tendency of many passages found here would be injurious.

But the work is not designed for such; and fortunately, to most persons of this description, it would, in its questionable parts, not only be uninteresting, but nearly unintelligible. It seems to have been the object of the translators to give the English reader a fair opportunity of judging for himself of the merits and the faults of some of the more respectable German writers in theology and criticism. Here we may see the speculative philosophy and its religious fervors, not in caricature, but in their native dress, not licentious and extravagant, but simple and natural, freely sending forth the heaven-reaching thoughts and feelings of a soul, conscious of the immortal fires that are burning within it. At least, this is true of Tholuck and Ullmann. Lange, to be sure, is one of the "heaven stormers," and the curious reader, especially if he is prone to philosophical speculations, will be grateful for this precious morsel stolen from the tree of super-human knowledge.

It is gratifying to perceive that, in these selections, rational principles of translation have been adopted. We are weary of the travesty of outlandish English words and German constructions in what purports to be a translation. Nothing can be more whimsical than what is often advanced in regard to preserving the peculiarities of style. If an author writes racy, idiomatic German, is that any reason why he should appear in awkward English that violates all idiom? The peculiarities that strike us in translations, falsely called philosophical, do not, in the original, appear at all in the same light to the German reader. These peculiarities do not, in general, belong to the author, but to the language. We rejoice to see, in the translation before us, not the German words and idioms which the authors *did* use, but the English words and idioms which they *would have used*, had they written in the English as their native language. We hope this good custom, which was observed in the days of Addison, Swift, and Pope, will be effectually restored, and that the confusion of tongues in the Anglo-German dialect will be regarded as a curse, and as a sign for unbelievers.

In such a variety of style as is presented in the original of the several pieces here selected, and in such a multiplicity of topics, all relating to a foreign country and to foreign literature, as are embraced in the rich and copious

notes of the translators, it would be surprising if there were *no* errors in the translation, and none in regard to facts. We have noticed some such oversights; but they are not sufficiently numerous nor important to demand particular attention.

The selections from German Literature are taken from the writings of Tholuck, Ullmann, Rückert, Tennemann, Lange and Köster. From the last two we have but little, and shall, therefore, have occasion to say but little respecting them. About one hundred and fifty pages are occupied with the notes and introductions of the translators. The general introduction and the sketch of Tholuck's life, as well as many of the notes, are of a masterly character. The account of Tholuck's aberrations in regard to a future state of retribution, is characterized by such rare considerateness and candor, that we had marked it for insertion; but we have been compelled, for want of room, to omit most of the passages we had selected.

This distinguished scholar, in whom the Christian public in England and America has felt so deep an interest, was born in Breslau, in 1799. He was appointed Professor Extraordinary in the University of Berlin, in 1819, and Ordinary Professor in the University of Halle, in 1826, in which latter situation he still remains. He was but twenty-two years old, when he published his *Hints for the Study of the Old Testament*, and his *Sseufismus*. "He was but twenty-three years of age, when he published his *Treatise on the Nature and Moral Influence of Heathenism*; an article which Gesenius pronounced the ablest which he had ever seen on the subject." "He was but twenty-five years of age, when he published his *Commentary on the Romans*, which De Wette has pronounced superior to any that had preceded it on the same Epistle." He visited England in 1825, and again in 1835.

The remarks which we have now to make upon Tholuck, will relate to him as a preacher. He, who is accustomed to compare the mode of preaching adopted in different countries and in different periods of the history of the church, has perceived, that pulpit eloquence is capable of assuming many forms, and that its charm and power are lessened whenever any of these forms are proscribed. To a certain extent, it is suitable that the

character and condition of a people, its tastes and habits, should leave their impress upon public religious discourses. But when these peculiarities are carried to such an extreme as to exclude every other mode of exhibiting truth, they destroy the free scope of the mind, fetter its natural operations, and render the preacher uninteresting, by schooling him to a dull uniformity. Nothing can be more evident than that the mountain of truth can be ascended on different sides; or, in other words, that to all partial observers,—to all human beings, who fall short of the knowledge which is absolute and complete,—it presents various aspects, each of which is true as far as it extends.

It would undoubtedly be profitable to preachers of powerful and active minds, to form an acquaintance with the masters of pulpit eloquence who have excelled in different ways according to the spirit of the times in which they lived. We would have such men study Chrysostom, and Basil, and Augustine; Massillon, and Bourdaloue; Müller, and Harms, and Krumacher, and Tholuck; and a few of the best English preachers, not so much for the sake of plunder as for expanding and elevating the mind, and opening to their view the wide field which God and nature have spread out before them. We venture to affirm, that few American preachers can read these specimens of Tholuck's sermons without having some new views in regard to preaching. We recommend them not merely, nor chiefly, on account of their intrinsic excellence, but on account of their possessing excellences of a *different character* from those of our own preachers. We have among us many excellent *logical* essays and sermons on prayer, in which its *reasonableness* and *utility* are fully shown. But where, in the whole range of our religious literature can we find such a view of prayer as the following?

"All that can be said on this subject, the apostle has included in this one supplicatory word, which illustrates the nature of the prayer;—*dear Father*. We will now, therefore, definitely ascertain what is the scriptural idea of a prayer. Prayer is the pulsation of the soul. It need not be always expressed in words; for the apostle exhorts Christians to pray without intermission. But if the prayer must necessarily be uttered in audible language, how could Paul, yea, how could Christ himself, have prayed without intermission? No, my friends. There is a prayer which the faithful offer, and

which, like the pulse in the veins, never ceases its motion, not by night, not by day, and which can be heard by no human ear. In this inward silent supplication are the faithful continually exclaiming, Abba, dear Father! How is it with you, when some beloved friend is called away from you by death? Through all the hours that succeed his departure, do you not bear him constantly about with you in your heart? Yea, are you not wont to conduct a silent, uninterrupted dialogue with him, which is not audible to the ear of a companion? So it is with the ceaseless prayer, going forth from the man who has received into his own heart the testimony of his heavenly adoption. He cannot forget what new and unmerited grace has been bestowed on him; he cries out continually,—‘See, what love the Father hath shown us, that we should be styled the children of God;’ and in the inmost sanctuary of his soul the words are repeated incessantly, Beloved Parent! precious Father!

“But as the conversation which a man silently carries on with himself is converted into audible language, as soon as he is seized with a quickening feeling of pain or of joy, so likewise, is the converse which a man silently conducts with his heavenly Parent. When his soul is actively excited, he feels compelled to employ words. And so we read of the Saviour, in the moment of his deepest pain, he cried out, Abba, dear Father! And all that the heart of a child of God has to say, when it approaches the throne of grace, yea all is comprehended by the apostle in this one word, Dear Father. Dear Father! So cries the little child, when, conscious of its own guilt and ill desert, it yet receives a new overflowing of its parent’s love, and sinks down on its knees, weeping. Dear Father! So cries the child, when full of trouble it folds up its hands, and would fain fly into its parent’s bosom, and to his heart. Dear Father! So cries the same child, when it has a full tide of joys, and cannot bear to keep these joys for itself alone, and must share all the treasures of its heart with the parent whom it loves.”

Before noticing more particularly the characteristics of Tholuck’s preaching, we will give, from his own lips, his views on the subject of pulpit preparations. We will translate, with sufficient freedom to preserve the connection, a few sentences from the preface to the second edition of his sermons, which is, in fact, a most valuable essay on preaching:

“The principal cause why our discourses do not seize and impress the mind, and impart a vital, edifying influence, is, that instead of *growing by a natural process* from the feelings of the heart, they are *fabricated*. ‘One must *breathe the spirit*,’ says Pindar, ‘before he can speak.’ Not only must a sermon be prepared, but it must be delivered, under spiritual excitement. There is an indescribable difference between the effect of a discourse which is spoken from *memory*, and one that is, with fresh feelings, *born again* in the pulpit. He, that knows the power which language, *new-born from the soul*,

has beyond that which is previously arranged and *preserved* for the occasion, will never be content with dried preparations." * * "It were well, if many preachers would abandon the method of making exact preparations, and delivering them from memory. And yet, this method need not be entirely dispensed with. If the discourse was once the offspring of the soul in the study, why should it not, under the breath of the Spirit, start again into life in the pulpit? Still we must not be so bound to the train of thought, previously followed out, that we cannot receive what flows in upon us from the collected feeling of a devout assembly; but we must be able to catch the flowing sentiment, and pour it in with the current of our previous course of thought. Purely extemporaneous addresses, with an intelligent audience of the present age, will not succeed. Who can safely trust to the moment for bringing the attainments of a whole life to bear, with all their power, upon a single point?"

"The discourse that is thus the offspring of the soul, is to be addressed to the *whole man*. It should contain a germ of doctrine, reflections, and a practical application. In this age, especially, when every man's hand is put forth towards the tree of knowledge, when the common people are panting for increased intelligence, and demanding the means for attaining to it, it is indispensable for the preacher, if he would teach Christianity thoroughly, and perpetually give a fresh current to the living fountain of truth, to devote himself constantly to the study of the Bible, to theology, and to literature."

"But away with that doctrinal preaching, which is not baptized in imagination and feeling." * * * "Again, the sermon should be drawn out of the congregation. There are discourses which are brought into the congregation *from without*; there are others which spring from the bosom of the people. The former are those which are prepared in a general way, and which depend on the rules of sermonizing. So it must always be, whenever there is no reciprocal influence between pastor and people. But it is otherwise, when the discourses of the Sabbath are the echo of pastoral experience during the week. The more it is the product of such intercourse, the more pertinent, specific and interesting will it be. But here comes up the spectre of pulpit style and pulpit decorum, which frightens away all the fresh impulses of the preacher. Let him be independent, and yield himself only to the dictates of reason. Let him bear the interests of his people on his heart, and those dead preparations that are dull by rule, will disappear, and discourses will assume more of the voice and garb of nature, and will be animated with the sighings and pulsations of a living heart. O could preaching return to nature, we could dispense with the rest. The 'refined discourse, sweetened with sirrups,' is like an antiquated beauty wrapped in a hundred envelopes. It kindles no hearts into passion, but is unattractive and frosty. O ye mighty men, of full, of swelling hearts, Chrysostom, Augustin, Müller and Harms, may the breathing of your spirit of life again come over our pulpits!"

In these brief extracts, we have evidence that the author is one who has the most elevated and comprehensive views of the art of preaching, whose knowledge is vast, who is framed by nature for the work, and whose whole soul is enlisted in the subject.

In comparing his performances with his principles, we ought not to overlook the peculiar circumstances, to which he was obliged to adapt himself. The churches were thinly attended; his first object was to attract attention, and fasten the hearers. Hence his discourses are often very short and without a heavy theological basis. They are often like the light fleecy clouds which we delight to look upon of a summer's evening. This was a matter of calculation. It was necessary in the peculiar circumstances of the case, and was eminently successful in the issue. Whenever the preacher thought it safe and wise, he gave his hearers a discourse of the most substantial character. Such is the first of the specimens presented us by Prof. Park. The audience was composed of educated and fashionable unbelievers, the disciples of Gesenius and Wegscheider. He could not, with any hope of success, adopt the style and method which would be suitable to an established, pious congregation. The Old Testament was regarded as an antiquated book; and it was hazardous to take a text from it. The New Testament was viewed in the light of interesting, but not inspired, records of the origin of our religion. The only ground, common to the preacher and the assembly, was *nature*. Thus the preacher, with wonderful power, brought the thousand intimations in the visible creation, in the human soul, and in the history of the world, in contact with the Bible, and wove the Bible and nature so into one, that they could not be separated. And yet, with all this management, in regard to the *form* of his instruction, it was his fixed purpose to inculcate the gospel in its native simplicity and power.

We will make one or two quotations to exemplify our remark:

"Who can stand and look upon the scenes of nature amid the flowers of a vernal morn, or in a brilliant starry night, without perceiving the rushing of a stream of life, that flows down from Orion to the very heart of the earth? If thou hear no other sound than the indistinct flowing of an unknown stream, in which thou

thyself art but a single small wave,—tell me what are thy feelings? Art thou not seized with awe? O, I have often had, often, even in early youth have I been forced to have, a foreboding of an unlimited Power pervading the whole world, and I had no name by which I could designate this Power, nor could I obtain sure ground for a conviction, that it was a Power of holiness and of love!—But to know, yea not barely to know, but to believe, with a full heart, and on the authority of him whose word is itself a pledge,—to believe that this stream is one of love and holiness, that it flows forth from the heart of him, who has given his only begotten Son for the life of the world,—O how entirely different a hue does this belief give to our faith in the universal presence of the Deity.”

Not less skilfully adapted than this appeal to the sentimental and poetical part of his audience,—always the larger portion of a German congregation,—is his “grand and majestic” address, through the medium of science, to the well-bred and enlightened skeptic. After spreading out the starry worlds before the vision of the assembly, he exclaims:

“Worm of the dust as I am, I am amazed, I tremble, I adore; but if I have no other theatre of his greatness and of his grace to look upon, but that in those unmeasured distances, then does my heart despond and break. Him who hath spread out his throne over immensity, my narrow mind cannot comprehend. If I can behold no other spectacle for the display of his benevolence than that immeasurable one, then I may call him the Infinite, but the name Father dies upon my lips. It is always imagined to be a very natural thing for this word Father to flow forth from the heart of man to his lips; but when we place ourselves in full view of the infinity of the worlds of God, is it to be wondered at, that the name dies away abashed upon our tongue?

“Great are the wonders of Jehovah in the height above us; and if we direct our eyes to this height alone, we shall necessarily despond. Before such an immeasurable expansion, what is this little earth? And if, with all the living beings who walk abroad upon it, it should vanish into nothing, what notice would those worlds take of its disappearance? It would be to them as if a small sparkling star had ceased its glistening in their horizon. If this earth should pass away, what would that majestic infinity of worlds lose in splendor? Just what the forest loses in its magnificence, when a leaf, shaken by the storm, falls down. Beloved, the greatness of God oppresses our heart, when we look only at the wonders above; and the words of astonished and humble thankfulness become also the words of doubt, ‘What is man, that thou art mindful of him!’ Therefore let us hasten away, that our heart, in a narrow space, may come to itself again; that we in the Infinite may find again our Father. The more the telescope opens before us a view into the immensity above, so much the more may it take away our assurance, that he who is occupied in those illimitable

spaces, will be found in the same activity here upon the earth. But you must acknowledge, that no small part of the brightness of his glory is taken away, if he has called into existence so many worlds, that his sustaining and providing power cannot keep equal pace with his creating; if the eye which guides the four thousand nebulae cannot discern the falling tear that is shed on this little earth. But it is not so, beloved! No sooner was the telescope invented to the fostering of human doubt, than another instrument, the microscope, was invented to the removal of that doubt; and the infinity of God, thou findest it again in every flying straw, and in every grain of mustard seed. Is it not the same instrument, which discovers to us, on every leaf of the forest, whole races and families of a world of joyous life; which opens to our view upon the wing of a fly a scene of wonders surpassing every thing produced by the industry and art of man? Yea, beloved, I put to you the bold quere,—Where is God the greater, in the great things, or in the small, of his creation?—in the immeasurable of the earth, or in the infinite of the heavens?—If thus, through all visible nature, there is seen this majestic, manifold and inexhaustibly rich variety; if the flying straw and the wing of the smallest insect is a theatre of God's wonderful works, how much greater care must he have bestowed upon man!"

A more beautiful illustration there could scarcely be of his own remark; "If we would bring our educated men near to the pulpit, we must frequently direct their minds to that sphere in which their own lives are past. Paul, who quotes Aratus at Athens, and Epimenides before the Cretans, will afford us a screen, if the pulpit censors complain of us, and condemn us." We will here add a few more words from the preface already referred to. "At a time when Shakspeare is, with many, a higher authority than Paul, when a distich from Göthe is a stronger proof-text than the whole Epistle to the Romans, a preacher, who would produce effect, must not be ignorant of the authorities on which men so much rely. Here, if any where, the words of Paul apply, '*all is yours.*'" "We must stretch forth our hands to the despisers of religion among the refined and educated. Not that the preacher should descend from his high eminence and strong tower to those wide, barren flats, where all the winds of heaven have free play; but he should let himself down to attract the wanderer, and direct him to the path that leads up to the tower." Many a time, have we sat under this man's preaching, and seen a crowded audience, made up almost entirely of his opponents, agitated like the waves of the sea, when, after following

the preacher with an ecstasy of delight, in the excursions of his imagination, or learning, or philosophy, they found themselves let down upon the platform of evangelical faith.

Tholuck differs from our preachers not less in the plan (we avoid the ominous word *skeleton*) of a discourse, than in the materials. He does not always hunt after propositions on which to rear a pyramid of demonstrations, but frequently gazes upon a passage of Scripture, generally of greater extent than texts with us, like an admirer of a work of art, *views it in its different aspects*, drinks in the sentiment almost to intoxication, and then spreads the contagion of his enthusiasm by his graphic delineations, profound reflections and stirring appeals. He holds at his command criticism, logic and philosophy, though he never introduces them in their stiff scholastic forms, in the manner of Aristotle or Euclid. Instead of dissecting a living form in such a way as to deprive it of life, his genius broods over matter with a vital energy. There is a vernal influence that always attends him. Like Homer, and Shakspeare, and Göthe, he has a kind of primeval philosophy,—the simple truth of nature,—that is above the rules of art. This comparison, however, is not designed to indicate the degree, but simply the kind, of his excellence. We entirely agree with the translators in regard to the faults of his discourses.

The fifth sermon of the specimens contained in this volume, will illustrate what we have said of the structure of his discourses. The subject is the Penitent Thief. Instead of a single sentence, five verses, taking in the whole scene, constitute the text. Most American preachers would take the single point of *late repentance* and discuss it. Tholuck, on the contrary, in his characteristic manner, fixes his contemplative eye on the whole spectacle, and finally gives vent to his feelings by exclaiming, "A narrative full of instruction. We will first inquire what the passage contains, that is fitted to awaken emotions of sublimity; secondly, what, that should excite in us feelings of shame; thirdly, what, that is liable to be perverted; fourthly, what, that may bring relief to the distressed." The first thought of the preacher very naturally related to him, who, in an hour that would seem ill fitted to making great promises, said, "This day

shalt thou be with me in Paradise." The scene is viewed as a symbolical painting :

"Behold! the King of glory on his throne! The crown adorns his brow. His arms are stretched out to embrace the whole world, and place it at his heart. Above the throne shines the regal title,—'This is Jesus the King of the Jews.' At the right and the left are the two great divisions of the world; at the left the unbelieving world, who revile him; at the right, the converted world, who do him homage; and he himself is between them, imparting blessedness to the one, punishment to the other, bending from his throne to open the gates of paradise for the penitent transgressor. Of a truth, there is in this spectacle an inward greatness and sublimity, against which no heart of man can harden itself; and even from the lips of an unbeliever, the instant he turned his mind to the spectacle and considered it, there was forced out the expression of astonishment, 'Truly this was the Son of God!'"

The ideas embraced in the second division are substantially these: What strength of faith must have been necessary in order to believe in Christ at that inauspicious moment! How could such a hope be born at such an hour? How ought we, before such an example of faith, to blush for the unbelief which we still cherish, notwithstanding all the evidence that has been accumulating ever since the resurrection of our Lord!

The liability of this passage to perversion is thus introduced :

"Is it then a fact, I hear you inquire, can the last spasmodic breath, with which the profligate breast is able to utter a 'God have mercy on me,' drown in silence the loud cry of a long, vicious life for vengeance? Is it a fact, that there are no blood-spots so dark, and so great, that they cannot be washed away by that solitary tear, which falls from the glassy eye of a dying sinner? Oh happy me! so let me drink deeper of the intoxicating cup of pleasure;—I had only moistened my lips at its very brim! Oh happy me! Do I then have my portion in *both* worlds; the joys of salvation and of the present life? Let me first pluck the chequered, the sweet poison-flowers in the garden of time, ere I hasten to your spotless lilies, which bloom in the garden of your eternity!

"Look at this! how the brightness of heaven, which lies over the spectacle that we are contemplating, is changed into the yellow reflection of hell, for our blinded, diseased eyes!"

At the close comes in the celebrated passage "*it is too late*," with the touching contrast, "Sinner, while thou standest on this side the grave, it is never too late; to-day, if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts."

"Whether the voice of thy God will come to thee again thou knowest not; but whatever nights of darkness or mountains of sin may lie behind thee, to-day, he says, *it is not too late.*"

But Tholuck is only one of the contributors to this interesting volume; we must, therefore, pass on. The next writer, from whom copious selections have been made, is Rückert, known chiefly as a critic and interpreter of the New Testament. We have before us two articles from him, the one on the Gifts of Prophecy and of Speaking with Tongues; the other, the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead, a commentary on the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. We should have much to say respecting this commentator's peculiar character and attitude, as an interpreter, were it not that his translator has performed the task far better than we could hope to do it. For those whose minds have been puzzled by the views of Neander, Billroth, Olshausen and Bleek on Speaking with Tongues, the article of Rückert on the same subject, will furnish, in part at least, a welcome relief. As to Billroth, he once said in our hearing, he did not understand the subject at all, but, as a commentator, he must say something, and he did the best he could. The current theory in Germany is that of Neander, given briefly on page 87. With this, Winer substantially agrees. The various modifications of this theory, by Tholuck, Olshausen, Billroth, Bleek, and others, relate to the *character* of the (unintelligible) words which were uttered in an ecstatic state. Tholuck is perhaps the most original. He supposes that they who spoke with tongues spoke in the primitive language; and that the gift had a symbolical import, intimating that the spiritual dispensation of Christ, when it shall become universal, will remove the curse of the confusion of tongues, and that the human race will again speak one and the same language! Rückert, as though he had been born and educated in Scotland, is perfectly free from this misty German omniscience, and for this reason has a strong claim on our sympathy.

The same clear, common-sense, and independent views characterize his comment on the fifteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians. One of these views has struck us as particularly just; and that is, that the apostle

does not reason with the logic of metaphysics to compel the assent of an opponent, but with that of oratorical impression, intended as much for the heart as for the intellect. A consequence that would cast an impenetrable gloom over the prospect of the believer, while it would be no argument to convince an infidel of the doctrine of the resurrection, would startle those with whom Paul had to do, and so fill their hearts with anguish as to make them shrink back from the sentiments which they had incautiously avowed, and would thus effectually answer his purpose.

The nature of these two pieces by Rückert is such, that it is impossible to gain any adequate idea of them by extracts. They must be viewed as a whole, in order to be properly estimated. Our general impressions of Rückert, as a biblical critic, can be stated in a few words. His intellectual powers are strong; his perceptions uncommonly clear; and his reasoning acute. His judgment is independent, but by no means sure. He is well versed in philology, and yet often errs in judgment when he comes to the final decision. His views of interpretation are nearly right in their general character, but they sometimes become ultra. His adherence to his principles, and recklessness of consequences, would be good, if those principles were perfectly correct, and were always rightly applied. We commend to the reader's particular attention note A, by the translator, page 293.

What lover of the classics, or of philosophy, and literature, will not feel a pleasure in noticing, as the title of one part of the volume before us, the *Life of Plato*, by W. G. Tennemann? "But it requires so many pages," some one will say, "to state and weigh all the evidence for and against a single unimportant incident in the life of the philosopher, that it becomes tedious." Gentle reader, you have not a spark of antiquarian enthusiasm. What can be uninteresting that relates to Plato, the father of the whole race of philosophical æronauts, or to Grecian life and manners at a period so universally enchanting in its historical recollections?

As it is intimated "that another volume is in the course of translation, which will be entirely devoted to Plato and Aristotle," we shall defer our remarks upon the biography of Plato till a future occasion.

It only remains for us to notice the "Sinless Character of Jesus," by Dr. C. Ullmann.

We regard this as an uncommonly valuable article, deserving the careful study of every Christian minister. We may safely say, no American, nor Englishman, could have produced such an essay. It bears the stamp of the German mind and German scholarship in their highest excellences. We believe that this treatise, philosophically digested, would, engrafted upon our views, prove a vigorous scion, giving a new and fresh growth to what is almost withered among us. It would lead us out of our beaten path, and conduct us into others, which, though, in themselves, neither better nor worse, would multiply our points of observation, and thus fill us with larger conceptions of the vast scale on which moral truth can be viewed from such a centre as the character of Christ. Though the production was designed expressly for the Germans, and has already wrought powerfully upon them in elevating their views of Christ's character, it is capable of effecting, in another way, very much good for us. Its beneficial results would not consist so much in the adoption of the doctrines advocated, as in the free scope which it might suggest to our minds in contemplating the nature and bearings of Christianity.

It has become the mode with many of our theologians, to make the character of Christ, as an infallible Teacher, the connecting link between history and the inspiration of the Scriptures. Christianity is first examined and established as a mere matter of history. Whether the Scriptures be inspired or not, the gospel account of Christianity is substantially true, as a part of the world's history. The New Testament, regarded as an ordinary uninspired book, and other notices of the origin of our religion, prove, historically, that Christ was an incomparable and infallible teacher. This divine Teacher promised the apostles supernatural aid, so that, in their apostolical office, they would be unerring guides of the church. Both Christ and these apostles testify to the inspiration of the Old Testament, and the latter, as inspired teachers, are either directly or indirectly the authors of the New Testament. Without further remarking upon this method of proof,—for it is only one of many,—we observe that each of the links in the chain of

argument embraces a wide field of investigation, and that several of them belong to different departments of theological science. The sinlessness of Christ, and his perfection in knowledge, made out from mere human testimony, is one of the most difficult and important points in the series. This is nowhere done with more clearness and power than in the treatise before us. In the very commencement, the writer shows the superior order of his mind, and gives ample proof that he well understands the nature of his undertaking :

“In modern times, it has become more and more obvious, how incalculably important for the proof of historical Christianity, is a clear and positive knowledge of the inward religious character of its Founder. The sum of the spiritual life of Jesus is the central point of the whole Christian system. From this all rays of light, and all operations of moral power proceed; and to it all must be traced back, so long as Christianity shall have, on the one hand, a sure historical basis, and on the other, an inward moral excellence. The apostles, indeed, do not represent the superior purity of Christ’s religious character, and the superior elevation of his whole soul, as the only reason why he appeared to them so peculiarly entitled to adoration. They formed their conception of him (as they might do with good reason, and certainly without unfair accommodation), by viewing his character more historically. They were convinced of his Messiahship, not only by the loftiness and divinity of his whole spiritual appearance, but especially by the miracles that were wrought by him and upon him, and by the agreement of his acts and destination with the prophecies of the Old Testament. Still, from every thing which they have left us, it is very evident that they had an additional reason for believing in the Messiahship of Jesus. This reason was, that his words were those of eternal life, and his acts were a spiritual exhibition of something truly divine. The apostles would not have acknowledged him to be the Saviour, had he not stood before their minds in all the fulness of spiritual dignity. Without the unweakened influence of his inward character upon their moral and religious consciousness, they could not be firmly convinced that he was the pure image of the invisible God by the most astonishing perfection of his power. It was only because he approved himself to them as a living representation of the divine love, truth and rectitude, that they were able to discover in the extraordinary effects which he produced, evidences of a peculiar connection with the Deity.”

Few of our own theologians are so sound and philosophical in defining sin as this writer is, in the following passage :

“If, in the ensuing treatise, we take as a basis, that definition of sin which is both truly biblical and also generally recognized in the

theological dialect, and if, accordingly, we define sin to be the deviation of a free nature from the moral law of God; the disagreement of the moral life, that is, the intentions, the general aim of the will, or a single act of the will, and the outward deeds, with the divine law; we must then assign for the first meaning of the word sinlessness, nothing more than the absence of such a disagreement, the non-existence of a contradiction between the individual free-will and the will of God, which latter includes the universal law. But we cannot stop with this mere negative definition of innocency. As sinlessness is an idea applicable only to beings, who are so constituted that they must act morally, and who cannot even omit moral action without violating law in the very omission, the idea must necessarily refer to something positive, to the performance of something good. As he who is to be sinless, cannot be so without willing and doing something, neither can he be so without willing and doing what is perfectly good. Innocence always involves a positive agreement with the divine will. A free and rational nature, which is without sin, is also necessarily holy; and when we describe Jesus as sinless, we are not to separate from him pure goodness and holiness, but we characterize him as both destitute of sin and positively good."

There are few subjects on which there has been more fruitless controversy than on the ability or inability of Christ to sin. Contemplated in his divine nature alone, he cannot be regarded, in any sense, as capable of sin. Viewed in his human nature alone, he cannot be conceived of, as a created *moral* being, without *some kind* of ability to sin. But where two directly opposite things are affirmed of his separate natures, what must we affirm of his whole person uniting the two natures? Many of our readers will be curious to know how Ullmann disposes of this subject. His words are:

"We by no means, however, understand by the term sinlessness an absolute impossibility of sinning. Not the non *posse* peccare, but only the *posse non* peccare, and the non *peccasse* should be attributed to Jesus. Only of God himself, in his everlasting and absolute holiness, can the perfect impossibility of sinning be predicated. Whenever we attribute, in a proper manner, and in the sense of Scripture, all the moral elements of man to Jesus, we are not to disjoin from them that freedom, which is the power of choosing between good and evil; and for this very reason we are to admit it as conceivable, that he might at some time have been influenced to a departure from the will of God. Unless this be supposed, the history of the temptation, however it may be explained, would have no significancy; and the expression in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "he was tempted in all points as we," would be without meaning. Where there is an absolute elevation above the possibility of sin, as with God, or where there is altogether wanting a conscience to

distinguish good and evil, and a susceptibility for the one or the other, as with irrational natures ; in all such beings a moral temptation is impossible. But where there is a conscience to determine right and wrong, and where there is no absolute necessity of doing either the one or the other, as is the case with free human beings ; there a susceptibility to temptation exists, and with it, a possibility of the actual commission of sin. As Jesus was a complete man, this susceptibility and this possibility must be supposed to co-exist in him. Did they not thus co-exist, he would cease to be an example of perfect human morality. At the same time, his holiness would be not the result of freedom, but, as we must think the holiness of God to be, the result exclusively of the inner unchangeable necessity of his nature. And though, when we contemplate Jesus at the height of his perfection, we find in him freedom in the highest sense of the word ; that is, a pure, perfect and uniformly triumphant desire of good ; still, this higher development of freedom could originate only from that lower stage of it, at which the power of free-will appears more evidently to be the simple power of choosing between good and evil. The idea of sinlessness presupposes merely, that the development which Jesus made of human morality, went on of itself, without any check or cessation of his freedom to choose between good and evil.

"In my opinion, this is the view to be taken, when we examine the character of Jesus, simply as a human character. If, on the other hand, we reflect from a higher position upon the plan of God ; a plan which has been in process of preparation for thousands of years, and is destined to operate for thousands of years to come, and which passed into fulfilment through Jesus Christ, then the thought seems truly a most fearful one, that Christ could, as a matter of fact, have sinned. Humanly speaking, that plan of God would have been frustrated, if Christ had committed a single transgression ; and the only light, that was perfectly clear in the whole history of man, would have been put out. In this relation, therefore, there seems to be a still higher necessity in the moral government of the world, that Christ should not have actually sinned. And if, moreover, we reflect that a divine principle lived and operated in Jesus, in natural and constant unison with the human part of his nature, we shall see, that by this principle also, he would be secured against the actual commission of iniquity. Now I by no means disown the conviction, but rather profess it with joy, in company with the apostles and with the whole Christian church ; the conviction, that Jesus is the Christ, the son of the living God ; that the whole fulness of the Deity actually dwelt in him, that God was in him, and was reconciling the world to himself. This conviction is, to be sure, directly connected with the certainty, that Christ was free from transgression, and holy, as the God whose nature he exhibited to man, by word and deed, by life and death. But in the following treatise, we are, with propriety, forbidden to reason from the principles of a Christian belief already formed ; for this is not designed to be a *dogmatic* development of the doctrine of the sinlessness of Jesus, but rather to be an *apologetic* view, and is thus designed to consult more particularly the wants of those

readers, who are not yet convinced of several fundamental principles of Christianity, nor even of the truth and divinity of the whole Christian system."

But we must break away from this interesting book, omitting many thoughts which crowd upon us, and passing over some parts of the volume, which have an equal, though different kind of interest.

EDITOR.

ARTICLE IV.

BUNYAN AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS.

1. *A Life of John Bunyan.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL. D., Poet Laureate, &c., &c., &c. New York. Harper & Brothers.
2. *The Life, Times, and Characteristics of John Bunyan, Author of the Pilgrim's Progress.* By ROBERT PHILIP, of Maberly Chapel; Author of the Life and Times of Whitefield, the Experimental Guide, &c. 12mo. pp. 498. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1839.

In this era of book-making, it is by no means wonderful that the teeming press and the racked minds of authors, thirsting for literary distinction, should lay hold of an object so richly fraught with the elements of enduring interest as the character and achievements of Bunyan. He has been universally regarded, for several generations, as a most extraordinary man; and the high distinction, so generally and so justly awarded to him, seems little in danger of being diminished by the lapse of years. His reputation is not a river's bank, likely to be undermined by the attrition of the forceful current, and then swept away; but rather like the noble stream itself, which throws out a wider and higher alluvion the longer it flows. There is not a little of moral grandeur in viewing such a character, and taking into regard the mighty influence it has already exerted, and to which, in coming time, it seems destined. That man is not blessed with

any enviable amount of sensibility, who can call up for meditation such a theme as Bunyan,—think what he *was* in natural depravity and degradation, what he *became* by the power of distinguishing grace, and what that grace has enabled him to *perform* by his incomparable allegories,—without unusual emotions of moral interest and admiration. If it be enthusiasm to be greatly moved by such a spectacle, we at once plead guilty. Rather,—should we not say?—the nature which remains impassive under the influence of such appliances, is not the common nature implanted in the heirs of heaven. We are as far, in spirit and practice, from man-worship as any of our readers; but in a case like this, when, in Bunyan's expressive phrase, "Grace abounding to the chief of sinners," shines so resplendent, and where that same grace made one of the most ignorant and brutish of the children of men the channel of communication for blessings so various, transcendent and enduring for the welfare of our race, it seems a perversion and excess of scrupulosity to withhold our love, and gratitude, and praise, unto him who thus proved himself "able to do abundantly above all that we are able to think." To him we would give all the glory, while tracing this wondrous specimen of his workmanship.

Of this unequalled man, Mr. Philip is the latest biographer. And we cannot but greatly marvel at that kind of assumption which should have produced the first sentence of the preface which he has attached to his work. It is the following: "Foreigners have long wondered, that a century and a half should have passed away without producing a Life of Bunyan." Indeed! the intelligent reader will respond; they must be *foreigners* in every sense, and exiles too, not merely from English literature, but from that of continental Europe, if they can wonder after this fashion. Besides the extended, graphic and uncommonly minute autobiography of Bunyan, which was completed by another hand, so as to cover the later years of his life and his dying hours, together with a faithful summing up or brief estimate of his character (from which Mr. Philip has drawn by far the most interesting part of his volume), he seems to be acquainted with, at least, the following: A biography of Bunyan, in the British museum, by a clerical friend of Bunyan

(supposed by Mr. Philip, on rather slender evidence, we think, to have been the same who once sneeringly said he would hear the tinker prate), a graduate of the university of Cambridge, and an officiating minister in the established church, who has evinced uncommon tact and talent, faithfulness and candor, both in the outlines, and the filling up of the picture of his noble subject; and from whom, by the way, Mr. Philip might learn a wholesome lesson of self-forgetfulness, while absorbed in the contemplation of a theme so worthy of his own and his reader's undivided regards.

Dr. Thomas Scott, not altogether unknown in the world, has, also, attempted a life of Bunyan. True, his style is not the most attractive, and his sober and plodding step does not march well with a life like this. Scott and Bunyan were both eminently good and holy men; we doubt not they are both in heaven, and sing the same new song in blessed, delightful harmony. But when they were on the earth they were perfect antipodes. They marched under the same banner, indeed they had sworn allegiance to the same Sovereign; they labored indefatigably for the extension of the same kingdom, and either of them would willingly have laid down his life to advance the declarative glory of their common Lord, or save a soul for which he died. But in all things else they were totally unlike. Scott would patiently delve in the deep mine of God's truth, far beneath the surface where the sun shines and the dew falls; while Bunyan, with a quick but sure eye, would discriminate the shining ore amid washed pebbles or accumulating sands. Scott was like a civil engineer: he could carry an embankment through a morass, or tunnel a mountain, so as to secure a dead level track for himself and others coming after him. Bunyan loved the bounding billow, the freedom and the vicissitudes of those who navigate the wide ocean. Had he lived in our day, he would have ridden alone on his ambling steed, or have travelled from Bedford to London on foot, so that he might turn aside to the hedge and hold communion with its feathered songsters, rather than be cooped up in the car of a railroad, or travel through the country inside of a night-coach. Both loved God's truth with their whole hearts; and confided in it alone for the victory they were laboring to secure;

but the one forged that truth into massive battle-axes, while the other gave it the form of winged darts. The one would always contrive how he should build a fort against the enemy; the other beat up his quarters with flying guerillas. The one would freight a heavy Dutch wagon with provisions and various useful implements; the other, like his own matchless Pilgrim, has only his staff and his "roll." It was not, therefore, in the nature of things, that such a man as Scott, should write a popular life of Bunyan; and yet, for a very numerous class of readers, his biography will be more useful than those of his successors.

Mr. Ivimey, the historian of the English Baptists, and the late biographer of Milton, has given us, also, a life of Bunyan. In some respects he had an advantage over his fellow-laborers in this field. He was a Baptist, and felt that sympathy with his persecuted brother, which was likely to beget in him a lively solicitude to wipe away from his fair fame the aspersions of his calumniators. He has done Bunyan simple and even-handed justice, where some other biographers could not, or did not, appreciate the worthiness of his motives, or the dignity and truth of his principles. And though it may be admitted, that Mr. Ivimey is not just the man to do ample credit to such an undertaking, since neither his mental endowments, nor his learning would have prompted his selection from the distinguished circle of English Baptists, for this purpose; still, by preserving unmutilated Bunyan's own account of himself, he has given us an invaluable book. Of the lives of Bunyan by Monsieur Suard, and Mr. St. John, we need give no very particular notice, as they are not much known, or needed, by our readers: The London Eclectic Review says of the latter, that "Mr. St. John's sketch of the life and writings of Bunyan, adds greatly to the value of the edition to which it is prefixed, though it fails to do full justice to the spiritual significance of the allegory;" of which judgment, we do not hesitate to say, that the latter clause is more to be depended on than the former.

Mr. Conder, a writer of very respectable talents, has, also, presented to the world what he regards as a faithful exhibition of the great allegorist. As a somewhat distinguished poet, a veteran editor, and an author of

extensive reputation, he is well known. His *Modern Traveller*, and his recent elaborate work, entitled, "An Analytical and Comparative View of all Religions now extant among Mankind," have given him deserved celebrity. We fully coincide in the opinion of the able editor of the *London Congregational Magazine*, that "Mr. Conder's productions will always be highly appreciated by those who prefer truth to finery, and noble conceptions to any imposing external array in which they may be dressed." His *Life of Bunyan* is one of his best and most satisfactory efforts. That heavenly-minded Christian poet, James Montgomery, has also given us, if not a professed biography, yet an admirable critique on Bunyan, to which Mr. Philip is obviously indebted, and which might do something towards redeeming our literature from that *wonder of foreigners*, with which the pastor of Maberly Chapel affects to feel so lively a sympathy.

There remains to be noticed in this connection the first of the works whose titles stand at the head of this article. The *Life of Bunyan*, by Dr. Southey, though recently republished in this country, has been nearly half a score of years before the public, in a variety of forms of the English editions. And although the first announcement of his purpose to engage in such an enterprise was rather distasteful to Dissenters, and especially to Baptists, some of whom thought it unreasonable to expect a fair view of this subject of church persecution, from the pensioned apologist and advocate of the ecclesiastical tyranny of England, with all its early and late abominations, still we think the Laureate has, in this case, disappointed the fears of those who most earnestly deprecated his undertaking. He has done ampler justice to the genius of Bunyan than most of his predecessors; and much more than justice to the purity and almost blamelessness,—as he would represent it,—of Bunyan's character before his conversion. Of course, his high church notions led him to make such a representation, and also to disregard the abundant evidence of that spiritual renovation, which so entirely changed, in this case, both the outer and the inner man. It is truly mournful to witness the bold attempts of Southey to set aside the most unquestionable testimony of Bunyan's established habits, his vileness and thorough ungodliness, for the sake of

accounting for the *reform*, as he regards it, which was manifest in Bunyan, without involving the peculiar and omnipotent energies of that Spirit by which sinful men are "*created* in Christ Jesus." Of his disposition to gloss over with honeyed words the real and wicked persecutions, by the unholy combination of church and state, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. With these exceptions (we are grieved that they are faults of such magnitude), the *Life* by Southey is, indeed, an admirable production. There is a directness, simplicity and beauty in its conception and execution, and a wisdom of compression and selection, which can scarce fail to make it a favorite with the public, and will secure to it the general approbation of Bunyan's admirers. They will be likely to read it, with pleasure and profit, when some more pretending exhibitions shall have figured their brief day upon the stage and been forgotten.

The number of "*Lives of Bunyan*" might easily be multiplied an hundred fold. We have here noticed only those which there is abundant evidence were in the hands of Mr. Philip when he made the singular discovery of the "*wonder of foreigners*" abovementioned. And if our readers are not fully satisfied that such an announcement, in the first page of his book, betokens a want of becoming modesty, we very much err in judgment. Indeed, we have seldom seen more striking specimens of self-complacency and extravagant assumption in any author, than are furnished in his preface to the "*Life and Times of Whitefield*," and in this volume. He begins the former with, "*The public have long wondered and regretted that there was no good life of Whitefield.*" He closes the same preface with the prediction for his work that "*it will be read, and read again, for it is entirely in Whitefield's own spirit.*"

These things are noted more in sorrow than captiousness. Some of the former writings of this author had given us high and almost unmingled pleasure; and for the sake of that "*circle of readers on both sides of the Atlantic, large enough for his ambition*," as his vanity proclaims them, we entreat him to remember that "*before honor is humility.*" His work, notwithstanding these blemishes, which are interwoven more or less through every part, has many redeeming excellences. It is writ-

ten with the spirit of fraternal and almost enamored interest in Bunyan, which is a kind of guarantee of his willingness to see every event and every act in the life of his distinguished subject, in a fair light. He has very freely mingled his own opinions and reasonings, sometimes unnecessarily, and rather to the injury than to the advantage of the main subject he was prosecuting. But many even of these extraneous remarks and discussions are by no means void of intrinsic interest; and had they been met with in a more fitting connection, would have commanded our cordial approval. The style of the work is lively, and piquant, full to repletion of that racy, breezy freshness, which is sure to keep the reader's attention awake. Though it has not the finished correctness to which one who writes for immortality ought to aspire, yet, it shows that conscious communion with his readers, which is adapted to conciliate their hearty good-will. A cool critic would find work enough for animadversion in the free and jumbled use of mixed metaphors, or even the discordant, ill-assorted use of epithets and attributes, such as "a rainbow dispersing a cloud," and, "enshrining this world with the thunders of the next."

A more serious objection might be raised to numerous instances of flippant and unsustained conclusions, which seem to have been jumped at, because they were fancied. Thus, where Mr. Philip seems positive that Bunyan drew the picture of his own boyhood in the early life of his *BADMAN*; because the passage of that early life, which he quotes, "is told with an ease and a point, which experience alone could have reached." Does not the author see to what wild lengths this reason, if carried out, would inevitably lead? It is, in this instance, somewhat worse than unfounded assumption; it is directly against evidence. See the reference to the case of Harry S., page 57. Bunyan says of this individual, "I make mention of him to my shame. That young man was my play-fellow when I was solacing myself in my sins. Young Badman was as like him as an egg is like an egg; and, as far as I could ever gather, he lived and died as Mr. Badman did." We need not multiply such instances of false logic and careless judgment; but will remark once for all, that Mr. Philip,—after noticing in his preface what he there seems to think rather a perversion, a disposi-

tion in the public to regard Bunyan's Pilgrim as Bunyan himself, and, hence, to be content to let his real life remain uninvestigated and unchronicled,—throughout his volume is found putting his own ingenuity and conjectures to the rack, to find, or fancy coincidences, between the allegory and biography. This, if mere theory, is loose and unsatisfactory enough: because, genius like Bunyan's can create and combine; can, at least, observe, as well as feel and remember; but when, as here, it is put forth as fact, instead of hypothesis, it is even more dangerous and unjust.

As a single illustration of flippancy, we notice the author's remarks on baptism:

“But to return to Bunyan's own baptism. No one, surely, can regret that he was baptized by immersion! That was just the mode calculated to impress him,—practised as it usually was then in rivers. He felt the sublimity of the whole scene at the Ouse, as well as its solemnity. Gifford's eye may have realized nothing on the occasion but the meaning of the ordinance; but Bunyan saw Jordan in the *lilyed* Ouse, and John the Baptist in the holy minister, and almost the dove in the passing birds; whilst the sun-struck waters flashed around and over him, as if the Shekinah had descended upon them. For let it not be thought that he was *indifferent* about his baptism; he *loved* immersion. The fact is,—and I mention it with more than complacency,—he always looked back upon this voluntary act of obedience to Christ just as those do upon parental dedication, who, like myself, have the high and hallowed consciousness, that we could not, by any personal submission to baptism now, exceed, in faith or devotion, the intense solicitude of a holy mother, or the solemn faith of a godly father, who, with united hands and hearts, baptized us into the “one body” of the church of their “God and our God.” Bunyan could not look back upon his baptism in infancy (if he was baptized then?) with either our emotions or convictions. We think, therefore, that he did wisely in being re-baptized. I think he did right in preferring immersion to sprinkling; not, however, that I believe immersion to be right, or sprinkling wrong, according to any scriptural *rule*; for there is none; but because the former suited his temperament best, inasmuch as it gave him most to do, and thus, most to think of and feel. For that is the best mode of baptism to any man, which most absorbs his own mind with its meaning and design; now that no man can tell another (for God has not told us), what was done by John and the apostles in the *interval* between going down into the water and coming up from the water. Neither the going down nor the coming up was baptism. That was something *intermediate* and performed by the minister. What, I know not. I respect, therefore, equally, the man who thinks it was immersion and the man who thinks it was sprinkling; because, as they are equally ignorant of the form,

they may be equally sincere. Let it not be said that this is either levity or laxness. I revere baptism, just as I do the Lord's Supper, in any form. It is not in levity nor in laxness, that some churches *sit* and others *kneel* at the sacrament; and yet both postures are a departure from the original position; but neither a departure from the spirit of commemoration."

Now, not to expose the pretensions to a *consciousness* so high, as to take in what was felt by a father or mother, during his own unconscious infancy, there is enough in some other statements here made to excite our curiosity. In the first place, according to this author, immersion is right, not because God has commanded it, or the Bible revealed it, but because it suits a man's temperament, gives him most to do, to think of, to feel. Here then is a "*rule*," though the Bible gives none.

This rule, we suppose, is definite. If the Shaker should go down into the water, and *the something intermediate*, there performed, should be "his antic dance," that would fall within the prescribed rule, because it would give him most to do, to think of, to feel. The quiet Quaker would go down into the water, and "wait in expressive silence of the inner man," for the same purpose; and the ranting, noisy enthusiast, would go down into the water and "clap his hands and shout," and each would thus, according to his temperament, fulfil the rule.

We gladly turn away from the review of Bunyan's biographers, to warm our hearts by the contemplation of the man himself. Let us look at him as a convert to Christ,—a self-instructed and heaven-instructed minister of the gospel,—a persecuted prisoner,—an eminent preacher, and a still more eminent writer of instructive and useful books. We choose to dwell on these points, rather than to give, in full, the narrative of the consecutive events of his life, because this narrative is familiar to the public, by the wide diffusion of that kind of information concerning him, which in many, probably in most of the editions of his immortal Pilgrim, is preserved, in the shape of memoirs or extracts from his own biography.

BUNYAN'S CONVERSION.

No one can get an adequate view of his conversion to Christ, without taking into the account his previous circumstances, habits and character. Born at Elstow, a

village near Bedford, in 1628, of a family that ranked among the meanest and most despised in all the land, and bred to his father's humble occupation of a travelling tinker, and enjoying so slight opportunities for schooling, that he soon forgot all he had learned: he made rapid proficiency in almost every species of vice and heaven-daring impiety. For a short time he was a soldier in the army which the civil war called forth, and, as, in his own words, he could not only sin with delight and ease, but also took pleasure in the vileness of his companions, the morals of the camp must have been congenial to his tastes. Soon after leaving the army, and probably before he was twenty years of age, by the advice of some of the few friends who took an interest in his welfare, he was married, though in a state of poverty so abject, that besides the simple tools of his craft, he had nothing, not even a dish or a spoon. He found himself constrained to marry one without any fortune but two or three books, left her by a pious parent. Here we reach the period, and the instrument by which the first favorable impression seems to have been made upon his mind. Bunyan himself says, "My mercy was to light upon a wife whose father was counted godly. She would be often telling me what a godly man her father was, and how he would correct and reprove vice, both in his house and among his neighbors; and what a strict and holy life he lived in his days, both in words and deeds."

She went the right way to work, in trying to reform her husband, evincing that kind of tact for which the wisest and best of her sex are so renowned. She frequently enticed and persuaded him, as his earliest biographer says, to read the books left her by her father, and to apply them to himself. These books, with what she related concerning her father's holy life, though they did not reach his heart to awaken it to a full sense of his sinfulness, yet served to beget within him some desire to reform his vicious life, and to fall in very eagerly with the religion of the times. To her, therefore, may be traced, under God, his first steps in the path of duty. Harkening to her voice, he recovered the ability to read, which, by neglect, he had almost utterly lost. From this time, he was a formal and self-righteous attendant on the preaching of the established church. One day, the min-

ister preached against Sabbath-breaking, and as this was one of his sins, he thought and believed the sermon had been made on purpose to show him his evil doing. It made him feel, what he had never felt before,—*guilty* before God. We insert Southey's description of what followed. "Home he went with a great burden upon his spirit; but dinner removed that burden; his animal spirits recovered from their depression, he shook the sermon out of his mind, and away he went, with great delight, to his old sports. Dinner had for a time prevailed over the morning's sermon: but it was only for a time; the dinner sat easy upon him, the sermon did not; and in the midst of a game of cat, as he was about to strike the cat from the hole, it seemed to him as if a voice from heaven suddenly darted into his soul and said, Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven?—or have thy sins and go to hell? 'At this,' he continued, 'I was put to an exceeding maze; wherefore leaving my cat on the ground, I looked up to heaven, and was as if I had, with the eyes of my understanding, seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me, as being very hotly displeased with me, and as if he did threaten me with some grievous punishment for these and other ungodly practices.'" Despair, under the vivid impression that it was now too late for him to turn from his sins, seems almost immediately to have taken possession of his mind, and he hardened himself to go on and take his fill of sin. This state lasted him little more than a month; it then happened, that as he stood at a neighbor's shop window, cursing and swearing, and playing the madman after his usual manner, the woman of the house heard him, and "though she was (he says) a very loose and ungodly wretch, she told him that he made her tremble to hear him, that he was the ungodliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard in her whole life, and that, by thus doing, he was able to spoil all the youth in the whole town if they but came in his company." The reproof came with more effect than if it had come from a better person: it silenced him, and put him to secret shame, and that too, as he thought, "before the God of heaven;" wherefore he says, "while I stood there, and hanging down my head, I wished with all my heart that I might be a little child again, that my father might learn me to speak without this wicked way of swearing: for,

thought I, I am so accustomed to it, that it is vain for me to think of a reformation." From that hour, however, the reformation of this sin to which he was addicted, began. Even to his own wonder, it took place, and he, who, till then, had not known how to speak, "unless he put an oath before and another behind, to make his words have authority," discovered that he could speak better and more pleasantly without such expletives, than he had ever done before.

Soon afterward he fell in company with a poor man, who talked to him concerning religion and the Scriptures, in a manner which took his attention and sent him to his Bible. He began to take great pleasure in reading it, especially the historical parts; "the Epistles," he says, "he could not away with, being as yet ignorant both of the corruption of our nature and of the want and worth of Christ to save us." And this produced such a change in his whole deportment, that his neighbors took him to be a new man, and were "amazed at his conversion from prodigious profaneness" to a moral and religious life. "They began to speak well of him, both to his face and behind his back," and he was well pleased at having obtained, and, as he thought, deserved, their good opinion. And yet he says, "I was nothing but a poor painted hypocrite,—I did all I did either to be seen of, or to be well spoken of, by men,—I knew not Christ, nor grace, nor faith, nor hope; and, as I have well seen since, had I then died, my state had been most fearful."

But one day, when he was tinkering in the streets of Bedford, he overheard three or four poor women, who, as they sat at the door in the sunshine, were conversing about their own spiritual state. He was himself "a brisk talker in matters of religion," but these persons were, in their discourse, "far above his reach." "Their talk was about a new birth,—how they were convinced of their miserable state by nature,—how God had visited their souls with his love in the Lord Jesus,—with what words and promises they had been refreshed and supported against the temptations of the devil,"—how they had been afflicted under the assaults of the enemy, and how they had been borne up; and of their own wretchedness of heart, and of their unbelief, and the insufficiency of their own righteousness. "Methought," says Bunyan,

"they spake as if joy did make them speak. They spake such pleasantness of scripture language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me, as if they had found a new world, and as if they were people that dwelt alone and were not to be reckoned among their neighbors." He felt his own heart shake as he heard them; and when he turned away, and went about his own employment again, their talk went with him; for he had heard enough to convince him that he "wanted the true tokens of a truly godly man," and to convince him, also, of the blessed condition of him that was one indeed. He made it his business, therefore, frequently to seek the conversation of these women. They were members of a small Baptist congregation, which a Kentish man, John Gifford by name, had formed at Bedford. By these pious, humble disciples, he was led to an acquaintance with their pastor. By his frequent intercourse and conversation with them he presently found two things within him, at which he marvelled. To use his own words, "the one was a very great softness and tenderness of heart, which caused me to fall under the conviction of what, by Scripture, they asserted; and the other was a great bending in my mind to a continual meditating on it, and on all other good things, which at any time I heard or read of."

"By these things, my mind was now so turned, that it lay like a horse-leech at the vein; still crying out, 'Give, Give,' and was so fixed on eternity and on the things of the kingdom of heaven (that is, so far as I *knew*, though as yet I knew God but little), that neither pleasures, nor profits, nor persuasions, nor threats, could *loose* it, or make it let go its hold. And though I speak it with shame, yet it is in very deed a certain truth, that it would have been as difficult for me to have taken my mind *from* heaven to earth, as I have found it often since, to get it again from earth to heaven."

This may be regarded as the opening dawn of his regenerate life, and though he had conflicts and trials afterward,—some of them very peculiar and distressing,—yet from this period he gave decided indications of being led by the Spirit of God.

Who can review the steps of this process, without adoring gratitude and praise for that grace which plucked

him as a brand from the burning, and made him a trophy of its riches and power?

What encouragement is here given to earnest, affectionate, discreet solicitude on the part of companions and friends, even to those who seem far from righteousness! How must Mrs. Bunyan have felt, as she saw this wild and raving man sitting at Jesus' feet, and at her side, too, clothed with humility and holy love!

The example of the poor women of the Bedford church, who spoke of their religious enjoyments in the hearing of this profane scoffer, with such salutary effect, throws a flood of light upon that emphatic testimony of our Lord, addressed to his disciples, *Ye are the salt of the earth!* How loudly it says to all who love the Saviour, "*Go and do likewise!*"

If any poor sinner, ready to despair, hears from heaven, or from any other quarter, the startling inquiry, "*Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to heaven, or have thy sins and go to hell?*"—let him not wickedly reply, *It is too late*; but while he remembers the divine grace which welcomed Bunyan, steeped as he was in sin, let him come unto him who will in no wise cast out, and be saved with his everlasting salvation.

BUNYAN'S ENTERING THE MINISTRY.

We now come to regard Bunyan as a preacher of the gospel. There are several instructive lessons, we think, growing out of the elevation of such a man to the official dignity of a minister of Christ. In the first place, it shows the advantage of our free, and social, and equal system of church order. Bunyan's connection with the Baptists, as Mr. Southey remarks, "*was eventually most beneficial to him; had it not been for the encouragement which he received from them, he might have lived and died a tinker; for even when he cast off, like a slough, the coarse habits of his early life, his latent powers could never, without some such encouragement and impulse, have broken through the thick ignorance with which they were incrustated.*"

Bunyan explains the manner in which he was introduced to his earliest exercises in public speaking. "*Some,*" he says, "*of the most able among the saints with us,—I say, the most able for judgment and holiness*

of life,—as they conceived, did perceive that God had counted me worthy to understand something of his will in his holy and blessed word; and had given me utterance, in some measure to express what I saw to others for edification. Therefore, they desired me, and that with much earnestness, that I would be willing at some times, to take in hand in one of the meetings, to speak a word of exhortation unto them. The which, though, at the first, it did much dash and abash my spirit, yet being still by them desired and entreated, I consented to their request; and did twice, at two several assemblies (but in private), though with much weakness and infirmity, discover my gift amongst them; at which, they not only seemed to be, but did solemnly protest, as in the sight of the great God, they were both affected and comforted, and gave thanks to the Father of mercies for the grace bestowed on me.”

The distinguished success, even of his early attempts, especially in drawing a multitude,—almost all the town coming to hear,—and the humility and self-distrust which he evinced, are particularly worthy of notice. Exercising himself there, as occasion offered, he was encouraged by the approbation with which others heard him; and in no long time, “after some solemn prayer, with fasting, he was more particularly called forth, and appointed to a more ordinary and public preaching, not only to and amongst them that believed, but also to offer the gospel to those who had not yet received the faith thereof.”

The Bedford meeting had at this time its regular minister, whose name was John Burton, so that what Bunyan received was a commission as an evangelist to itinerate in the villages round about; and in this he was so much employed, that when, in the ensuing year, he was nominated for a deacon of the congregation, they declined electing him to that office, on the ground that he was too much engaged to attend to it. Having, in previous training, overcome his first diffidence, he now “felt in his mind a secret pricking forward” to this ministry; not “for desire of vain glory,” for he was even at that time “sorely afflicted” concerning his own eternal state, but because the Scriptures encouraged him, by texts which ran continually in his mind, whereby, “I was made,” he says, “to see, that the Holy Ghost never intended that

men who have gifts and abilities should bury them in the earth, but rather did command and stir up such to the exercise of their gifts, and also did command those that were apt and ready so to do."

When he first began to preach, Bunyan endeavored to work upon his hearers by alarming them; he dealt chiefly in comminations, and dwelt upon the doctrine that the curse of God "lays hold on all men as they come into the world because of sin." "This part of my work," says he, "I fulfilled with great sense: for the terrors of the law, and guilt for my transgressions, lay heavy upon my conscience. I preached what I felt,—what I smartingly did feel,—even that under which my poor soul did groan and tremble to astonishment. Indeed, I have been as one sent to them from the dead. I went myself in chains, to preach to them in chains; and carried that fire in my own conscience that I persuaded them to beware of." Subsequently, and when he was in a happier state of mind, he took a different course, "still preaching what he saw and felt;" he then labored "to hold forth our Lord and Saviour, in all his offices, relations and benefits, unto the world; and to remove those false supports and props on which the world doth lean, and by them fall and perish." Preaching, however, was not his only employment, and though still working at his business for a maintenance, he found time to compose a treatise against the heresies which some of the first Quakers advanced in their overflowing enthusiasm. It seems that they came into some of the meetings which Bunyan attended, to bear testimony against the doctrines which were taught there; and this induced him to write his first work, entitled, "Some Gospel Truths opened according to the Scriptures: or the Divine and Human Nature in Christ Jesus; His coming into the world; His Righteousness, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, Intercession, and Second Coming to Judgment plainly demonstrated and proved." Burton prefixed to this treatise a commendatory epistle, bidding the reader not to be offended because the treasure of the gospel was held forth to him in a poor earthen vessel, by one who had neither the greatness nor the wisdom of this world to commend him. "Having had experience," he says, "with many other saints, of this man's soundness in the faith, of his godly conversation, and his

ability to preach the gospel, not by the human art, but by the Spirit of Christ, and that with much success in the conversion of sinners,—I say, having had experience of this, and judging this book may be profitable to many others, as well as to myself, I thought it my duty, upon this account, to bear witness with my brother to the plain and simple, and yet glorious truths of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

It was not until a considerably later period that he became the pastor of the church in Bedford. Indeed, it was, as Mr. Ivimey justly remarks, a great privilege to him that from the first he belonged to a church where *the day of small things* was not despised, but encouraged; and where his character was duly appreciated in distinction from his circumstances. No sooner were they satisfied that he was *apt to teach*, than they called him to the work of the Lord, with due solemnity, by fasting and prayer, and sent him forth to preach wherever the providence of God should open the way for his labors. Mr. Philip remarks, “that such churches did not admit preachers indiscriminately, although they often called forth uneducated men, of whose talents and piety they had ‘good experience.’ So far were they from countenancing ignorant men, that they subjected their candidates to an ordeal of preaching or expounding before the church, to which the theological examinations of a bishop’s chaplain, apart from the Greek and Hebrew of it, is a gentle probation. I do not mean, of course, that they were questioned or tested by the formula; but that they had to approve themselves sound in the faith and mighty in the Scriptures, to a prayerful and thoughtful assembly of men and women, who made the Bible all in all in religion. Assent to a creed did not satisfy these churches. They judged candidates for the ministry by their gift in prayer, and their power in preaching.”

The next interesting view which his case presents was, his assiduous endeavor to cultivate the gifts which God had bestowed upon him. Though he was eminently taught of the Spirit of the Lord, he never seems to have given way to that perversion which indolence, pride and presumption are always ready to foster,—that reading and study are needless. He had indeed but narrow privileges, but he made the most of them. Few books, beside

the Bible, were within his reach; but he was led to study that *Book of books* with a zeal and carefulness, and even intensity of desire to know its blessed contents, which gave him that admirable facility in its use and application that so strikingly characterizes his writings. Doubtless, if he had lived in our day, he would have laid aside his tools, and gladly availed himself of the advantages of theological instruction, which education societies and individual munificence have so much facilitated. But, in the absence of all these, what a rebuke does his example administer to those who affect to be teachers, though they are unwilling to learn! A quickening impulse, a cheering ray of encouragement, may be derived from the example of Bunyan, by every young brother who, in poverty and depressing ignorance, is panting for the privilege of preaching Christ to the perishing. Think of him, surrounded with a family dependent on his daily toil, so illiterate when first awakened, as to read with great difficulty, and finding no generous patrons, no pecuniary aid from those around him, but left to grapple with all these difficulties single handed; and then look at the result of his patient, persevering endeavors after a knowledge of the things of God. If this view does not constrain the timid and distrustful to cast their fears to the winds, and, with courage, pursue their path, it shows they have a degree of mental imbecility, unworthy of alliance with the ministry of the gospel. We by no means suppose that every ignorant man, who loves Christ and desires to serve his cause effectually, should attempt to preach. Nor do we think that every young preacher, whether rich or poor, learned or ignorant, may reasonably hope to equal the pastor of Bedford. Genius like his is by no means an ordinary endowment. But we have no doubt that hundreds might approximate, very much nearer than they do, to his ministerial excellence, if they would, as faithfully as he did, employ the mind which God has given them, in the persevering and vigorous study of his holy word.

The case of Bunyan, though very strikingly illustrative of the point here insisted on, is by no means singular. The history of our denomination, in this, as well as in the parent country, abounds with shining examples of what men may become by self-culture. The mischief has

often, in such cases, been, that these examples have been wrongfully construed into an argument against learning, instead of impelling those who should profit by them to imitate these successful, though unaided, efforts, to secure knowledge. This topic demands an ampler consideration than can here be given to it.

THE PERSECUTIONS OF BUNYAN.

Bunyan next claims our notice as the subject of persecution. The times when he began to preach, were unsettled; and, during the latter years of the Protectorate of Cromwell, though direct interference with the rights of conscience was not allowed by the head of the government, yet some of its subordinate instruments found means to vex, and threaten, and intimidate. The Baptists came in for a very large share of their opposition. As they had stood aloof,—so may they ever stand!—from religious combinations for secular purposes, it was their hard fortune to be oppressed by each of those parties successively which temporarily gained the ascendancy. They had been persecuted by the established church,—persecuted by the Independents,—and they now were suffering from the Presbyterians. In this, Bunyan was likely to have his full share: and it accordingly appears, that as early as 1657, an indictment was preferred against him, and the church, at their last monthly meeting in that year, resolved to set apart a day for seeking counsel of God what they should do in the matter. His indictment was for preaching at Eaton. The action against him seems for some reason to have been abandoned.

But soon after the restoration of Charles II, namely, in Nov., 1660, as he was about to preach in a small hamlet called Samsell, in Bedfordshire, when he was actually engaged in prayer, before the intended sermon, he was arrested and carried before a magistrate. His examination on this occasion, which has been preserved, shows the perfect blamelessness of his life, and that his adversaries had no evil thing to say of him. They succeeded, however, in committing him to prison, because he would not consent to desist from “instructing the people, counselling them to forsake their sins, and close in with Christ, lest they miserably perish.” His imprisonment in Bedford jail lasted more than twelve years; though

for a part of this time, by the favor which the Lord gave him in the eyes of his keeper, he was shown great indulgence, being permitted to visit the meetings of the church, and sometimes even to go to London. His various examinations, and *trials*,—if such a miserable farce as was then enacted by little and bigoted magistrates and judges can be called trials,—would fill more pages than can be allowed to our whole article; and yet they are very instructive, throwing not a little light upon the spirit of those times, and the degraded and corrupt character of those who professed themselves the king's ministers of justice. They were fit instruments for such a monarch. One delightful exception to this censure is seen in the person of Sir Matthew Hale, whose kindness to Bunyan's wife, when her husband was in prison, and she was seeking redress for the wrongs heaped on him under the guise of law, is as commendable as it was rare. The nobleness of her bearing and the pathos of her appeal, on this occasion, shows that she was no unworthy successor of Bunyan's first wife, and that she had imbibed a large portion of his spirit.

Bunyan was no stoic; and though he endured, with more than Roman firmness, the threats of banishment and hanging, which the minions of an execrable tyranny poured upon him so profusely, yet there were times when human nature quivered and yearned; when the whole soul of the sufferer seemed melted, and poured itself out, not only before God in prayer, but also, in the written record which he has left of those moments of anguish. Take these few lines as a specimen :

" But notwithstanding these helps, I found myself a man encompassed with infirmities; the parting with my wife and poor children hath often been to me in this place, as the pulling the flesh from the bones, and that not only because I am somewhat too fond of these great mercies, but also, because I should have often brought to my mind the many hardships, miseries, and wants that my poor family was like to meet with, should I be taken from them, especially my poor blind child, who lay nearer my heart than all beside. O! the thoughts of the hardship I thought my poor blind one might go under, would break my heart to pieces. Poor child! thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world? Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind should blow upon thee. But yet recalling myself, thought

I, I must venture you all with God, though it goeth to the quick to leave you. O! I saw in this condition I was as a man who was pulling down his house upon the head of his wife and children; yet, thought I, I must do it, I must do it; and now I thought on those *two milch kine that were to carry the ark of God into another country, and to leave their calves behind them.*"

The man who suffered thus for the cause of truth and righteousness, deserves to be had in lasting remembrance: and it is some small consolation, to find here and there one of those allied to that once persecuting church, at whose hands Bunyan suffered so much injustice and foul oppression, who have now sensibility to feel, and justice to admit, and eloquence to describe, that wrong in its true colors. The following specimen will not be thought too long:

"Look into that damp and dreary cell, through the narrow chink which admits a few scanty rays of light, to render visible to the wretched his abode of wo. Behold, by the glimmering of that feeble lamp, a prisoner, *pale and emaciated*, seated on the humid earth, and pursuing his daily task, to earn the morsel which prolongs his existence and confinement together. Near him, reclined in pensive sadness, lies a *blind* daughter, compelled to eat the bread of affliction from the hard earning of an imprisoned father! Paternal affection binds her to his heart, and filial gratitude has long made her the *daily* companion of his captivity. No other solace remains to him save the *mournful one* arising from the occasional visits of five other distressed children, and an affectionate wife, whom pinching want and grief have worn down to the gate of death. More than ten summers' suns have rolled over the stone-roofed mansion of his misery, whose reviving rays have never *once penetrated* his sad abode. 'Seasons return,' but not to *him* returns the cheering light of day, the smiling bloom of spring, or sound of human joy! Unfortunate captive! What is his guilt, what his crimes? Is he a traitor or a parricide? A lewd adulterer or a vile incendiary? No, he is a *Christian sufferer*! Under all his calamities peace reigns in his breast, heavenly hope glistens in his eyes, and patience sits throned on his *pallid* cheek. He is none other than honest John Bunyan, languishing through the *twelfth* year of his imprisonment in Bedford jail, for teaching plain country people the *knowledge* of the Scriptures and the *practice of virtue*! It requires the *energy* of Fox, the *eloquence* of Burke, and the *pathos* of Sheridan, to paint the effect of such a scene on the feelings of humanity. My feeble pen drops from the task, and leaves *sensibility* to endure those sensations of compassion and sorrow, which it fails to describe."—*Parry's Pamphlets on Tests.*

How unlike is this to the flimsy and uncandid attempts of Southey and others to palliate, and almost justify, the

despotic deeds of that persecuting church, whose union with the state has so often proved the bane, the curse of both! Will not every true friend of civil and religious liberty rejoice in those movements of the present day, which foretold the speedy dissolution of that unhallowed union?

If it be asked, why did Bunyan adhere so tenaciously to those abstract rights which his enemies had the power of preventing him from exercising; and, why it would not have been wiser and more prudent to yield to power when he was contending for right; rather than, by adherence to the latter, to incur the smarting inflictions of the former, the answer, which he himself gave, is most conclusive and satisfactory. In one of his examinations, he quotes this weighty saying from Wickliffe, that dawning light of the reformation: "He which leaveth off preaching and hearing of the word of God, for fear of excommunication of men, he is already excommunicated of God, and shall in the day of judgment be counted a traitor to Christ." Besides this, he felt the dignity and sacredness of his position, as one of the first subjects of persecution in that period of fiery trials; and he was anxious that his example should be adapted to the exigency. His own reflection at the very time of his first arrest, when some of the timid friends were half inclined to urge him to escape, will best explain his motives:

"I had shewed myself hearty and courageous in my preaching, and had, blessed be grace, made it my business to encourage others; therefore, thought I, if I should now run and make an escape, it will be of a very ill savor in the country. For what will my weak and newly converted brethren think of it, but that I was not so strong in deed as I was in word? Also, I feared that if I should run now there was a warrant out for me, I might, by so doing, make them afraid to stand, when great words only should be spoken to them. Besides, I thought, that seeing God, of his mercy should choose me to go upon the forlorn hope in this country; that is, to be the first that should be opposed, for the gospel; if I should fly, it might be a discouragement to the whole body that might follow after. And further I thought, the world thereby would take occasion at my cowardliness to have blasphemed the gospel, and to have had some ground to suspect worse of me and my profession than I deserved."

Indeed, no Bible Christians can wonder,—though many follow his steps but poorly,—that one so familiar as he

was with the example and spirit of the early Christians, into whose very nature seemed to be inwrought the noble determination of Peter and his associates, to obey God rather than man at any hazard; and of Paul, who was ready, not only to be bound, but, also, to die for the name of the Lord Jesus,—that such an one should nobly choose to be a suffering witness for the truth, rather than compromise its dignity or evade its claims.

The effect of these persecutions upon Bunyan was eminently salutary; and besides the incidental benefit of this discipline upon his own spirit, the insight which he gained of human nature, in all its varying manifestations, admirably qualified him to develop it, as he has done, in his incomparable allegories. His *Pilgrim's Progress* was composed, as well as conceived, in Bedford jail; and it has been no less truly than quaintly said, that the devil made a great mistake for the interests of his kingdom, when he contrived to shut up the pilgrim in a den, and thus gave him ample opportunity to write his dreams. He cut him off from the opportunity of visiting a few poor villages and preaching in some retired corners of the land; and thus, indirectly made him the favorite and useful instructor of millions of his fellow-men in every language in which Christ is named.

Thus illustriously did God make the wrath of man to praise him, showing how easy it is for him, whose kingdom is over all, to derive tribute from his enemies.

Bunyan was finally released from prison in 1672 or '73, but *not*, we are constrained to believe, by any friendly interposition of Bishop Barlow in his behalf, as has generally been supposed. We think Mr. Ivimey conclusively settles this question against the claims of any episcopal leniency.

BUNYAN'S WRITINGS.

The memorials which remain to us of Bunyan's talents, both as a preacher and an author, are sufficiently extensive, to enable us to form a correct judgment of his talents and acquisitions. No one has ever claimed for him the honor of having become a *learned* man: but that distinction which is not less enviable is surely his,—the undoubted power over minds of all orders and of every age. Mr. Philip, in the last chapter of his book, has gathered

up from every quarter specimens of the superabundant praises which have been lavished on the "genius of Bunyan." If he has not been equally successful in his attempt to analyze his mind and his writings, the failure should not be attributed to the want of an earnest effort, but, in part, to the intrinsic difficulty of the subject, and perhaps, equally, to the ill-adaptedness of his own powers to the successful accomplishment of such a purpose. He thus warmly but not extravagantly testifies:

"The world and the church have done justice, long ago, to the genius of Bunyan. He has obtained already, all the heart-homage which can be paid to an author, and stands in no need either of a vindicator or an eulogist. The monument of his fame has not been built with hands; but, like the typic stone of Daniel, 'it has become a great mountain,' by natural and unaided growth. For, with the exception of *Cowper*, no one has formally aided the triumph of Bunyan. He has had commentators, indeed; so have the Cartoons of Raphael; but both had gained the applause of the world before their beauties were pointed out by a critical wand:—like the sun, they revealed themselves by their own light, and reached their meridian tabernacle by 'horses' of their own 'fire.'—It would be worse than foolish to say, that critics do not think Bunyan *worth* analyzing: perhaps they do not; but the world think him worth reading and quoting; and he has gained, without assistance, both the kind and the degree of homage, which it is the object of criticism to exact for the poets. If it be 'true fame to find his work in every cottage window,' Bunyan has it:—his *Pilgrim's Progress* is an *heir-loom* in every family who read any thing.—

"The grand, distinguishing characteristic between Bunyan and every other writer is, that almost all his admirers were made so whilst but *children*,—no other genius, as yet, has had this fascination,—no other work beside the *Pilgrim* this fame. The works which have immortalized others are, without exception, such as childhood can neither relish nor comprehend. Their chief merit is, that they amply gratify the maturity of intellect required to grasp them; that they come up to, and exceed, the expectations of cultivated and expanded minds; that they fill the arms of ambition to the utmost. But, whilst 'they have depths for the *elephant* to swim in,' they have 'no shallows in which the *lamb* can wade;' whereas, the *Pilgrim* is so constructed as not only to interest minds of every age and order, but the very things, which are '*milk for babes*,' are actually 'strong meat,' to the same persons when they become *men*. What is admired as *history* in childhood, is admired as a *mystery* in youth; what is admired as ingenuity in manhood, is loved as experience in old age. The successive *phases* of our minds are to the materials of the *Pilgrim* what the *reflectors* of the kaleidoscope are to the motley cabinet of atoms,—every revolution varies the figure, but none exhausts our curiosity; the last view is as fascinating as the first. The eye of childhood, and of old age, is equally dazzled and de-

lighted by the same objects. The annals of literature furnish no parallel to this fact.—The books which please us in childhood are in general '*childish things*,' which we 'put away' when we become men; or, if we ever recur to them in after life, it is to wonder at the trifles which interested us in early life. Even Watts's Divine Songs, although they do not *sink* in our estimation as we advance in years, do not *rise* in it, *upon our own account*. In regard to our own improvement, they are thrown aside, in common with real trifles, or brought into notice only for the sake of children. We expect to learn nothing from them by continued study. How different from all this is the growing interest we feel in Bunyan's Pilgrim! In childhood, we sit, as it were on Christian's knee, listening to the tale of his

'Hair-breadth escapes
By flood and field.'

In youth we join him upon his perilous journey, to obtain directions for our own intended pilgrimage in the narrow way. Before manhood is matured, we know experimentally that the Slough of Despond and Doubting Castle are no fictions. And, even in old age, Christians are more than ever convinced of the heights, and depths, and breadths, and lengths of Bunyan's spiritual wisdom. The faltering tongue of decrepitude utters, as sage maxims, the very things it had lisped as amusing narrative; and we gravely utter, as counsel to the young, what we prattled, as curious, to our parents."

A characteristic anecdote has been preserved of Dr. Johnson, who appears to have been an ardent and discriminating admirer of Bunyan's writings. He called Bishop Percy's little daughter to him one day, and taking her upon his knee, asked her how she liked the Pilgrim's Progress. She said she had not read it. "No!" said the Doctor, "then I would not give one farthing for you." He set her down and took no further notice of her. This may, indeed, have been most unjust toward the little pet, whose misfortune of being cradled in a Bishop's palace fully accounts for her never having heard of the persecuted tinker or his book; but it is not unjust toward the claims of that volume which philosophers and children unite in eulogizing.

Some of the enduring elements of excellence which Bunyan's writings evince, seem to us the following: their harmony with divine truth, not as exhibited in naked, abstract dogmatism, but in fresh and breathing impersonation; their uncommon combination of the power of generalization and of individuality, embracing, of course, some of the most perfect exercises of the imagination; and the uncommon excellence of their pure Saxon vocabulary.

Had he been less strictly conformed to evangelical sentiments, and the full scope of the doctrines of grace, he would have lacked the first of these elements; had his opportunity and ability to study men been less, he would have lacked the second; had he enjoyed early access to the ample stores of the learned languages, he would almost of necessity have been without so large a degree of the last. Besides all these, his soul was on fire with love to the Saviour and compassion for souls, and he kept the torch burning brilliantly, by a sufficiently rapid motion. Such impassioned eloquence as he often pours forth would never come from a mere *closet writer*. As with Baxter and Payson, his words were the kindlings of emotion actually begotten by the sight of congregations pressing upon him to hear the word, and listening with almost breathless interest and awe to the warnings and promises, the terror and the love which he was commissioned to proclaim to them. Many of his best and most useful writings, aside from his allegories, consist of the substance of sermons which he had preached, written out by him after they had been delivered. Let this be borne in mind, and then the description here given of his exercises in preaching will greatly assist us in reaching the true sources of his success in writing:

"When I have been preaching, I thank God, my heart hath often all the time of this and the other exercise, with great earnestness, cried to God that he would make the word effectual to the salvation of the soul; still being grieved lest the enemy should take the word away from the conscience, and so it should become unfruitful: Wherefore I did labor to speak the word, as that thereby, if it were possible, the sin and person guilty might be particularized by it.

"And when I have done the exercise, it hath gone to my heart to think the word should now fall as rain on stony places; still wishing from my heart, O! that they who have heard me speak this day, did but see, as I do, what sin, death, hell, and the curse of God is; and, also, what the grace, and love, and mercy of God is through Christ to men, in such a case as they are, who are yet estranged from him. And, indeed, I did often say in my heart before the Lord, 'That if to be hanged up presently before their eyes would be a means to awaken them, and confirm them in the truth, I gladly should be contented.'

"For I have been in my preaching, especially when I have been engaged in the doctrine of life by Christ without works, as if an angel of God had stood at my back to encourage me; O! it hath been with such power and heavenly evidence upon my own soul, while I have been laboring to unfold it, to demonstrate it, and to fasten it

upon the consciences of others; that I could not be contented with saying, 'I believe, and am sure;' methought I was more than sure (if it be lawful so to express myself), that those things which I then asserted were true.—

"It pleased me nothing to see people drink in opinions, if they seemed ignorant of Jesus Christ and the worth of their own salvation, sound conviction for sin, especially unbelief, and an heart set on fire to be saved by Christ, with strong breathings after a truly sanctified soul: that it was that delighted me: those were the souls I counted blessed."

We have adverted above to the correctness of his religious views. The doctrines which he taught have the direct tendency to humble the sinner, to exalt the Saviour, and to promote holiness. Mr. Ivimey justly remarks, his religious opinions were equally distant from Antinomianism and Arminianism; the two thieves, as the late Mr. Booth used to say, between which the pure gospel was crucified. All his writings prove that he believed the absolute necessity of the omnipotent energies of the Holy Spirit, to renew the heart of every fallen son of Adam; yet, he says nothing that would lead a sinner to conclude that his depravity was not his crime but rather his misfortune, as some have seemed to intimate. He faithfully charges sinners with their guilt, and warns them of their danger: and persuades, entreats, and exhorts them with much meekness, and great earnestness, to seek unto God for the pardon of all their sins, in the name of Jesus Christ; declaring, according to the promise, that all that seek shall find. He seems to have thought that the invitations of the gospel were indefinite and general; and that the promises were definite and particular; that the former were addressed to all sinners, without distinction; and that the latter related only to believers. In these views, his Baptist brethren will very generally coincide.

The church of which he was first admitted a member, and to which he subsequently ministered, was founded by good Mr. Gifford, toward whom he had so many reasons for feeling profound veneration and love; and the principle on which it was constituted will seem to many of our readers a strange departure from gospel order. The fundamental agreement in that church was, that a profession of faith and holy life, were the only conditions of membership. The ordinance of baptism was, therefore,

virtually set aside. It might be practised, or not, in infancy or adult years, in one way or any other, just as suited the views of each individual, and the church, by its fundamental principle, could not take any notice of it. This seems to have been a favorite scheme of Gifford; and he renewed his entreaty to the church in his dying valedictory, that they would steadfastly adhere to it. It will not seem strange, under these circumstances, that Bunyan, though a decided Baptist in his own practice, should have been led to regard with favor, and even to defend, in some of his treatises, this constitution of his own church. His peculiar situation, the fact, that almost all the world were opposing and persecuting him, would naturally incline him to favor the peculiarities of that church where he found a peaceful home,—where a shelter from the pitiless storm was always ready to welcome him. In this respect, only, does his practice or his faith seem to differ from the great body of Baptists in this country. Still, Bunyan was not a sectarian. He loved all good men: he lived not for his own denomination alone, but for the cause of God's truth in that darkened generation. And he wrote for the generations to come, of every name, and class, and age. The good providence, which raised him up and qualified him for this great work, looked with an eye too widely opened, and a heart too generously enlarged, upon THE WORLD, to magnify unduly any narrow section of it.

He preached frequently in London, where a single day's notice would give him thousands of eager hearers. When King Charles II upbraided Dr. Owen for going to hear "an illiterate tinker prate," his noble answer was, "Please your Majesty, could I possess that tinker's abilities for preaching, I would most gladly relinquish all my learning." His writings were, also, published in London, and extend to no less than sixty books,* which was just

* We insert here a catalogue of Bunyan's books and their succession in publishing, according to his own reckoning, because the American and most of the English editions, dignified with the title of "*The Works of Bunyan*," are so very far from being complete. 1. *Gospel Truths Opened*, 1656.—2. *A Vindication of that*, 1657.—3. *Sights from Hell*.—4. *The Two Covenants, Law and Grace*.—5. *I will pray with the Spirit*, 1663.—6. *A Map of Salvation*, etc.—7. *The Four Last Things*.—8. *Mount Ebel and Gerizim*.—9. *Prison Meditations*.—10. *The Holy City*, etc., 1665.—11. *The Resurrection*, etc., 1665.—12. *Grace abounding*, etc.—13. *Justification by Jesus Christ*, 1671.—14. *Confession of Faith*, etc., 1672.—15. *Difference in Judgment*, etc., 1673.—16. *Peaceable Principles*, etc., 1674.—17. *Election and Reprobation*, etc.—18. *Light for them in Darkness*.—19. *Christian Behaviour*.—20. *Instructions for the Ignorant*, 1675.—21.

the number of the years of his life. They form two large folio volumes. The first edition of *Pilgrim's Progress* was probably issued in 1677, but not a single copy is now known to be extant in England. Mr. Philip suggests that if any are in existence, they will most likely be found in America, brought hither by some of the pious emigrants in the latter part of the seventeenth century. We hope such may be the fact, and that some curious specimen of this kind may yet be discovered among us. The earliest American edition we have seen, was the sixteenth, and is now nearly a century old. It was "printed by JOHN DRAPER for CHARLES HARRISON over against the *Brazen Head* in *Cornhil* BOSTON N. E. M,DCCXLIV." It is adorned with wood cuts, which, though rude, are expressive.

Bunyan died as he had lived, a martyr to the cause of benevolence, for his last act was a labor of love and charity. "A young gentleman, a neighbor of his, falling under his father's displeasure, and being much troubled in mind on that account, and, also, from hearing it was his father's design to disinherit him, or otherwise deprive him of what he had to leave, he pitched upon Bunyan as a fit man to make way for his submission, and prepare his mind to receive him; which he, being willing to undertake any good office, readily engaged in, and went to Reading, in Bedfordshire, for that purpose. There he so successfully accomplished his design, by using such pressing arguments and reasons against anger and passion, and, also, for love and reconciliation, that the father's heart was softened, and his bowels yearned over his son. After Mr.

Saved by Grace.—22. *The Strait Gate*, 1676.—23. *The Pilgrim's Progress.*—24. *The Fear of God*, 1679.—25. *Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ.*—26. *The Holy War*, 1682.—27. *The Barren Fig-Tree.*—28. *The Greatness of the Soul*, etc.—29. *A Case of Conscience of Prayer.*—30. *Advice to Sufferers*, 1684.—31. *The Second Part Pilgrim's Progress.*—32. *Life and Death of Mr. Hadman.*—33. *Holy Life, the Beauty of Christianity.*—34. *The Pharisee and Publican*, 1685.—35. *A Caution against Sin.*—36. *Meditation on seventy-four Things.*—37. *The First-day Sabbath*, 1685.—38. *The Jerusalem Sinner Saved*, 1688.—39. *Jesus Christ an Advocate*, 1688.—40. *The House of God*, 1688.—41. *The Water of Life*, 1688.—42. *Solomon's Temple Spiritualized.*—43. *The Excellence of a Broken Heart.*—44. *His Last Sermon at London*, 1688.—*Twelve Manuscripts part of the First Folio.*—45. *Exposition on Ten first Chapters of Genesis.*—46. *Justification by imputed Righteousness.*—47. *Paul's Departure and Crown*, 1692.—48. *Of the Trinity and a Christian.*—49. *Of the Law and a Christian.*—50. *Israel's Hope Encouraged.*—51. *Desires of the Righteous Granted.*—52. *The Unsearchable Riches of Christ.*—53. *Christ a Compleat Saviour in's Intercession.*—54. *Saint's Knowledge of Christ's Love.*—55. *House of the Forest of Lebanon.*—56. *A Description of Antichrist*, 1692.—Four manuscripts yet unprinted.—57. *A Christian Dialogue.*—58. *The Heavenly Footman.*—59. *A Pocket Concordance.*—60. *An Account of his Imprisonment.*

Bunyan had disposed every thing in the best manner to promote an accommodation, as he returned to London on horseback, he was overtaken with excessive rains; and coming to his lodgings extremely wet, he fell sick of a violent fever, which he bore with much constancy and patience; and expressed himself, as if he wished nothing more than to depart and to be with Christ, considering it as gain, and life only as a tedious delay of expected felicity." After an illness of ten days, with unshaken confidence, he resigned his soul, on the 31st of August, 1688, being sixty years of age, into the hand of his most merciful Redeemer; following his Pilgrim from the City of Destruction to the New Jerusalem.

ARTICLE V.

GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR.

Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, translated from the eleventh German edition. By T. J. CONANT, *Professor of Hebrew in the Literary and Theological Institution at Hamilton, New York; with a course of Exercises in Hebrew Grammar, and a Hebrew Chrestomathy, prepared by the Translator.* pp. 375. 8vo. Boston. Gould, Kendall and Lincoln. 1839.

IN calling the attention of our readers to the work which Professor Conant has now presented to the theological student, we are happy in feeling no necessity and no disposition to assail the reputation of any who have toiled in the field of Hebrew philology. By the general voice of the learned world, Gesenius is acknowledged to be the most skilful Hebraist of the age. To say nothing of his other productions, his Hebrew and German Lexicon, in two octavo volumes; his abridgment of this, translated by Professor Gibbs; his Manual Hebrew Lexicon in Latin, translated by Professor Robinson; his Treasury of the Hebrew Language, in Latin, to be published in a large quarto volume, several numbers of which have

already appeared; his History of the Hebrew Language and Writings; and his *Lehrgebäude*, or Grammatical and Critical System of the Hebrew Language, in a large octavo volume of nine hundred pages, all proclaim his eminent ability in this department of literature. He is distinguished alike for his erudition and for the lucid and philosophical arrangement of his materials. He has had the experience of more than thirty years, occupied in teaching the language and in surveying it critically, with all the helps that genius and diligence can command at a German university. Competitors, too, and most able competitors he has had; and his works exhibit some of the important benefits which candor and wisdom can derive from a vigorous competition, and even from hostility itself. Amidst "the quarrels of authors," and the bitter contentions of their respective partisans, it is gratifying to find any approximation towards an exemplifying of that noble sentiment which he has adopted, as a motto, from the philosophic emperor, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: *If any one can refute me and show me that I am wrong, I will gladly change; for I seek the truth, by which no one was ever injured; but he is injured who perseveres in his own error and ignorance.**

Respecting the Grammar which now appears in English, as well as respecting the author's general ability in his chosen department of philology, it gives us pleasure to know that our views coincide with those of that eminent individual to whom biblical literature in our country owes more than to any other man. In an article in the Biblical Repository, for October, 1836, he says: "With such efforts,—such unremitted, unwearied, energetic efforts,—what are we to expect from such a man as Gesenius? Has he talent, judgment, tact, as a philologist? Read his work on Isaiah; *compare his Hebrew Grammar with the other grammars of the Hebrew which Germany has yet produced*; read and compare any twenty or even ten articles on any of the difficult and important words in the Hebrew, with the same in Buxtorff, Cocceius,

* *Εἰ τις μέ ἐλέγξει καὶ παραστήσῃ μοι, ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνω . . . , δύναιται, χαίρων μεταθήσομαι· ζητῶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθειαν, ὅφ' ἥς δοθεὶς πῶποτε ἐβλάβη. Βλέπεται δὲ ὁ ἐπιμένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀπάτης καὶ ἀγνοίας.*

Stockins, Eichhorn's Simonis, Winer even (Parkhurst I cannot once name him); and then say whether Gesenius, as a Hebrew philologist, has talent, tact, and judgment. Nothing but rival feelings, or prejudice, or antipathy to his theological sentiments, can prevent a unity of answer."

What are the grand requisites in a grammar of an ancient language? Every one must admit that they are a correct, clear, systematic statement of all its forms of expression; and a happy illustration of those forms, sometimes by comparing one with another, sometimes by comparing them with analogous appearances in the kindred languages, and sometimes by exhibiting them in the light that shines from those general principles which pervade all languages. We need not spend time in proving that these requisites will, in a very extraordinary degree, be found in Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.

There is another consideration of no small weight. This is adverted to in the translator's preface. After mentioning the fact, that the author has, for many years, been prosecuting his researches in grammar and in lexicography simultaneously, "referring to each what properly belongs to it, in such a manner that his labors in neither can be fully understood or appreciated without a knowledge of what he has done in the other," it is added: "In his *Manual Hebrew Lexicon*, now in general use in this country, there are references, throughout, for grammatical forms and constructions, to the sections of this Grammar; and, on the other hand, the Grammar constantly refers to the Manual for whatever belongs to lexicography. To the student, therefore, who uses the author's Lexicon, a previous acquaintance with his Grammar is essential for the formation of a complete and symmetrical view of the philology of the Hebrew language."

We rejoice in being able to find on every page abundant evidence of the care and skill with which the translator has performed his task. He has not only produced an excellent translation, but he has made the translation decidedly more correct and valuable than the original.

1. He has added a system of notation for expressing the Hebrew vowel sounds (pp. 28), and the pronunciation of Hebrew words, including the division into syllables, throughout the first part, and beyond it, whenever required. This is rarely done in the original, and the

division into syllables is not regarded, except in two or three cases.

2. He has given (on p. 29), with a new table of vowels, the pronunciation of their names, and thus has avoided the necessity of perplexing the student at all with the old division at the top of the 28th page.

3. He has made very many corrections of references and quotations throughout the work. This, certainly, is of great importance to the thorough student who examines for himself, and wishes to know whether the author is sustained in his position by the passages referred to. Besides the unwearied pains, bestowed upon the references, before the translation was sent to the press, three revisions of the proof-sheets, we have been informed, were made with regard to this object only. In the Hebrew forms and phrases introduced into the Grammar, also, several errors have been corrected. We do not deem it necessary to exhibit examples. Let any one open the original Grammar and the translation; and then, with the help of an accurate edition of the Hebrew Bible and a Hebrew Concordance, let him examine the matter to his own satisfaction. It is not strange, that a work like this, in passing through eleven editions, has accumulated errors of the press.

4. He has inserted many additional references to the Grammar, to the Manual Lexicon, and to the Hebrew Bible.

5. In the references to the Grammar, he has supplied the subdivisions, when, as in numerous instances is the fact, they are omitted in the original.

6. The references to the Manual Lexicon he has changed, throughout, to the article (instead of the page), and to the subdivisions of the article; so that the Grammar may be conveniently used with Professor Robinson's translation, or with any edition of the Lexicon, however the pages may vary.

7. Sometimes, by a judicious use, it is manifest, of the *Lehrgebäude* and of the later editions of the Lexicon, and by a careful and discriminating view of the subject, he has made the exhibition of a principle more clear, or more complete and definite in the translation than it is in the original. It would be tedious to specify every instance illustrating this remark. We content ourselves with

requesting our critical readers to compare §138 and §139 as they stand in the translation, with the same sections as they stand in the original.

8. Occasionally, for the purpose of guarding against any misapprehension, he has added a few words, and included them in brackets; or he has inserted a note at the bottom of the page.

9. In the very few cases where the author may be supposed to have been unconsciously influenced, by his theological views, in the explanation of a phrase or a passage, the translator, after letting him speak freely, has added a remark adapted to place the subject fairly before the inquisitive and candid mind; as on page 210 and page 275.

10. In several instances he has transferred to the appropriate part of the sentence a reference which, in the original, had, by some accident, fallen out of its place, and thus had failed to answer the purpose for which it must have been introduced. We will mention but one of these instances. If any of our readers will compare the position of Exodus 16: 4, in the translation (page 291, line 11 from the bottom), with its position in the original (page 259, line 17 from the bottom, where, by another mistake, it is printed Exodus 36: 4), and will examine the passage in the Hebrew Bible, they will have a specimen of the gratifying evidence which might be adduced of the exceeding carefulness and scholarlike circumspection with which the translator has proceeded in his noble effort to do justice, not merely to the author, but, also, to the subject itself, and to the student.

The accurate and beautiful manner in which this Grammar is printed, is worthy of high commendation. Indeed, it would reflect honor upon any university press in Europe. The eye of the student will rest upon such a book as this with safety and with delight.

The course of Exercises and the Chrestomathy, prepared by the translator, and appended to the Grammar, must be regarded as a most valuable appendage. They cannot fail of contributing greatly to the favorable reception of the whole work. They are brief; and they should be brief; especially in view of the fact, which we are happy to know, that Professor Conant is intending soon to publish a Hebrew Phrase Book and Exercises in writing Hebrew. Success to the worthy enterprise! We

hail with joy and gratitude every indication of an increasing interest in whatever pertains, whether directly or indirectly, to the fundamental study of the Holy Scriptures.

Here, without intending to prescribe any one method for all times and circumstances, we may be permitted to advert to an essay, written by the distinguished Professor Winer, which first attracted our attention, at a German university, fourteen or fifteen years ago. It was entitled, *Outlines of a Method of Elementary Instruction in the Hebrew Language*;^{*} and it may suggest to instructors some valuable hints. It was, in substance, as follows:

Mark the boundary between the instruction that is elementary, and that which is appropriate to the university as a theological institution.

Devote more hours to this study than are given it in most of the high schools. Use *one* grammar through all the courses. Awaken a love for the study. Avoid overloading with rules; but proceed gradually from the most essential points to the rest; and sustain the memory with well-selected repetitions. Direct the understanding to a lucid arrangement, and let it contemplate the clearness of single rules. Point, when occasion presents itself, to the organic and physical elucidation of the language. Connect immediately with rules their application; and by bringing the student to translate out of the Hebrew and into it, teach him the utility of what he has learnt.

Have at least two courses: the *first*, for a complete knowledge of grammatical paradigms; the *second*, for exercise in this knowledge, and for the necessary rules of syntax.

(I.) Name the letters,—the consonants; and the vowels. Then, with respect to their relations to one another according to their expression and form, let the students repeat them in short Hebrew words of one syllable and of two, and write them, finally, on paper.

To the letters and vowels add now the most necessary diacritical points and the accents. Explain their use exactly. Show especially the difference of Daghesch forte and Daghesch lene, and Mappiq. But dwell not on the

^{*} Grundlinien einer Methodik des Elementar-unterrichts in der hebräischen Sprache.

special rules for employing Daghesh lene and Methegh. Of the accents, the greater Distinctives are sufficient. Put in practice the knowledge of all these signs, as, also, that of the letters, by reading for the purpose; and close this exercise by having a few paragraphs of Hebrew transcribed.

Proceed to the pronouns. Among these, the suffixes require special attention. Point out their origin; and let them be connected orally and by the pen with verbs of a simple form, and with nouns masculine of the first paradigm, till it can be done with readiness.

Next is the regular verb. Let the several tenses of each conjugation be written, and the *characteristics* marked. Advance to the inflections of the tenses; and explain them first in the paradigm of Kal, and then in the rest. Let each student regard it as an indispensable duty to *commit the regular verb perfectly to memory*. Repeat and write in every order again and again. Write and pronounce the words, and then add the points. That mode of instruction, which does not require the pupil to exert himself, is the grave of true science. *Tantum scimus, quantum memoriâ tenemus*.

Before coming to the verbs with gutturals, explain the peculiarities of these letters. In all irregularities, require the student to show definitely the departures from the paradigm of the regular verb, and the reason of them. Explain the peculiarity of the quiescing letters. Let the irregular verbs be *repeated* and *written*, as were the regular.

While engaged in these exercises, begin to translate. Select easy sentences in which regular and then irregular verbs occur, with only the state absolute of the noun; and let such examples be translated from the Hebrew and back again.

Now exhibit the declension of the noun, passing slightly over its derivation, for the present. Teach the endings of the genders and of the numbers; and explain the use and the origin of the construct state. Continue the reading aloud, the repeating, and the writing, till all is well imprinted on the memory.

After this theoretical and practical instruction in the Grammar, select some portion of an easy historical book, and let the forms of the words be analyzed thoroughly,

and with constant reference to the Grammar. At first, in the mean time, give the definitions of the words yourself, and add briefly some analysis of anomalous forms; but pay not much attention to these till the others have become quite familiar to the student. In the progress of these exercises, have the words looked out in a Lexicon, under your inspection and with your assistance. Let none rely on a *clavis* nor a translation. With the analytic reading let easy lessons, from time to time, be given to be translated into Hebrew; and, in their correction, let the student be brought always to the Grammar.

(II.) The object of the *second* course is the perfecting of the beginners in the forms of speech and the rules already acquired, and the elucidation of the most important peculiarities of the syntax, and the anomalies of the inflection of verbs and nouns.

Take an easy historical book, as Genesis, and let the students, carefully prepared beforehand by means of the Grammar and the Lexicon, give a translation, and then analyze exactly and with constant reference to the Grammar, all the forms of words and expressions that have not become familiar. They may then be entrusted with the thorough reading of the syntax themselves. Let them be required, also, to mention the characteristic meanings of the most frequently occurring forms of nouns, and the roots of such as are derived.

Require the translating into Hebrew; and, for this purpose, furnish materials from the New Testament or from the historical books of the Old. At length, let a beginning be made in reading and pointing unpointed sentences.

After such a preparation, the young theologian will be likely to prosecute the study, and to profit by attending critical and exegetical lectures.

ARTICLE VI.

MEMOIR OF MRS. SARAH L. SMITH.

Memoir of Mrs. SARAH LANMAN SMITH, late of the Mission in Syria, under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. By EDWARD W. HOOKER, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Bennington, Vt. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 1839. pp. 407. 12mo.

SARAH LANMAN HUNTINGTON was the daughter of Jabez Huntington, Esq., and was born in Norwich, Conn., June 18, 1802. Her paternal grandfather, Gen. Jedidiah Huntington, was an officer in the American army in the war of the Revolution. Later in life he earnestly devoted himself to works of Christian benevolence. He was among the early and efficient members of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Miss Huntington was a lineal descendant, on the mother's side, of the Rev. Joseph Coit, of Preston, Conn., a clergyman of eminent piety. The Rev. Joshua Huntington, pastor of the Old South Church, in Boston, was a half brother of her father. It may, also, be mentioned, though it is not alluded to in the Memoir, that she was a direct descendant of John Robinson, the Puritan of Leyden, in Holland, whose catholic sentiments and self-denying zeal have immortalized his name. These facts are mentioned, not that she was any better in the sight of God, or necessarily any more useful to men, from the fact that she was thus honorably descended. Dependence on mere ancestral excellence is a mark of a feeble and degenerate mind. There is, in human nature, a strong tendency to glory in a *name*, where the personal character of the boaster may be negative or greatly deficient. A wise man, who claims an alliance to "earth's best blood," will be slow to proclaim the fact. He will rather study to be modest and unassuming, and will strive to deserve, rather than publish, his honorable descent. Marked degeneracy or noto-

rious wickedness, in such circumstances, will meet with a terrible sentence from an indignant community. The immoralities of the youngest son of one of our most distinguished divines, of a former day, will not soon be forgotten. Aaron Burr has descended to the grave with "heavy curses on his head," because the prayers and the faith of his father and mother, and of his maternal grandfather and grandmother, are known to all his countrymen, in contrast with his own ungodliness. Mrs. Smith appears to have regarded this matter of distinguished descent in its true light. The following sentence shows that she looked above the adventitious circumstances of birth, and had little relish for that family self-complacency which is so common. "If the numerous 'Huntingtons' are *useful* to their generation, it is of little consequence whether they are conspicuous. The applause of the world is but a breath, and valueless on many accounts. In the first place, the standard is very imperfect; adulation, also, is often insincere; and our vanity attaches even more to what is said than was meant."

Some of the most delightful passages in the volume are descriptions of natural scenery. She had a true eye and a feeling heart for the glorious works of God. Wherever she journeyed, wherever she abode, we perceive the same practised judgment, the same delicate perception, the same quick sensibility. The ocean was not a barren waste of waters. The monotonous plain was not destitute of beauty, if it only nurtured one lowly flower to its Creator's praise. Like Henry Martyn, she could find comfort in a dry leaf, for it was full of creative skill and love. The sublime in nature seems to have had peculiar attractions. The top of the White Hills; the morning sun resting on the expanse of the sea; the prospect from Lebanon of the distant hills of Galilee, or of the sun setting on the Mediterranean, excited feelings in her breast akin to those of the holy seers and songsters of old. This original tendency of her mind was, doubtless, much affected by the place of her birth and education. Norwich is one of the most attractive towns in New England. Its combination of water scenery, precipitous rock, verdant plain, winding roads revealing unexpected beauties, must deeply interest an imaginative mind. Its society, also, as we have been informed, is not without decided charms for a person of

taste and refinement. The influence of external scenery and of congenial companionship in early life never fades away. It becomes incorporated with the character.

The youth, and even childhood, of Miss Huntington were strongly marked. When but three years of age, she received from a lady the appellation of "Madame Buona-parte." The epithet "high-spirited," delineates her early character better, perhaps, than any other term. She was never contented with ordinary attainments, with moderate aims, or with an indifferent performance of the tasks assigned her. Vigor, independence, warmth of feeling, bold plans, began to characterize her in the very morning of her existence. These were united, however, with singular delicacy of feeling and manners, with fond affection for friends, and with a noble disinterestedness which won the hearts of all who came within the sphere of her influence. Long before she became personally religious, she took an active interest in various objects of Christian benevolence, particularly in Sabbath schools. Owing to the death of her mother, to a severe sickness when she was about six years old, and to very injudicious treatment in a school, her temperament was rendered nervous, and her sensibilities excessively quick.

Miss Huntington became hopefully possessed of personal piety at the age of eighteen. In the year 1820, special religious meetings were held in Norwich by the pastor of the church, the Rev. Alfred Mitchell. Miss Huntington was by no means indifferent to the salvation of her soul. At various times, the claims of the Redeemer to her heart had awakened anxious solicitude. She did not, however, attend these meetings, lest, by declaring herself an inquirer, she should excite the hopes of her friends only to disappoint them. An intimate friend, in returning from a prayer meeting, one evening, took occasion to speak to her plainly of her spiritual state. She wept, and disclosed the feelings of her heart. On the following day, she entered into conversation with some friends respecting the submission of the sinner to God. Among other observations, she remarked, that a clear understanding of the *nature* of submission would ensure the *act*. In the evening of the next day, she attended the regular conference meeting. Before leaving home, she earnestly prayed that it might be the evening of her

submission to the Saviour. It was so. While the assembly were engaged in prayer, she consecrated herself to God. She did it in the full exercise of her understanding, and felt then, and afterwards, that it was peculiarly a rational act. This was on the 10th of August, 1820. Her feelings, on the next day, were those of intense sorrow for her sins, and ardent desires for deliverance from their power. She went again to her Saviour and found permanent relief.

These feelings were not transient, nor uninfluential. She became thenceforth identified with the cause of Him who had called her from bondage into his glorious freedom. She felt that she was not her own. Love to an unseen, but most gracious, Saviour prompted her to enter immediately, without conferring with flesh and blood, on a life of self-sacrifice. Many individuals experienced the benefit of her prayers and of her faithful and affectionate admonitions. The spiritual interests of her three brothers, particularly, two of whom were younger than herself, were watched over with the tenderest affection. The various memorials of her sisterly love, contained in the volume, are extremely interesting. Her letters to her brothers respecting their salvation, are not more remarkable for depth of feeling than for sound judgment, tact, and a delicate sense of propriety. Near relatives are sometimes exceedingly ill fitted to perform the office of spiritual reprovers and counsellors. Their honest, fervent, but untimely efforts produce the very effect which was not intended. They repel and harden the heart of the beloved object of their solicitude. But in the present case, every thing was so frank, honorable, heartfelt, dignified, that the desired result was commonly gained. The heart was taken captive. At length, the whole family rejoiced in the common possession of redeeming grace.

Miss Huntington's youngest brother was a graduate of Yale College. He appears to have been a youth of uncommon sweetness of disposition, of engaging manners and of good promise. After leaving college, he engaged as a private tutor in a family in Natchez, Mississippi. "Every cloudless evening," his sister writes to him, "in which I am called out, my eye turns towards the 'north star.' It was a sweet reflection to me that you took the

pains to look for it, while you were penning your letter. Often notice it, my beloved brother, and whenever you do, send a petition to the throne of the Eternal, for our mutual steadfastness in the path of wisdom; and I will do the same." "I think of you every day with the most tender affection, particularly in my retired moments, when, I trust, we hold a communion more endearing than earthly relations can furnish. I delight to dwell upon the thought that you and I, dear brother, may take sweet counsel together in a heaven of purity and love. Washed and sanctified, perhaps, we may be united in performing embassies of love for our adorable Redeemer."

The health of this brother, at length, failed, and his sister had the melancholy satisfaction of devoting herself exclusively to watch over his declining days. After the closing scene, she writes to her sister, "For a few moments after 'that languishing head was at rest,' I felt somewhat like David, who arose and washed himself, and his countenance was no more sad. I rejoiced for *him*. His lifeless form was very dear to us, until it was consigned to its narrow house. Our *first* mournful pleasure in the morning, and the *last* at night, was to visit the lovely remains, which now seemed almost like an angel's dwelling. Our hearts were knit together by uncommon ties. We had no cares or preparation to distract our minds, and during the whole of that week, we could sit down together and talk of the sainted spirit who had gone to mingle its celestial sympathies with its angel mother and its blessed Saviour." Many passages might be quoted from the volume which present Miss Huntington to great advantage in the character of a consoler, especially after the death of her brother. That event seems to have unsealed the inmost fountains of feeling in her bosom. On several occasions, when, she was in a foreign land, she refers to it in the most touching manner. The mention of the word "brother," was enough to fill her eyes with tears.

It has been before remarked, that her constitutional tendencies led her to perform what most of her sex would never think of attempting. The following passage illustrates this remark. It relates to a visit to the White Hills of New Hampshire:

"But few ladies have ever reached the summit of the highest land in North America, east of the Rocky Mountains. Yet, as I remarked to one of the gentlemen, I had not resolved to undertake it from ambitious motives. I wished to see the wonderful works of God, and I should undertake it, looking to him for support and protection. The top of the mountain is nine and a half miles from Crawford's, five of which are accomplished in riding, and the remainder on foot. We set out, half of the party in a wagon, and the other on horses. I was the only female equestrian. When we dismounted, we were each furnished with a long palmer-staff, and with our two guides, father and son, making twelve in all, we commenced our ascent in Indian file, presenting a picturesque scene for an artist's pencil. But O, the toilsomeness of the ascent! I thought I had exerted myself before, but every former effort dwindled to a point in comparison. We crossed the Amoonoosuck seven times, which rises from the Lake of the Clouds, high upon the range, and empties into the Connecticut. The Saco rises within a few yards of the same, and empties into the Atlantic. This we crossed twenty times before reaching the mountains. Our guide frequently regaled us with water fresh from the fountain; and after reaching a recess in the rocks, called 'the kitchen,' we took our lunch. The wind began to blow violently, and a portion of our party concluded to remain behind, with one of the guides. I exchanged my hat for a calash, with one of the ladies, and proceeded. Our path now lay over shelving, precipitous and broken rocks, which appeared to form an almost perpendicular ascent, and the summit seemed to fly from our approach. At length, we completed the arduous attempt, and we found ourselves surrounded by a 'sea of mountains,'—an illimitable extent of undulating surface, with no definiteness of prospect, but mountain billows of mountains."

Miss Huntington began early to feel a deep interest in foreign missions. In 1823, she alludes to it in her letters. While listening to an address of the Rev. E. Gridley, who afterwards died in the foreign service, her benevolent feelings acquired fresh strength. In 1829, after the hopeful conversion of her second brother, she says, "I feel now as if I should rejoice to be a missionary to the heathen. We owe a thank-offering." In October, 1831, she seems to have come to a settled conviction in respect to her duty:

"The annual meeting of our Foreign Missionary Society was very interesting. I then made the resolution, that whenever my dear parents want me no longer, if unfettered as I am now, I shall devote myself personally to a mission among the heathen. So you may consider me henceforth *a missionary in heart*; and when circumstances favor, must be ready to resign me, unless God should put insurmountable obstacles in my way."

In the town of Montville, situated between Norwich and New London, is a tract of land, reserved by the State of Connecticut, for the maintenance of a remnant of the Mohegan tribe of Indians, "on the land of their fathers." It consists of about 2,700 acres. It was holden by them in common till the year 1790, when it was divided to each family, by the legislature. In 1774, the number of Mohegan Indians was between 200 and 300. In 1803, Dr. Holmes says, that there were not more than eighty persons remaining. They were afterwards still further reduced. As early as the year 1827, Miss Huntington had become interested in their condition. In 1830, she circulated a subscription for the purpose of building a meeting-house for them. She soon after addressed a letter, on the subject, to Mr. Evarts, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In December, 1831, with the assistance of Miss R., a young lady of Montville, she commenced a school in Mohegan.

"Seated in my little missionary room," she writes, "which serves for parlor, bed-room, kitchen, school-room, and chapel, I have composed myself to the sweet employment of answering your good and long letter. I have a school of eighteen or twenty, including four adults. They come at half past nine o'clock, and stay until four, having half an hour's intermission; and we carry on millinery, tailoring, arithmetic, etc., besides the ordinary avocations of a school. All these, with the government of untutored, untamed beings, nearly exhaust my powers, during the day, and at evening I have work to fit, and my 'profession' to study. But I am quite satisfied. I came here for their benefit, and not to please myself. Our Sabbath school is nearly twice as large, embracing whites, and is kept four hours on the Sabbath, besides an intermission. I leave home Sunday morning, and return the next Sunday evening, and Miss R. does the same, so we are both here on the Sabbath."

In addition to her other trials in this enterprise, she was called to meet the opposition or cold indifference of some persons of her acquaintance, who thought she was zealous overmuch, and was stepping out of the line of her duty.

"I should like to ask Mr. —," she says, "if the Saviour had any regard to his 'station,' when he left his throne for a dwelling among our wretched race? Our rank is that of *Christians*, if we would follow him. The more I contemplate his character, the more I am confirmed in my views on the subject of self-denial. All that elevation of character which is the result of Christian principles operating upon the mind and heart, ought to be cultivated in honor of him

who is the source of all excellence. Every other preëminence over our fellow-beings, my principles, to say nothing of my practice, condemn."

In prosecution of her object, Miss Huntington, in 1831, drew up a petition to the legislature of Connecticut, praying for the aid of the State. The application was not successful. She then addressed letters to the Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, and to the Hon. Jabez W. Huntington, a representative in Congress from Connecticut. We have, also, understood that she had a personal interview with President Jackson when he was on his tour in the northern States. These applications were favorably received. The general government granted an appropriation of five hundred dollars towards erecting buildings, and four hundred dollars for the support of a teacher. The first sum was employed in building a house for the teacher, and the latter has been annually received and appropriated for his support. The meetinghouse was built entirely with funds obtained in Norwich, through the exertions of Miss Huntington and her first coadjutor in the enterprise. The services of the Rev. Anson Gleason, as a pastor and teacher, were subsequently secured. The church now consists of more than forty members, thirteen of whom are natives. The little school of twenty native children is very prosperous. "Thus the precious seed sown in tears by Miss Huntington, has come up, and is yielding a glorious harvest."

The time had now arrived for this noble-minded female to leave for ever her father's home, in order to carry the unsearchable treasures of the gospel to a strange land. In the providence of God, she had been remarkably trained for this sublime work. Almost every thing, it should seem, had been made to conspire, in fitting her for a foreign missionary. She had been tried in the fire of affliction. She had been taught to labor successfully for the conversion of her friends. She had formed habits of near and blessed communion with her Saviour. She knew whither to flee when all outward supports had fallen away. She had made a self-denying effort to instruct the unformed and neglected mind of the Indian. She had, also, reached a mature age. It was not a young and imaginative girl, who was now to essay the thorny path which was literally trodden by apostles and martyrs. It

was a woman established in knowledge and in grace, who was as capable as any one else, of forming a deliberate judgment. She had imagination and enthusiasm. But these were not evanescent qualities. They were a part of her character. They helped to sustain her in the perils and privations of her course.

In 1832, the Rev. ELI SMITH, of the American Mission at Beyroot in Syria, a gentleman well known by his accurate and excellent Journal of Travels in Armenia and Persia, returned to this country for the purpose of consultation with his patrons, and of publishing the results of the joint observations of himself and of the Rev. H. G. O. Dwight. Proposals of marriage were made by Mr. Smith to Miss Huntington, with the view of her joining him in the Syrian mission. We must here be permitted to copy a letter addressed by Miss Huntington to her father, on a question so interesting to a beloved parent's heart. No one of our readers, we presume, will complain of its length.

" MARCH, 1833.

"My honored and beloved Father:—I have taken my pen to address you on a subject which could not at present be discussed, in personal conversation, either by you or myself, with sufficient composure. It is one so momentous in its nature, that I almost tremble while I write; and I would most tenderly and respectfully request you to suspend your judgment, and strive to control the strong affections of your heart, until you have deliberately and prayerfully considered the whole matter.

"You know, my dear father, that I have long regarded the missionary cause with deep interest; but how deep, no being but the God of missions has known. My sincerity is now put to the test; and the question is to be decided, whether I will forsake home and country, to dwell as a laborer in that land which was the 'cradle of Christianity'—is contiguous to the scene of our Saviour's sufferings,—and where he promised peculiar blessings upon those who should be made partakers of the same. Upon the single question, *whether I am willing to become a Missionary*, I have not now to decide; that has been long settled in my own mind. But it involves another; whether I will go in the way which Providence now seems to point out. This last depends upon the course which my feelings shall take towards the individual who has presented the inquiry,—*in case your approbation be obtained*.

"I could cover many pages in recording the circumstances which have contributed to inspire me with what I hope is a missionary spirit; but can only glance at the most prominent, to convince you, that at the age of thirty, and after twelve years' training in the school of Christ, my resolution is not hastily formed.

"From the first year of my Christian life, I began to feel the im-

portance of sacrifices, to promote the cause of missions, on the part of those who remain at home. Supposing myself unqualified, by education and habits, for active service abroad, the continually deepening views which I received were confined to labors at home; till the time that the Rev. Mr. Temple addressed our auxiliary, more than three years since, when they assumed a definite form. Never shall I forget the impression made upon me by his appeals! I seemed pressed down with such a weight of obligation, and sense of past delinquency, that I almost wished the dust might cover me, and oblivion throw its veil over my unpardonable indifference. It was an epoch in my Christian course. I consecrated myself anew to my Saviour's cause, and I hope was accepted in so doing.

"It was not long after this that the Valley of the Mississippi became an object of interest; and to this field, I devoted myself in heart, by regulating my expenses and habits, in view of a residence there for two years as a teacher. These arrangements were providentially diverted from their original design, and were brought into requisition at Mohegan, where were reflected in miniature, some of the lights and shades of more extended missionary operations.

"But there is still another period to which I look back with feelings of intense and sacred interest. The desires which I had cherished were like a smothered flame in my breast, which every missionary meeting, and every monthly concert, seemed to rekindle and cause to rise higher and higher. Often have I returned from the concert of prayer, completely exhausted with the exercises of my soul, and burning with desire, to lay myself upon the altar of sacrifice, as the only assurance that I was doing *all* which I *could* do, for that cause which brought the Saviour from his throne. The period to which I refer was the last missionary meeting but one which was held at Dr. Strong's church: when with perfect calmness I made, and after reaching home, *recorded*, a solemn resolution, to this effect;—*that whenever my parents could spare me, if I were as much at liberty as then, I would devote myself to the work of a foreign missionary, and hold myself ready to go forth in such capacity as Providence should point out.* From that time, until recently, I have felt almost assured that I should find my grave in a distant land. During my illness last summer, my hopes received a check; and fearing that my constitution was injured, I almost relinquished the expectations which I had indulged. I was cast into the valley of humiliation, too, where I felt that God regarded me as he did his servant David, when he *accepted* the *desire* which prompted him to build a temple to his honor; but chose another thus to perpetuate his glory. The sudden death of my brother had a tendency to deepen my humility,—if, through grace, I may give it that appellation,—and this winter I have had such exercises as I never knew before. I have sought to concentrate my feelings and desires within the narrow but not unimportant circle of home engagements.

"In retracing my past views, which led me to ask for an assimilation of soul with prophets, apostles, and martyrs, I feared that the incense had been touched with unhallowed fire. I determined to devote myself exclusively to the performance of filial and

other relative duties, and 'in honor to prefer' all others to myself; and this I wished to do without arrogating to myself any merit, as though it were a condescension. I have felt myself under a cloud, but I have not lost my anchor; and my whole spirit was more like that of a little child, than any thing which I had before experienced. I was willing to relinquish the cherished object of my heart, the missionary cause, and to be and do whatever God required, small as it might appear.

"In this attitude the important question now in agitation found me,—in a better state I think, to decide coolly and judiciously, than in those days of greater excitement to which I have alluded. Now a field seems open before me, more desirable than any other upon a foreign soil, with a fellow-laborer whose previous knowledge of the station, and other qualifications, give him a high rank in this department. But I dare not, and shall not, indulge my prepossessions in his favor, except I have not merely your consent, but your cheerful approval. This has already been bestowed by my dear mother, and other near friends, without any solicitation on my part.

"And now, my dear father, to you, who are the *earthly* idol of my heart, is submitted the sole responsibility of deciding this interesting question, interwoven with the concerns of eternity. Were I invited to unite my destiny with a merchant, whose business called us to the shores of the Mediterranean, I think you would not hesitate to resign me, and would feel that you and my mother would be kindly provided with every attention. Will not he who has required, as a test of discipleship, that all should be willing to forsake father, and mother, and children for him, be true to his own promise? Although it has been my delight to contribute to your and mother's happiness (and I had anticipated with great satisfaction the privilege of smoothing your declining paths), yet in the ordinary course of nature, a few years, at best, would terminate these duties. Should I leave you for a home in a foreign clime, I know that I shall suffer intensely and perhaps often, with an aching heart and yearnings of the tenderest affection towards you. Yet I feel impelled to venture upon these and other trials, *if I may go with your blessing*. I want, my dear father, that you should *enjoy the satisfaction of giving me up, as it were, voluntarily*, to this work, in the spirit with which you renewed the dedication of all your children to God, in that hour when the spirit of *one* was hovering near the gate of heaven. I have thought constantly of *that act*, within a few days, and said to myself, 'Will my dear father stand the test which was involved in that committal?' Will it not afford you consolation, though it be associated with sorrow, to reflect, that you have one child safely lodged in the tabernacle on high, and another in the outer court of that tabernacle,—which missionary ground seems to resemble? I shall wait your answer with intense interest. Should you surrender me to the Saviour, and to that work which I covet, I should like to add a few lines to this, and forward it to New York and Vermont.

"May that blessing which maketh rich, and addeth no sorrow thereto, be yours, kindest and best of parents! If I leave you, the

Messing will be yours in a double sense; if I stay, I may not be able to shield you from the stings of 'sorrow,' should God see fit to send them."

Her venerable father, though tenderly alive to the value of the sacrifice he was making, at length gave his consent. Miss Huntington was married to Mr. Smith in the summer of 1833. On the 21st of September, they embarked from Boston, in the brig *George*, for Smyrna. In the letters which she addressed to her friends, during the period in which she was preparing to depart, there are many touching and delightful passages, which we should be glad to quote, did our limits permit. Her character shone brightly amid these trying scenes. "God only knows," she remarks, "those deep, *deep* fountains of feeling which he has created in my heart." And yet, she was enabled to bear up remarkably, and even to be the consoler of others. She exhibited in a striking light the value of habits of reflection and of self-government. The last days which a missionary spends in his native land, just on the eve of embarkation, often put the natural and the Christian character to a severe test. They are not simply days of anxiety and sorrow, but of confusion and mental dissipation. An unruffled temper is to be preserved amid a thousand provocations. Mrs. Smith writes on the day of sailing,—“From first stepping on board, my heart has been stayed up with the Scripture I repeated this morning, ‘For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.’”

We copy the following description of a Mediterranean sunrise scene, both as indicating her powers of observation and delineation, and, also, as showing one of the modes in which she beguiled the wearisomeness of a sea-voyage:

“A few dense but ragged clouds stretched along the eastern horizon, but not so closely as to obscure that first silver tinge of the water, only beheld in a sunrise at sea, and which suddenly strikes the eye, let it be watching ever so intently for the first beam of that glorious orb. As it rose on that morning, it presented the appearance of blocks of effulgent gold, varying their outline each moment,

till at length one half of it appeared as if resting upon a pedestal, beside which lay a fragment of its glory in the form of a perfect square. The whole hemisphere seemed, as it were, to smile as its monarch ascended; and as I cast my eye towards the west, floating clouds of the most delicate vermilion hue, contrasted beautifully with the brilliant azure of the sky. I turned first one way and then another, and knew not where to fix my admiring gaze. Add to this, an horizon of sixty miles in extent, within which our ship was a lonely traveller, upon a waste of waters, and you may form some little conception of my feelings, as I involuntarily and audibly exclaimed;—

‘These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty Father.’”

The missionaries landed at Malta, on the 14th of November, after a prosperous voyage of fifty-four days. Mr. and Mrs. Smith sailed shortly for Alexandria, where they arrived on the 25th of December. They reached Beyroot, their destined station, on the 28th of January, 1834.

Beyroot is the ancient Berytus, named by Augustus Cæsar, Felix Julia, after his daughter.* It occupies the northern side of a cape, called the “Cape of Beyroot.” The city itself, which is enclosed by a wall, is not particularly attractive or repulsive; but the environs, where the missionary building stands, and which occupy an extent of country several times larger than the city, present an enchanting prospect. The ground rises gently towards the south, and is covered with an uninterrupted succession of gardens, separated by hedge-rows of the cactus, or prickly pear, and filled with mulberry trees trained to a low growth. The sycamore, the kharoob, and here and there a palm and a cypress diversify the landscape, while innumerable almond trees greatly enliven the scene. Mount Lebanon, in all its grandeur, stretches from north to south; while the snowy ridges of its lofty eminences, and the numerous villages which occupy its declivities, give additional interest to the ever-varying appearance of its scenery.

On this delightful mountain, Mrs. Smith passed the remaining years of her pilgrimage, with the exception of the time occupied in one or two journeys, and, also, of the

* It is very doubtful whether this is the place called in 2 Sam. 8: 8, and Ezek. 47: 16, *Berethia* or *Berothia*. See Winer's *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, I, 181, and Rosenmüller's *Handbuch der Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, II, 19.

last few weeks of her life which were passed in Smyrna. She entered on her long-desired missionary labors with great ardor, and with high anticipations of happiness and usefulness. Her love to the objects of nature was an ever-living spring of joy. She happily united a fine eye, a vigorous and cultivated imagination, with a heart full of sensibility. She frequently speaks about wandering among flowers and sweet-scented herbs, of finding natural caverns and artificial excavations, of mornings when all nature seemed to be revelling beneath the genial influence of the oriental sky, of the immense expanse of the sea on the west, and a thousand other objects over which she fondly lingered. These endowments of mind, these refined tastes were no hindrance to her work. On the contrary, they were powerful coadjutors. All were devoted to her Redeemer's glory, all helped to sustain her in her self-denying labors. And they contribute much to the interest of a volume, which will enable her, though dead, to speak long and sweetly to many hearts. The richer the mental gifts of the missionary, the more glory may he be expected to bring to his Lord, and the more happiness to man.

One of the first, and the principal engagements, to which Mrs. Smith devoted herself, was the study of the Arabic language. She went to Beyroot, in order to live and to die for the Arabs. Of course she could not hope to benefit them, to any great extent, without a familiar acquaintance with their tongue. This complicated and intricate speech, she determined, at all events, to master. She learned the alphabet while on her voyage from Malta to Alexandria; but before reaching Beyroot, she had acquired no appreciable knowledge of the language. In four months, she began the study of a native grammar, entirely in Arabic; though, for about half of that time, she had no instruction, except for an hour or two a day from a common Arab, who knew nothing of grammar; and during the whole of it was engaged in school every other week. In less than nine months, she was ready to commence praying in Arabic, with a little girl, whom she then took into her family in order to educate her. In eleven months, she conducted the devotional exercises at a native female prayer meeting. Her prayers were extemporary. During the last winter of her life, she

commenced translating another grammar, for the benefit of the females who might tread after her the thorny mazes of this idiom. The many new and guttural sounds of the language, says her husband, became familiar and natural to her organs of utterance. She had not, however, any peculiar taste for the study of languages. Perplexed and baffled by the numerous difficulties of the Arabic, she would often weep, and almost in despair say, that she could never learn it.

We have gone into this detail, in order to show the strength of her religious principle. From preceding remarks, and from extracts which we have made, some persons might infer, that she was an unsubstantial enthusiast, made up of imagination, taste and feeling; and that for the hard and common-place duties of the missionary life, she would have little relish. But no path was too arduous for her, provided it was the path of duty; no occupation was too lowly, if the Saviour called her to it. Her example is worthy of universal imitation. How desirable that all foreign missionaries should make it a point to master the language of the people to whom they are sent,—to master it, grammatically and practically, in its theory and in its daily application. The highest usefulness cannot possibly be attained without a thorough acquaintance with a language, and without becoming identified, as much as possible, with the native modes of thought and feeling. We fear that some missionaries are greatly fettered and circumscribed all their days, because they have not the resolution to study language radically. To all such, we earnestly commend Mrs. Smith's noble example.

A female school had been commenced at Beyroot, in 1833, by Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Dodge. Six or eight girls had been connected with it. On Mrs. Smith's arrival, in January, 1834, she immediately commenced her labors in the sewing department. On the removal of Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Dodge to Jerusalem, the sole care of the school devolved upon her. On the arrival of an assistant from America, Miss Rebecca W. Williams, it was determined that the school should be opened twice as many hours as before. Into these labors, she entered with all her heart. At the last examination, held a short time before her final departure, the mothers of the children and

some other female friends were present. The scholars amounted to upwards of forty. Classes were examined in reading, spelling, geography, first lessons in arithmetic, Scripture questions, the English language, and sacred music. The mothers then came forward, of their own accord, and in a gratifying manner, expressed their thanks to the ladies, for what they had done for their daughters. Mrs. Smith was enabled, also, to communicate much direct religious instruction. All the children loved her with a sincere attachment. She originated, in addition, a native Sabbath school, which finally consisted of twenty or thirty scholars, with five teachers. These teachers met every Friday evening, around her table, in order to study the lessons for the following Sabbath, and for prayer. The lessons were the Union Questions of the American Sunday School Union, which were translated by Mrs. Smith, during the week, into Arabic. Another great innovation upon Arab habits and opinions, Mrs. Smith was the means of effecting. This was the establishment of a native female prayer meeting. The oriental seclusion of females renders them difficult of access to the ordinary means of grace used by a missionary gentleman; their assembling even for religious purposes, in the same apartment with the other sex, being condemned by custom. The first meeting was appointed at the house of a native friend, and it devolved upon Mrs. Smith to conduct its opening exercises. From that time, it was continued regularly; at first once a fortnight, but afterwards every week. Including some of the older scholars of the school, as many as twenty were at times present, though the number was often less. The experiment, commenced with much trembling, was entirely successful. This was probably the first female prayer meeting which has been held in Syria in modern times.

Shortly before Mrs. Smith left Beyroot for Smyrna, it was proposed to hold personal religious conversation with individuals, in order that the truth might thus be brought into direct contact with the individual conscience. The proposition was either made, or warmly seconded, by Mrs. Smith, that something of this kind should be attempted systematically. She chose for her parish the mothers of her scholars, and immediately commenced her labors. Though debilitated by the first stages of the

disease that terminated her life, she was able to state at the first monthly meeting, that they had all been visited.

In the midst of these public religious duties, Mrs. Smith was by no means inattentive to the routine of secluded domestic cares. She always furnished her table abundantly for those who composed her family. Her house, says her husband, was a model for imitation in respect to order and neatness. But she was ever devising ways in which these domestic objects could be accomplished with the least sacrifice of time. This she effected by observing system, and doing as much as possible by the hands of others. The regular meals of her family were reduced to two, so that the whole day was left unbroken for labor, and much time was saved. "This subject deserves mention," says Mr. Smith, "both to show how she found time to accomplish what she did, and because missionary ladies so frequently complain, that domestic occupations interfere with, and, to a great extent, hinder the benevolent labors they would be glad to accomplish. Some have been almost ready to lay it down as a principle, that the wives of missionaries must expect to do little, if any thing, more than to take care of their own families. The adoption of such an expectation, by ladies entering upon the missionary life, Mrs. Smith exceedingly deprecated. Her own labors were a practical demonstration, that a much higher standard of usefulness is within reach." These observations are of great importance. Every thing in this world almost tends to depress and to deteriorate. The missionary female is strongly tempted, by languor of body and the general debilitating effects of warm climates, to adopt a low standard of duty, and then to fall below that standard. To such as are thus inclined, Mrs. Smith's example must be of inestimable value. At the same time, it should be remembered, that she possessed no ordinary character. Industry, energy, perseverance, had long been familiar to her. She went upon missionary ground a mature Christian, uniting the enthusiasm of youth and the simplicity of a child with the sound and practised judgment of an adult. Besides, she was not encumbered with children of her own. A missionary mother, with a large family of young children, especially if one or two of them are habitually weak and sickly, is in a position very diverse from that of Mrs. Smith.

The intenseness of the heat, during the summer at Beyroot, renders it necessary for foreigners to reside for a few weeks in some village among the mountains. In a place nearly as high as Mount Washington, in New Hampshire, Mrs. Smith passed her summers delightfully. At the same time, nothing was permitted to interfere with the great objects of her work. She literally copied the example of him who went about doing good. On two occasions, when her labors at home were not indispensable, she visited the summit of Lebanon and the ruins of Baalbeck, and also made a tour through the most interesting parts of Palestine. It would give us great pleasure to copy various notices and remarks from her letters written during these excursions. But we must refer our readers to the volume itself. Many of her communications are very attractive, on account of the sweet simplicity which pervades them. She writes as if all unconscious of the delicacy of her feelings, of the beauty of her sentiments, and of the excellent sense with which many of her casual observations abound.

The length of Mrs. Smith's missionary labors was less than two years and four months. In consequence of sitting within the cold, damp walls of a school-house, her lungs became severely affected. This was in the beginning of the year 1836. In consequence of increasing weakness, her physician advised a voyage to Smyrna. She accordingly left Beyroot, with her husband, on the 11th of June. On the fourth day, when they were sailing on the north side of the island of Cyprus, the ship struck upon a reef in the night. A scene of confusion and distress followed. Through the kindness of Providence, however, the company at length reached the shore by means of the long-boat. They landed on a sandy beach, extending eight or ten miles into the sea, on the desolate coast of Caramania, in Asia Minor. The loss in property, which Mr. and Mrs. Smith experienced, was great. Among the articles were Mr. Smith's journals (on which he had spent much time) of his travels in the Holy Land, particularly in the Haourán, or the country east of the Jordan. Mrs. Smith lost three volumes of private journals, the preciousness of which we can estimate by the fragments which are found in her Memoir. The shipwrecked company at length reached Rhodes. On the

13th of July, Mr. and Mrs. Smith arrived at Smyrna, thirty-three days after their embarkation at Beyroot. It had been their intention, for various reasons, to proceed, at an early opportunity, from Smyrna to the United States. But the symptoms of her declining health were greatly aggravated by the melancholy shipwreck, and by the extremely wearisome voyage from Rhodes to Smyrna. We must here copy a passage from the touching account of Mr. Smith, in relation to her feelings on finding herself going down to the grave:

"Her feelings, when she came now to look at her course as inevitably tending downward to the grave, were far from being such as she wished. The same trait of character, that made the thought of leaving you so painful, made also the anticipation of being taken from her other numerous friends, a source of the most sorrowful feelings. You know how ardent, and how many were the friendships she cherished. When she came to think of their all being rent asunder, she said, much as had been the pleasure she had derived from them, it were almost better to have no friends. But having given you up, the severest pang was over, and as she drew near eternity, other feelings threw a shade over these. She did not love the world in a bad sense; and yet it was evident that death was to a degree taking her unawares; and was occasioning her a most trying disappointment. How long and how ardent had been her attachment to the cause of missions! And how unremittingly had she labored to qualify herself for the work! And now, just as she had mastered the language, had her plans of operation marked out and successfully commenced, saw herself permanently settled in a commodious residence, had obtained a valuable female friend to share in her labors, and was fondly expecting another in a beloved relative,—to be called away at such a time, she had not expected, and many tears did she shed at giving up such bright anticipations and favorite plans, the subjects of so many prayers. No one, perhaps, ever enjoyed more the buoyancy of health than she. And now, when she found the symptoms of disease fastening themselves upon every part of her system, the thought that she was never more to have one healthful feeling, would sometimes give her a pang of sorrow, and cause bitter tears to flow. Such thoughts, however, were soon dismissed, and apparently never more indulged. In health she enjoyed more beautiful and delightful thoughts of heaven, than almost any person I have known. But in doing so, she had looked, not *through*, but *over* the grave, and the natural fear of death, which, as well as the dread of all bodily suffering, seems to have been in her unusually strong, was not overcome. When, therefore, she came to look at the dying pangs as near, her nature shrunk from the view with undefinable horror. It was the last of her painful feelings that was subdued, and I have no doubt it shed a deeper glow over all the others, if it did not occasion some of them."

On her being removed to Boujah, a pleasant place in the suburbs of the city, her spirits revived. From this time, she was generally cheerful. She could bear some reading, uniformly read herself a portion of Scripture daily, and once wrote with her own hand a few letters and notes. On the 21st of September, Mr. Smith read to her the 5th chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians. She listened with great attention, and seemed much interested, but said nothing. Not long after, however, she remarked, that it had comforted her more than she could express. It had removed all the remaining doubts from her mind. She wanted no more. She was going to be with her Saviour, and that was enough for her. "No visions of angels," she said, "are given me, and no excessive joy, but a settled quietness of mind. I believe all that is written in the word of God; and upon the strength of this faith, I am going into eternity." In the afternoon of September 22d, she said, with much earnestness, "When you write to my friends, after all is over, one thing I wish you would make prominent. It is, that I feel satisfied with the course I have taken in becoming a missionary. I have no disposition to boast of my labors; but I feel that I have not left my friends and my country in vain. I never have regretted that I have done so, nor do I now. *This is my dying testimony.*"

We quote a brief paragraph respecting the final scene :

"September 30.—It was about half past four when I entered the room. Her hand had a death-like coldness as I took it, and I perceived that her hour was come. After being raised as at other times, without expectorating, she also perceived the same; and, falling back gently upon her pillow, said in a faltering whisper, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

"The family soon assembled, including the servants, and our Armenian friend. It would have been a gratifying circumstance, had her last hours been passed in the midst of the nation to whose spiritual good she had devoted her life. As it was, our own ever-faithful and kind-hearted servant, was the only Arab that witnessed her dying scene. He took his position by the side of her bed, and there stood until the last; showing by uninterrupted tears and suppressed sobbing, how thoroughly she had won his attachment. The rest of the company stood or sat at a little distance, while I sat by her side with her hand in mine. As soon as all were assembled, I asked her if Mr. Adger should pray. With indistinctness she replied, 'Yes.' It was the last word she spoke. Convulsions had begun before he commenced, but she was quiet in a good de-

gree while he prayed. We then remained, silently watching her; feeling that we had nothing more to do, but to pray in our hearts for her speedy relief from suffering.

"Involuntary groans were occasionally uttered in her convulsions. These, as we were listening to them with painful sympathy, once to our surprise melted away into musical notes; and for a moment our ears were charmed with the full, clear tones of the sweetest melody. No words were articulated, and she was evidently unconscious of every thing about her. It seemed as if her soul was already joining in the songs of heaven, while it was yet so connected with the body as to command its unconscious sympathy. Not long after, she again opened her eyes in a state of consciousness. A smile of perfect happiness lighted up her emaciated features. She looked deliberately round upon different objects in the room, and then fixed upon me a look of the tenderest affection. * * * Her frequent prayers that the Saviour would meet her in the dark valley, have already been mentioned. By her smile, she undoubtedly intended to assure us, that she had found him. Words she could not utter to express what she felt. Life continued to struggle with its last enemy, until twenty minutes before eight o'clock; when her affectionate heart gradually ceased to beat, and her soul took its final departure to be for ever with the Lord."

Her funeral was attended on the first of October. The Rev. Daniel Temple addressed the assembled multitude in a most appropriate and impressive manner, and prayed. Out of respect for her, all the ladies present broke over the immemorial custom at Smyrna, of not attending funerals; and joined the procession to the grave. There the solemn funeral service of the church of England was read by the Rev. Mr. Lewis. Mrs. Smith's remains were interred at the new Protestant cemetery at Boujah. Her age, at the time of her death, was thirty-four years.

We have thus given a very brief and imperfect account of the life and labors of this beloved disciple of Jesus Christ. The few pages to which we are necessarily restricted will not allow us to give a full illustration of the varied excellences of her character. Even the volume, which Mr. Hooker has prepared with so much care and judgment, does not, we are assured, contain all, by any means, of the sterling materials which were in the biographer's possession.* In this connection, we are,

* We would suggest to the respected publishers and editor the propriety of procuring a new and better engraving of Mrs. Smith for the second edition. The present engraving essentially fails of doing justice to her features as exhibited in the admirable painting in her father's house. We think, also, that the book could be somewhat enlarged

also, to recollect, that a large portion of her most valuable journals perished in the shipwreck. It may be the opinion of some of our readers, that we have employed commendatory epithets too liberally, and have failed altogether in wielding the independent sceptre of the reviewer. But we cannot help it. In reading such a book, we have no heart to find fault. We leave that ungracious task to some Zoilus or Diogenes in criticism, or to some London or Edinburgh enemy of missions, who sits in the reviewer's "damnatory" seat. It would be sacrilege critically to analyze Mrs. Smith's character. The mere critic knows nothing about such excellence. With the pulsations of her frank heart, he has no answering chord. With the heroic zeal which led her to toil and die in a strange land, he has no sympathy.

It is not necessary, if we had the ability, to give any connected view of Mrs. Smith's character. Mr. Smith has done this already in the closing chapter of the Memoir, with a tender heart and with a discriminating judgment, or rather by the simple facts which he has unostentatiously presented.

In a repeated perusal of the Memoir, we have been struck with the deep experience to which Mrs. Smith attained of the truths of God's word. Many of us, who have assumed the name of Christians, are contented to live in the twilight. We make but little effort to come into the clear sunshine of the gospel. We are not *living* Christians. We do not enter heartily into the great mysteries of redemption. We do not become possessed of the vitality of our religion. There are many passages in the Scriptures, whose hidden riches,—owing to our negligence and inexperience,—we have never attempted to explore. It is possible, that such an epistle as that to the Ephesians seems like an unintelligible rhapsody to us. But it was not thus with Mrs. Smith. She perceived a spiritual meaning in the Bible. The life which she lived in the flesh was indeed by the faith of the Son of God, who loved her and gave himself for her.

from the golden remains which, we are told, have not seen the light. The account which Mr. Smith gives of his wife's last days,—a paper drawn up with uncommon judgment and delicacy,—might be given in full. It is now much abridged. If it is thought that the book cannot be enlarged, then some parts of the journal of Mrs. S.'s tour in the Holy Land might be omitted. We may here mention, that it would be well to give the dates more fully than they are given in the first edition.

In her missionary course, she was thrown immediately upon God for protection and support. She was stripped of those extraneous and adventitious guards, by which we are enabled to conform outwardly to the precepts of the gospel. She comprehended, with the first Christian martyrs, the length, and breadth, and depth, and height of the love of Jesus.

This volume may be made eminently advantageous to the foreign missionary cause. It erects a high, yet attainable, standard of duty. It shows what a missionary can do, and can become, in all the details of his calling. The importance of the acquisition of language is presented in its proper light. External accomplishments, suavity of manners, and a conformity to the innocent customs of society are not overlooked. Practical questions of great moment, in respect to the employment of servants, the proper degree of interference with the rites of a corrupt religion, and the appropriate methods in which the females of a mission can labor, are either settled or strikingly illustrated. Above all, the grand secret of happiness and success in missionary exertions is placed in strong relief. This secret is *prayer*. Mrs. Smith loved to pray. Prayer was her vital breath. The throne of grace was her cherished home. And here she was no monopolist. Her heart was large as the world. The number and variety of the objects of her stated petitions would astonish and confound the ordinary Christian. And yet she was continually adding to them. Her example, in this respect, as well as in many other points, let all missionaries zealously copy. In this way, her works will follow her, and her influence, if not her name, will be in everlasting remembrance.

We cannot but add, in conclusion, what a place heaven is becoming! "Heaven is" truly "enriching itself with the spoils of earth." It is delightful to think of Mrs. Smith as now an illustrious spirit in that world, though saved by grace. She has lost none of her individuality. Those qualities of mind and heart, ennobled and sanctified by the Spirit, now exist in a perfection, of which we have but little idea. She has joined those "long lines of ancestors" who fell asleep in Jesus. According to her wish, she may have become a ministering spirit with that dear brother whose dying bed she soothed,—a co-messen-

ger on errands of love and mercy. Her earthly remains sleep near one of the "seven churches," where reposes the body of Polycarp, and not far distant the body of that "disciple whom Jesus loved." The time is fast coming when these bright forms will rise, together with all those ancient Smyranean saints "who were faithful unto death," that they may receive "a crown of life."

ARTICLE VII.

BROUGHAM'S SKETCHES OF STATESMEN.

Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III. To which is added, Remarks on Party, and an Appendix. First Series. By HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM, F. R. S., and Member of the National Institute of France. 2 vols. pp. 223, 216. Philadelphia. 1839.

THIS is a work of intense and of permanent interest. It is, we confess, in some respects, without the circle within which we more commonly restrict ourselves as Christian reviewers. It is neither theological, nor ethical; it has nothing *directly* to do with men, either as Christians or as heathen. While all this, however, is true, it furnishes so many lessons which most forcibly impress the precepts of the gospel, it contains so much that may serve to enkindle the fire of eloquence in the bosoms of those who are called upon to address their fellows on topics of surpassing importance, that we make no apology for presenting before our readers some account of its contents, and some reflections to which the perusal of its pages naturally gives rise.

These two volumes contain an almost complete portrait gallery of the statesmen of the reign of George III. Of these, the characters most elaborately finished, are Chat-ham, North, Mansfield, Burke, Pitt, Fox, Erskine and Canning. The other less remarkable men of their age are sketched with graphic power, and vividly, yet, we

think, faithfully, colored. The author has been personally acquainted with most of the men whom he has described, and has known the contemporaries of those whom he delineates from tradition. There is great reason to believe, that he has intended to be strictly honest and impartial, without being unnecessarily severe. If in any thing we suspect the soundness of his judgment, it is when he has occasion to speak of George III, and his immediate family, and of the general character of the tory aristocracy. On topics of this kind, we sometimes perceive, that it costs him an effort to speak kindly of kings and kingcraft; and sometimes when the effort has been made, and made successfully, he is obliged to turn back again, and give vent to his indignation in some covert allusion, as though to remind us, that the respect which he testifies, is merely an observance of the decencies of society, and that this thin veil is loosely thrown over a spirit, which holds the whole thing in utter abhorrence.

Of the literary execution of the work, we cannot speak in high commendation. Of words, the author has a sufficiently copious, though neither a very rich, nor very classical, supply. He aims at effect, and is so careless of the means by which it is produced, that the effect itself is frequently impaired by negligence. But it is in the structure of his sentences that our author principally fails. He has manifestly been accustomed to speaking rather than to writing. Hence the rapid movement of his thought is checked and embarrassed by the necessity of committing the thought to paper. By the time that the half of a sentence is written, the mind of the writer has wandered into some far advanced region of thought; and, when recalled to the subject matter before it, the latter part of the sentence, as originally conceived, is irrevocably lost. The sentence is patched up in haste, and another is formed in the same manner. And besides this, he who speaks extempore, must, frequently, be obliged to use, on the instant, words which do not, indeed, suit him, but which are the best that come immediately to hand. In this manner, we contract a careless habit in the selection of words, our instinctive perception of the delicate shades of their meaning is lost, and our relish for the nice adaptation of the word to the thought is seriously abated.

It is for this reason, doubtless, in part, that so few of our most eloquent men are also eloquent writers. How barren is the legal profession, in general, of classical writers! We might also, perhaps, say, on the other hand, how barren is the pulpit of fluent and eloquent extempore speakers. The two habits of mind are essentially diverse, and they cannot be cultivated without particular attention to both. We make these remarks for the sake, mainly, of our clerical readers. They are called upon to practise both kinds of address. They should, therefore, learn both to speak fluently and to write correctly. Both habits are important means of usefulness. Both should be sedulously cultivated, and, thus cultivated, each will assist the other. He who is in the habit of writing, will speak more methodically and more correctly; and he who is also in the habit of extemporaneous speaking, will write with more animation, and, of course, with more eloquence.

The principal faults of the style of these sketches, are awkwardness of construction; contorted and unnatural inversion; and, sometimes, an almost inextricable obscurity. Thus, speaking of Lord Chatham, he says, "It would be difficult to glean any *token of his mind having gone* before the very ordinary routine of the day." The following instance is still more exceptionable. "No security can be afforded for the mind of the judge having been directed to the different parts of each case, and his attention having been held awake to the whole of the discussions at the bar, unless he state explicitly," &c. We imagine that few of our readers would apprehend, that by this very awkward phraseology, it is intended to assert "under given circumstances, we can have no security that the mind of the judge has been directed to the different parts of each case, and that his attention has been awake," &c. A variety of cases of this kind of error might be cited. Every page is more or less disfigured with instances of looseness of construction, of which a practised writer ought not to be guilty. It is very rare to meet with that "*callida junctura verborum*,"—that exquisite adjustment of expression,—which frequently confers upon an old thought almost the interest, and more than the grace, of a new one, and fixes for ever in the recollection an idea which had a hundred times before passed through the mind, without ever having arrested attention.

These may be called minor criticisms. Be it so. But they are the very things which distinguish good writing from bad; which separate the men who have formed a *style*, from those who have never made that attainment. We know it is sometimes said, that matters of this sort are unworthy of serious attention. We are told, that these blemishes do not detract from effectiveness; and that a man should attend to the thought rather than to the verbiage. This is just the same as to say that bad English is as effective as good, and that a man is the better understood for writing obscurely. The plain truth is, that, to write correctly, a man must discipline himself to write with care. He can never be universally understood, unless not only his words be so selected, but also so arranged, as to convey his idea in those forms which the most correct usage of the language has adopted. It is not unreasonable, that an author be required to render himself acquainted with the tongue in which he writes; it is certainly unreasonable for him to expect to be understood, if he refuse to subject himself to so moderate a labor.

But not only is our author loose and incorrect, he is frequently inextricably obscure. We should be very glad to meet a man who could, by half a dozen readings, unravel the meaning of the following sentence: "How many of those who, but for this unwelcome retrospect into their own lives, which are thus forcing upon them, would be the very first to pronounce a pharisaical condemnation on Lord North, have adopted the views of their opponents, rather than yield them up their places, by courageously and honestly pursuing the course prescribed by their own?"

Take another instance of a similar kind: "Without affirming that the altered view of the question was wholly caused by the position of parties, and dictated by the ministers taking the other line, we may at least assert, without any fear of contradiction, that the promptitude with which the charge was made by the leaders is traceable to this source; and that their having power to make their less liberal and enlightened followers in the country join them, doing violence to their most rooted prejudices, can in no other way be accounted for than by referring to the operation of party tactics." Instances nearly as bad

as these, might be produced in abundance. We know that in extenuation of these faults it will be pleaded, that the author is overwhelmed with business, and, that he writes in a prodigious hurry. That an author has but little leisure, may be a reason why he should publish but little; but it is no reason whatever for his publishing what cannot be understood. Whatever may be the engagements of his lordship, there can be no sufficient reason why the Ex-High Chancellor of Great Britain, should not write good English.

If, having made these abatements, we come to the thought itself, and to the general tendency of these volumes, our task becomes at once incomparably more pleasant. The leading characters, whose portraits are exhibited in this national picture gallery, are drawn with spirit, and, we believe, with fairness; and their talents and their virtues set forth with the hand of a master. The value of the life of each statesman is skilfully summed up; the style of the eloquence of each is portrayed with vigorous discrimination, and the points of resemblance and contrast between ancient and modern oratory are exhibited in a manner which shows the author to be familiarly acquainted with all the triumphs that public speaking has achieved since the dawn of civilization.

We have alluded to the appearance of prejudice in the delineations of George III. We beg leave to add here a remark upon the character of this, in many respects, unfortunate prince. George III was not well informed; he was possessed of no great capacity; his feeling of moral obligation, though strong, was often ill-directed; inso-much that what commenced in love of right was exceedingly prone to terminate in sullen obstinacy. All this, we believe, must be granted. But, notwithstanding all this, let it be remembered, that to the best of his comprehension he honestly intended to do what seemed to him to be right. The example of his life gave confidence to virtue. His family, at least, in so far as it was under his own control, was a model to the families of his people. While we despise his cunning, and are vexed at his obstinacy, we do well to remember, that throughout his life he was subject to the direst ill that flesh is heir to, and that no one of us can determine in how far his unhappy peculiar-

ities of temper may be traceable to that mental disease to which he at last fell a victim. If his hatred, inexorable and inappeasable, towards Fox, Sheridan, and the whigs, be remembered, let it not be forgotten, that monarchs are not generally the bosom friends of reformers; and that Fox, Sheridan and their political friends ruined the moral character of his eldest son, and were guilty of the most atrocious national crime, in rendering the heir apparent to the throne indolent, sensual, profligate, false, trifling, and, in one word, utterly contemptible. Christianity herself would allow a father to feel, that to associate with such men was disgrace; and that to come into contact with them was pollution.

The character of Lord Chatham is one of the most remarkable that the pen of history has recorded. As a statesman and as an orator, his life forms an era in the annals of his country. The only Englishman with whom he can be compared is Oliver Cromwell. Here, however, the comparison holds true only while we limit our views to statesmanship. In other respects they were unlike. Cromwell was a very able soldier. Chatham, though originally in the army, attained to no higher rank than cornet of dragoons. Chatham stands as an orator probably in the same class with Demosthenes. Cromwell never spoke in public, and his conversation in private was commonly so enigmatical, that it could scarcely be comprehended by his most intimate friends.

Chatham possessed in a degree, probably never to be surpassed, all the attributes that unite to form the character of a statesman, or of a leader among men. To apprehension quick as thought, sagacity so acute as to lack but little of arriving at prescience, exhaustless fertility of resource, which could create means, in the time that other men would be bemoaning the want of them, he added the most entire reliance on the decisions of his own intellect, and an unflinching resolution that never quailed while carrying those decisions into effect, even to their remotest ramification. To all this his outward man corresponded. His bearing was noble; his air that of command; and his whole expression that of a man who was destined from his cradle to be first. Could he have blended with all this in public, the mildness and gentleness which belonged to him in private; could he have

been content *to be* the first subject in the kingdom, without obliging all his associates to confess that he was so, he would have presented the world with the character of a perfect statesman. All this would have been very well, but then, the Revolution would not have occurred, and this country would not have been independent.

As an orator, Chatham seems to us, more than any orator of modern times, to resemble Demosthenes. Not that we believe the style of the Englishman to be at all comparable with that of the Athenian. The latter wrote his orations with infinite labor, and then committed them to memory. The speeches of the former were never written before their delivery; nay, were frequently almost unpremeditated. The resemblance consists in the thought, and in the position which the speaker assumes towards his audience. The character of the thought in both seems to be the perfection of common sense, rendered transparent by passing through a mind that could not admit an ambiguous conception, clothed in simple, pure, and familiar words, and concentrated to a focus of all-consuming intensity, by passions that glowed like a furnace seven times heated. Such, at any rate, was the eloquence of Lord Chatham. Its effects were prodigious. Nothing in ancient or in modern times presents any parallel to the sway which he exercised over the House of Commons. He was in debate an overmatch for the whole house; and in that house there were many who were by no means common men. Yet Chatham dared with impunity to treat the ablest of them like children. On one occasion, as in the course of a speech, he was about to reply to some remarks from Mr. Murray, then Attorney General (afterwards better known as Lord Mansfield), he turned towards him and commenced. Murray turned so pale that his agitation was perceived by the whole house. "I see," said this great orator, "Judge Felix trembles. I will excuse him for the present, and reserve his punishment for another occasion." So terrible was his power of invective, that this contemptuous sneer was looked upon by Murray and by the whole house as a very tender mercy.

This was the manner in which he treated his individual opponents. Of the tyrannical sway which he exercised over the whole house, the following extract from our author furnishes a specimen :

"It is related that once in the House of Commons he began a speech with the words, 'Sugar, Mr. Speaker,'—and then, observing a smile to pervade the audience, he paused, looked fiercely around, and with a loud voice, rising in its notes and swelling into vehement anger, he is said to have pronounced again the word 'Sugar!' three times, and having thus quelled the house, and extinguished every appearance of levity or laughter, turned round and disdainfully asked, 'Who will laugh at sugar now?' We have the anecdote upon good traditional authority; that it was believed by those who had the best means of knowing Lord Chatham is certain; and this of itself shows their sense of the extraordinary powers of his manner, and the reach of his audacity in trusting to those powers."

The character and actions of Lord Chatham may well furnish a study for those who are in any manner engaged in directing the efforts of their fellow-men. We may learn from him, that there exists a wide difference between wisdom and prudence. Lord Chatham was certainly a wise man, or he could not, surely, have been a successful man. No statesman ever, commencing with so small means, multiplied them so rapidly, or achieved with them such surprising results. But this was not done by shrinking from responsibility, by casting the labor of action and of decision upon others, and then clutching the reputation of success, or dodging the consequences of failure. Such a course may save a man's own skin from abrasion, but it will carry forward no important enterprise, and will, in the end, administer the extreme unction to its own reputation. It will multiply its own shifting and shuffling spirit, until every one escapes responsibility; that is to say, until every thing stands still. True wisdom is of a different temper, and moves in a widely different circle. It is the harmonious union of clearness of intellect, sagacity in foresight and boldness in execution. It allows of no baffling, no shuffling, no dodging. It is manly, true, sincere, cautious, and yet decided. It neither covets power nor shrinks from responsibility. Distinctly perceiving the limits of its obligations, it will no more be guilty of the pusillanimity of falling short of its duty, than of the arrogance of going beyond it. This was the spirit of Lord Chatham's administration, and, if we mistake not, it was the spirit of the administrations of Cromwell, of Washington, of Wellington, and indeed of all those, who have made themselves illustrious as the directors of human affairs.

A man more different from Lord Chatham, than Lord North, can scarcely be conceived. With but little learning, with by no means large capacity, holding no hereditary claim upon the affections of the British people, with no pretensions to remarkable eloquence, and with no strong backers but the king, Mr. Wedderburn and Mr. Thurlow, opposed by the most splendid constellations of of talent that the House of Commons ever gazed upon, he held his office during the stormy period of the American Revolution; and, if he cannot be said to have governed well, may fairly be acknowledged to have sustained himself against such tremendous odds, that not to have been defeated is higher praise than to have gained a common victory. Nor is this all. After having borne every thing that ferocity could dictate in political warfare, he beheld his most inveterate foes willing to take office with him, and thus, by their own act, give the practical lie to all their former vituperation.

It is somewhat singular, that the means by which this remarkable person was enabled thus to sustain himself, was the most imperturbable good-nature, and the most ready and delightful wit. If an argument pressed hard upon him, he got the better of it by a joke. If an attack was vindictive, he hurled back its whole force by a brilliant repartee. If his measures were reprobated, he defended them with calmness and good sense, and in all cases, preserved an unruffled serenity, which was a thousand times more annoying to his assailants than the outpourings of the most corroding sarcasm.

Our author records a few of his sayings in the heat of debate, which will show us something of the character of the man. We extract the following:

"But if it would be endless to recount the triumphs of his temper, it would be equally so and far more difficult to record those of his wit. It appears to have been of a kind peculiarly characteristic and eminently natural; playing easily and without the least effort; perfectly suited to his placid nature, by being what Clarendon says of Charles II, "a pleasant, affable, recommending sort of wit;" wholly unpretending; so exquisitely suited to the occasion that it never failed of effect, yet so readily produced and so entirely unambitious, that although it had occurred to nobody before, every one wondered it had not suggested itself to all. A few only of his sayings have reached us, and these, as might be expected, are rather things which he had chanced to coat over with some sarcasm or epigram

that tended to preserve them ; they consequently are far from giving an idea of his habitual pleasantry and the gayety of thought which generally pervaded his speeches. Thus, when a vehement declaimer, calling aloud for his head, turned round and perceived his victim unconsciously indulging in a sort of slumber, and, becoming still more exasperated, denounced the Minister as capable of sleeping while he ruined his country,—the latter only complained how cruel it was to be denied a solace which other criminals so often enjoyed, that of having a night's rest before their fate. When surprised in a like indulgence during the performance of a very inferior artist, who, however, showed equal indignation at so ill-timed a recreation, he contented himself with observing how hard it was that he should be grudged so very natural a release from considerable suffering ; but, as if recollecting himself, added that it was somewhat unjust in the gentleman to complain of him for taking the remedy which he himself had been considerate enough to administer. The same good-humor and drollery quitted him not when in opposition. Every one has heard of the speech which, if it had failed to injure the objects of its attack, was very effectual in affixing a name upon its honest and much-respected author. On Mr. Martin's proposal to have a starling placed near the chair, and taught to repeat the cry of 'Infamous coalition!' Lord North coolly suggested that, as long as the worthy member was preserved to them, it would be a needless waste of public money, since the starling might well perform his office by deputy. That in society such a man must have been the most delightful of companions may well be supposed. In his family, and in all his private intercourse, as in his personal character, he was known to be in every respect amiable ; of scrupulous integrity and unsullied honor."

To these we beg leave to add one or two others from recollection.

Lord North, during the later years of his life, was blind ; and he shared this affliction with his bitter political antagonist, Col. Barré. Replying to some remarks of the latter, in the House of Commons, Lord North said, "Notwithstanding the hostility which the honorable gentleman opposite has shown towards me, yet, I am certain, that there are no two persons in the world who would be more happy to see each other."

On another occasion, some one of his opponents spoke of him most contemptuously as "*The thing called a minister.*" Lord North, who was very corpulent, in rising to reply, said as follows : "The honorable gentleman has seen fit to designate me as '*The thing called a minister.*' At first, I confess, that I was unable to decide in what manner the remark of my honorable friend was to be taken. That I am *a thing* (patting his fat sides with

both his hands), I certainly cannot deny. But, inasmuch as the honorable gentlemen, said I was the thing called a *minister*,—the thing, which above all others, I knew he would like to be *himself*,—I took it decidedly as a compliment."

We have mentioned these anecdotes, not so much on account of their intrinsic importance, as for another reason. They show us the value of perfect good-nature; of unchanging sweetness of temper, in all cases, when men meet in deliberative assemblies. We do not believe in buffoonery; we dislike as much as any one, the turning of every thing serious into a jest. Yet it is surely better to turn aside an ill-natured remark by a harmless pleasantry, than to concoct for a week, or even for an hour, a venomous reply, and then utter it, with the deliberate and avowed intention of inflicting upon an adversary all the pain in our power. When men meet together in free discussion, it would be marvellous if, in the heat of debate, remarks did not often escape a speaker which his sober judgment would not sanction. While we make no excuse for grossness of attack, yet we can almost as ill excuse grossness of reply. It is surely wiser to defeat unkindness by good-nature, than by falling into a passion.

We cannot but, in this respect, feel mortified by the spectacle so frequently presented in our halls of general and state legislation. There may frequently be seen, among our legislators, a spirit of personal hostility, a malicious design to lacerate and cauterize, as alien to civilization as it is to Christianity. In one case, a short time since, in one of the Southern States, the Speaker of the House of Assembly assassinated a man in his place, for words spoken in debate, while yet the offensive expressions were trembling upon his lips. We can scarcely conceive of any thing more horridly brutal, or more infamously wicked.

But we have dwelt on the character of Lord North, for another reason. We presume that no man was ever more universally detested, than this statesman, during the whole of our revolutionary war. He was believed to be the incarnation of tyranny, the undisguised patron of every vice, the author of every calamity endured either by his own country, or by the colonies, whom his mismanagement forced into rebellion. It is somewhat cheering, now that the

smoke of the controversy has passed away, to look upon this distinguished individual, and to find that he was a man of most amiable temper, of the sweetest good-nature, the delight of his friends and the idol of his family; nay, to learn, that to his very good-nature all our calamities may, in part, be attributed. It is now a matter of unquestioned history, that Lord North was, from the beginning, wholly opposed to the American war; that in consequence of his opposition, he was anxious to resign; that he held his place because he could not resist the importunity of his king; and that George III alone was the real author of all the calamities of that season of misrule; while Lord North was nothing but the unwilling instrument, who had not the moral courage to give pain to his sovereign.

In the character of Lord Thurlow, we take but little interest. He was a man to be shunned for his personal vices, and abhorred for his deep and fathomless duplicity. Although a man of decided ability, we are inclined to believe his talents inferior to those so commonly attributed to him. The following description of his appearance as chairman of the House of Lords is too characteristic to be omitted:

"Of his powers as a debater there are now no means to form an estimate, except what tradition, daily becoming more scanty and precarious, may supply. He possessed great depth of voice, rolled out his sentences with unbroken fluency, and displayed a confidence both of tone and of assertion which, accompanied by somewhat of Dr. Johnson's balanced sententiousness, often silenced when it did not convince; for of reasoning he was proverbially sparing: there are those indeed who will have it that he never was known to do any thing which, when attended to, even looked like using an argument, although to view the speaker and carelessly to hear him, you would say he was laying waste the whole field of argumentation and dispersing and destroying all his antagonists. His aspect was more solemn and imposing than almost any other person's in public life, so much so that Mr. Fox used to say it proved him dishonest, since no man could be so wise as he looked. Nor did he neglect any of the external circumstances, how trifling soever, by which attention and deference could be secured on the part of his audience. Not only were his periods well rounded, and the connecting matter or continuing phrases well flung in, but the tongue was so hung as to make the sonorous voice peal through the hall, and appear to convey things which it would be awful to examine too near, and perilous to question. Nay, to the more trivial circumstance of his place, when addressing the House of Lords, he scrupulously attend-

ed. He rose slowly from his seat: he left the woolsack with deliberation; but he went not to the nearest place, like ordinary Chancellors, the sons of mortal men; he drew back by a pace or two, and standing as it were askance, and partly behind the huge bale he had quitted for a season, he began to pour out, first in a growl, and then in a clear and louder roll, the matter which he had to deliver, and which for the most part consisted in some positive assertions, some personal vituperation, some sarcasms at classes, some sentences pronounced upon individuals as if they were standing before him for judgment, some vague mysterious threats of things purposely not expressed, and abundant protestations of conscience and duty, in which they who keep the consciences of kings are somewhat apt to indulge."

In contrast with this description we would present the following description of Sir William Grant, in his own (the Vice Chancellor's) Court. It places before us the splendid conception of a perfect Judge:

"The court in those days presented a spectacle which afforded true delight to every person of sound judgment and pure taste. After a long and a silent hearing,—a hearing of all that could be urged by the counsel of every party,—unbroken by a single word, and when the spectator of Sir William Grant (for he was not heard) might suppose that his mind had been absent from a scene in which he took no apparent share, the debate was closed,—the advocate's hour was passed,—the parties were in silent expectation of the event,—the hall no longer resounded with any voice,—it seemed as if the affair of the day, for the present, was over, and the court was to adjourn or to call for another cause. No! The judge's time had now arrived, and another artist was to fill the scene. The great magistrate began to pronounce his judgment, and every eye and every ear was at length fixed upon the bench. Forth came a strain of clear, unbroken fluency, disposing alike, in most luminous order, of all the facts and of all the arguments in the cause; reducing into clear and simple arrangement, the most entangled masses of broken and conflicting statement; weighing each matter, and disposing of each in succession; settling one doubt by a parenthetical remark; passing over another difficulty by a reason only more decisive that it was condensed; and giving out the whole impression of the case, in every material view, upon the judge's mind, with argument enough to show why he so thought, and to prove him right, and without so much reasoning as to make you forget that it was a judgment you were hearing, by overstepping the bounds which distinguish a judgment from a speech. This is the perfection of judicial eloquence; not avoiding argument, but confining it to such reasoning as beseems him who has rather to explain the grounds of his own conviction, than to labor at convincing others; not rejecting reference to authority, but never betokening a disposition to seek shelter behind other men's names, for what he might fear to pronounce in his own person; not disdaining even

ornaments, but those of the more chastened graces that accord with the severe standard of a judge's oratory. This perfection of judicial eloquence Sir William Grant attained, and its effect upon all listeners was as certain and as powerful as its merits were incontestable and exalted."

The next great portrait that attracts our attention is that of Burke, a name almost synonymous with genius and statesmanship. The delineation of the character of this illustrious man seems not to have been sketched with the author's usual felicity. It appears like the work of two different hands; or, as though the author had begun it at one time, and finished it, after a considerable interval, at another. Hence it wants both unity of design, and harmony of coloring, as well as mellowness of expression. It is, however, exceedingly valuable, inasmuch as it presents us with one more portrait of Burke, drawn by a skilful artist, as well acquainted with his politics and principles as any man now living. As such it will be considered a valuable contribution to English literature. Indeed, notwithstanding the defects to which we have alluded, it contains some of the most striking passages to be found in our language. The description of Burke's style of oratory is worthy of comparison with any thing of its kind that we have ever seen.

Of Burke himself we have no space here to treat at large. His character and his works are themselves a study, and a whole article, instead of a brief paragraph, must be employed, if we desire to do them the semblance of justice. We have, at present, neither time nor opportunity to set forth his vast capacity; his boundless learning enriched and classified and ripened by profound reflection; such learning that Johnson, within his chosen circle, was awed by its magnificence; his imagination of exhaustless fertility, teeming at every moment, with images gathered in profusion from heaven and earth, and under the earth; his broad and massive theoretical statesmanship, tempered and fashioned by practical skill; his sagacious foresight, which was "as if one went to inquire of the oracle of the Lord;" all this must, from necessity, be passed over. At some time we may perhaps devote a few of our pages to the more full consideration of this admirable subject.

We have here only time to present an extract or two, exhibiting the character of Burke's style both as a writer

and as a speaker. As we have before remarked, they are also specimens of our author's happiest manner.

His merits as a prose writer are thus sketched :

"How much soever men may differ as to the soundness of Mr. Burke's doctrines, or the purity of his public conduct, there can be no hesitation in according to him a station among the most extraordinary persons that have ever appeared ; nor is there now any diversity of opinion as to the place which it is fit to assign him. He was a writer of the first class, and excelled in almost every kind of prose composition. Possessed of most extensive knowledge, and of the most various description ; acquainted alike with what different classes of men knew, each in his own province, and with much that hardly any one ever thought of learning ; he could either bring his masses of information to bear directly upon the subjects to which they severally belonged,—or he could avail himself of them generally to strengthen his faculties and enlarge his views,—or he could turn any portion of them to account for the purpose of illustrating his theme, or enriching his diction. Hence, when he is handling any one matter, we perceive that we are conversing with a reasoner or a teacher, to whom almost every other branch of knowledge is familiar. His views range over all the cognate subjects ; his reasonings are derived from principles applicable to other matters as well as the one in hand ; arguments pour in from all sides, as well as those which start up under our feet, the natural growth of the path he is leading us over ; while to throw light round our steps, and either explore its darker places, or serve for our recreation, illustrations are fetched from a thousand quarters ; and an imagination, marvellously quick to descry unthought-of resemblances, pours forth the stores, which a lore yet more marvellous has gathered from all ages, and nations, and arts, and tongues. We are, in respect of the argument, reminded of Bacon's multifarious knowledge, and the exuberance of his learned fancy ; while the many-lettered diction recalls to mind the first of English poets, and his immortal verse, rich with the spoils of all sciences and all times."

Again, as to his manner of rhetorical attack :

"It is another characteristic of this great writer, that the unlimited abundance of his stores makes him profuse in their expenditure. Never content with one view of a subject, or one manner of handling it, he for the most part lavishes his whole resources upon the discussion of each point. In controversy, this is emphatically the case. Indeed, nothing is more remarkable than the variety of ways in which he makes his approaches to any position he would master. After reconnoitering it with skill and boldness, if not with perfect accuracy, he manœuvres with infinite address, and arrays a most imposing force of general principles mustered from all parts, and pointed, sometimes violently enough, in one direction. He now moves on with the composed air, the even, dignified pace of the historian ; and unfolds his facts in a narrative so easy, and yet so

correct, that you plainly perceive he wanted only the dismissal of other pursuits to have rivalled Livy or Hume. But soon this advance is interrupted, and he stops to display his powers of description, when the boldness of his design is only matched by the brilliancy of its coloring. He then skirmishes for a space, and puts in motion all the lighter arms of wit; sometimes not unmingled with drollery, sometimes bordering upon farce. His main battery is now opened, and a tempest bursts forth, of every weapon of attack,—invective, abuse, irony, sarcasm, simile drawn out to allegory, allusion, quotation, fable, parable, anathema. The heavy artillery of powerful declamation, and the conflict of close argument alone are wanting; but of this the garrison is not always aware; his noise is oftentimes mistaken for the thunder of true eloquence; the number of his movements distracts, and the variety of his missiles annoys the adversary; a panic spreads, and he carries his point, as if he had actually made a practicable breach; nor is it discovered till after the smoke and confusion is over, that the citadel remains untouched."

We have only space, in passing over the great names of Fox and Pitt, to quote the following passages, descriptive of the manner of speaking of each. We commence with that of Mr. Fox :

"Having premised all these qualifications, it must now be added, that Mr. Fox's eloquence was of a kind which, to comprehend, you must have heard himself. When he got fairly into his subject, was heartily warmed with it, he poured forth words and periods of fire that smote you, and deprived you of all power to reflect and rescue yourself, while he went on to seize the faculties of the listener, and carry them captive along with him whithersoever he might please to rush. It is ridiculous to doubt that he was a far closer reasoner, a much more argumentative speaker, than Demosthenes; as much more so as Demosthenes would perhaps have been than Fox had he lived in our times, and had to address an English House of Commons. For it is the kindred mistake of those who fancy that the two were like each other, to imagine that the Grecian's orations are long chains of ratiocination, like Sir William Grant's arguments, or Euclid's demonstrations. They are close to the point; they are full of impressive allusions; they abound in expositions of the adversary's inconsistency; they are loaded with bitter invective; they never lose sight of the subject; and they never quit hold of the hearer, by the striking appeals they make to his strongest feelings and his favorite recollections: to the heart, or to the quick and immediate sense of inconsistency, they are always addressed, and find their way thither by the shortest and surest road; but to the head, to the calm and sober judgment, as pieces of argumentation, they assuredly are not addressed. But Mr. Fox, as he went along, and exposed absurdity, and made inconsistent arguments clash, and laid bare shuffling or hypocrisy, and showered down upon meanness, or upon cruelty, or upon oppression, a pitiless storm of the most fierce invective, was

ever forging also the long, and compacted, and massive chain of pure demonstration.

"There was no weapon of argument which this great orator more happily or more frequently wielded than wit,—the wit which exposes to ridicule the absurdity or inconsistency of an adverse argument. It has been said of him, we believe by Mr. Frere, that he was the wittiest speaker of his times; and they were the times of Sheridan and of Windham. This was Mr. Canning's opinion, and it was also Mr. Pitt's. There was nothing more awful in Mr. Pitt's sarcasm, nothing so vexatious in Mr. Canning's light and galling railery, as the battering and piercing wit with which Mr. Fox so often interrupted, but always supported, the heavy artillery of his argumentative declamation."

Let us now compare this description with that of the oratory of his great rival:

"If from the statesman we turn to the orator, the contrast is, indeed, marvellous. He is to be placed, without any doubt, in the highest class. With a sparing use of ornament, hardly indulging more in figures, or even in figurative expression, than the most severe examples of ancient chasteness allowed,—with little variety of style, hardly any of the graces of manner,—he no sooner rose than he carried away every hearer, and kept the attention fixed and unflagging till it pleased him to let it go; and then

"So charming left his voice, that we, awhile,
Still thought him speaking, still stood fixed to hear."

This magical effect was produced by his unbroken flow, which never for a moment left the hearer in pain or doubt, and yet was not the mean fluency of mere relaxation, requiring no effort of the speaker, but imposing on the listener a heavy task; by his lucid arrangement, which made all parts of the most complicated subject quit their entanglement, and fall each into its place; by the clearness of his statements, which presented at once a picture to the mind; by the forcible appeals to strict reason and strong feeling, which formed the great staple of the discourse; by the majesty of the diction; by the depth and fulness of the most sonorous voice, and the unbending dignity of the manner, which ever reminded us that we were in the presence of more than an advocate or debater, that there stood before us a ruler of the people. Such were the effects invariably of this singular eloquence; and they were as certainly produced on ordinary occasions, as in those grander displays when he rose to the height of some great argument, or indulged in vehement invective against some individual, and variegated his speech with that sarcasm of which he was so great, and indeed so little sparing a master; although even here all was uniform and consistent; nor did any thing, in any mood of mind, ever drop from him that was unsuited to the majestic frame of the whole, or could disturb the serenity of the full and copious flood that rolled along.

"But if such was the unfailing impression at first produced, and which, for a season absorbing the faculties, precluded all criticism;

upon reflection, faults and imperfections certainly were disclosed. There prevailed a monotony in the matter, as well as in the manner; and even the delightful voice which so long prevented this from being felt, was itself almost without any variety of tone. All things were said nearly in the same way; as if by some curious machine periods were rounded and flung off; as if, in like moulds, though of different sizes, ideas were shaped and brought out. His composition was correct enough, but not peculiarly felicitous; his English was sufficiently pure, without being at all racy, or various, or brilliant; his style, was, by Mr. Windham, called "a state-paper style," in allusion to its combined dignity and poverty; and the same nice observer, referring to the eminently skilful way in which he balanced his phrases, sailed near the wind, and seemed to disclose much whilst he kept the greater part of his meaning to himself, declared that he "verily believed Mr. Pitt could speak a king's speech off-hand." His declamation was admirable, mingling with and clothing the argument, as to be good for any thing it always must; and no more separable from the reasoning than the heat is from the metal in a stream of lava. Yet, with all this excellence, the last effect of the highest eloquence was for the most part wanting; we seldom forgot the speaker, or lost the artist in the work. He was earnest enough; he seemed quite sincere; he was moved himself as he would move us; we even went along with him, and forgot *ourselves*; but we hardly forgot *him*; and while thrilled with the glow which his burning words diffused, or transfixed with wonder at so marvellous a display of skill, we yet felt that it was admiration of a consummate artist which filled us, and that after all, we were present at an exhibition; gazing upon a wonderful performer indeed, but still a performer."

We have room left to take notice of but one more portrait in this splendid gallery of master spirits of the age which they illustrated. We should have selected Wilberforce but that we have already considered his character somewhat at length.* Passing him, we would gaze for a moment upon Thomas Erskine, within his own walk, more illustrious than any whom we have mentioned. We say more illustrious in his own walk, because, we believe, not one of those whom we have named, ever rose to such eminence in the branch in which he most excelled, as Erskine attained at the bar. Pitt, Fox, Chatham, Burke, all find their parallels in the list of parliamentary orators; but it may be fairly doubted whether there ever existed, either in ancient or modern times, the superior, or even the equal, to Erskine, as an advocate. The talents of Demosthenes were rarely engaged in this kind of

* December No. of 1838.

speaking. Cicero defended Milo, but was overawed by the military array surrounding the court, and made a signal failure. Erskine would have rescued Milo, if such a thing were possible, or would have perished in the attempt. The unusual array would have roused the lion in his bosom, and in making the effort to rise to the occasion, he would have far surpassed it. He defended, under very disadvantageous odds, Hatfield, who had fired a pistol at the king; and, so triumphantly cleared him, that although the royal family and ministry were against him, Lord Kenyon dismissed the case without putting it to the jury. His greatest plea is that in the case of Stockdale, in which he defended his client against the whole influence of the House of Commons, with Burke, Fox and Sheridan at their head. In the shameless prosecution of the Dean of St. Asaphs, for a libel, he was of counsel for the defendant. When the jury brought in their verdict, the question arose, upon the manner of recording it, concerning the power of juries in cases of libel. The judge desired the verdict to be so given and recorded, as to throw the power of acquittal or condemnation in the hands of the court. This Erskine steadfastly resisted, until Justice Buller said, in anger, "Sit down, sir; remember your duty, or I shall be obliged to proceed in another manner." Erskine immediately replied, "Your lordship may proceed in what manner *you think fit*; I know my duty as well as your lordship knows yours. *I shall not alter my conduct.*"

The judge caused the verdict to be recorded as he chose. But, on the second day of the ensuing term, Mr. Erskine moved the court of King's Bench to set aside the verdict, for misdirection of the judge in his charge to the jury; and obtained a rule to show cause why there should not be another trial. On this rule he delivered his famous argument in support of the rights of juries. The application for a new trial was denied. But Erskine did not stop here. He moved the court in arrest of judgment, and the court, upon mature deliberation, decided that the indictment was defective, arrested the judgment, and discharged the prisoner.

We have been particular in mentioning this case, because it forms the very corner stone of British, and, we may add, American liberty of the press. In consequence of the

pleas which this great advocate made, during the course of these proceedings, the attention of the public was directed to the abuses which had crept into the law of libel, and an act was introduced into parliament by Mr. Fox, and supported by himself and Mr. Erskine, which swept them away for ever. It is to this trial, and to the great state trials in 1794, that our author alludes in the following paragraph, which so eloquently recounts the triumphs of Erskine :

"It remains that we commemorate the deeds which he did, and which cast the fame of his oratory into the shade. He was an undaunted man ; he was an undaunted advocate. To no court did he ever truckle, neither to the court of the king, neither to the court of the king's judges. Their smiles and their frowns he disregarded alike in the fearless discharge of his duty. He upheld the liberty of the press against the one ; he defended the rights of the people against both combined to destroy them. If there be yet amongst us the power of freely discussing the acts of our rulers ; if there be yet the privilege of meeting for the promotion of needful reforms ; if he who desires wholesome changes in our Constitution be still recognised as a patriot, and not doomed to die the death of a traitor ; let us acknowledge with gratitude, that to this great man, under Heaven, we owe this felicity of the times. In 1794, his dauntless energy, his indomitable courage, kindling his eloquence, inspiring his conduct, giving direction and lending firmness to his matchless skill, resisted the combination of statesmen, and princes, and lawyers,—the league of cruelty and craft, formed to destroy our liberties,—and triumphantly scattered to the winds the half-accomplished scheme of an unsparing proscription. Before such a precious service as this, well may the lustre of statesmen and of orators grow pale ; and yet this was the achievement of one only, not the first orator of his age, and not among its foremost statesmen, because he was beyond all comparison the most accomplished advocate, and the most eloquent, that modern times have produced."

The pleas of this remarkable man are worthy of the most diligent attention on the part of those whose vocation is public speaking. They all aim at but *one point*, the success of the client ; nor is this all ; the precise manner of this success is definitely fixed in the orator's mind. From this point his eye never wanders, from the beginning to the end. His introductions are incomparably happy. They arise, commonly, in the most natural manner, from some circumstance which has just transpired, and, while they bespeak the attention and the favor of the jury, lead to precisely that view of the case, from which it may be most favorably considered. The ground taken by the

advocate is always modest; so much so, that you would willingly grant him more than he asks; and are thus fully persuaded of his perfect candor. When this ground has become thoroughly established, and the feelings of the jury have become enlisted in his favor, he begins to raise upon it the superstructure of his argumentation. Link after link is woven, each one strong in itself, and each connected indissolubly with its predecessor, until you arrive at the conclusion to which he has been leading you, as though you had been merely following the dictates of your own understanding. This, of itself, might seem enough; but this is not all. While the argument has been addressed to the intellect, it has been, at every moment, blended with appeals to the most honorable principles in our nature; so that we not only feel that the course recommended to us is right, but that we could not decide otherwise, without being, even in our own view, mean and despicable. As he draws nearer to the close, and, having finished his argument, insensibly glides into the full expression of his feeling, and brings himself into immediate contact with the sentiments and conscience of his hearers, he casts over them a spell that seems like magic. It was as though his soul were diffused through theirs, and all were moved by the same will and guided by the same impulses. Not only did they decide as he bade them, not only did they feel conscious that to do otherwise would disgrace themselves, but they rejoiced that they were called upon thus to act, and by thus acting, to vindicate a most important principle, and deliver their nation and the human race from a great calamity. How glorious would be the result were such eloquence as this displayed in the pulpit! And why should not the pulpit aspire after it? The preacher can scarcely fail to be improved, by meditating upon the orations of this incomparable pleader. And we would beg such of our readers specially to observe how *definite is the point* which the speaker has in view, and how perfectly the *whole plan*, the *analysis*, the *skeleton of the discourse*, is constructed with reference to that point. The pulpit is sated to disgust with rambling, pointless, well-written, chaste, moderate, inefficient sermons. Let the evangelist aim at something better, the tender pathos of Leighton, the cogency of Edwards, the stirring and pungent declamation of Baxter. These,

grafted upon the rhetorical skill of Erskine, would form a new era in the eloquence of the pulpit.*

In perusing these sketches of these eloquent men of a very eloquent age, we cannot fail to observe how diverse each one is from all the others, and how far almost every one is removed from our conception of a perfect orator. Indeed, we can scarcely select one who had not some decided defect, or some peculiar infelicity. In scarcely any thing were they all alike, except in burning, and enthusiastic, and yet clear-headed earnestness, which moulded all the other powers of the mind, for the time being, into precisely that form which was best adapted to produce effect. Without this, a man may be admired, but he cannot possibly convince. With it, he possesses the ultimate element, the *punctum saliens* of eloquence; although diligent cultivation, intense study, severe self-discipline, may be required in order to carry it out to its full and harmonious development. This intensity of mind was doubtless what the friend of Demosthenes perceived in the young orator, notwithstanding the failure of his first attempt. The study that raised him to fame did nothing but remove those obstacles which bad habits had opposed to success.

Were we allowed to turn all this into a practical precept, we would say to the young speaker, Imitate no being under heaven; but whatever you are, be yourself. But let it be yourself raised, cultivated, refined, enlarged, and rendered as perfect as possible. Cherish in your own bosom charity, wide, deep, universal; eradicate from it every thing low, mean, despicable, or vicious; and pursue such studies, and give to all your studies such a direction, as will enable you to arouse similar sentiments in the bosoms of others. This we believe to be the most direct road to eloquence. The application of these principles to the eloquence of the pulpit may be easily made by every one who chooses.

In reviewing these volumes, one of the most impressive considerations, which rivets itself upon our attention, is the baleful effects of party spirit. Our author devotes a few pages to this subject, and they are among the most valuable in his book. He very frankly declares, that the

* So well convinced was Erskine of his power as an advocate, that, when raised to the Peerage, he adopted as the motto of his arms, the words, *Trial by Jury*.

ordinary defence of party spirit,—that party organization is necessary in order to give ascendancy to principles which we believe important,—is wholly untenable. He shows, conclusively, from instances in abundance, that men do not form parties to *establish principles*, but that they *adopt principles* in order to invigorate party; in other words, that the great and permanent division of parties is into the ins and the outs; and that men are in the habit of adopting those principles which will either conduct them to office or retain them in it. That such is the melancholy fact, in spite of all the newspaper slang, we think no reflecting man can doubt; and yet we see the people of this country and Great Britain toiling in the warfare of party, at the beck of their leaders, as though,—innocent souls,—their very lives depended upon it. And what is the result? Why, one half of the ablest men, and just as good as any other men, are, upon system, excluded from every office of honor or emolument. But this is by far the least evil. The ablest men in the nation, instead of spending their strength in advancing the common weal are occupied in no higher calling than merely that of thwarting each other. In the course of this protracted struggle, every evil passion is engendered or fostered. The moral principles of the combatants succumb beneath a pressure too great for ordinary human virtue, and truth; honor, faith and patriotism are greedily sacrificed to the love of place. The infection spreads from the leaders to their subordinates; and thus it comes to pass that the infamous maxim, “all is fair in politics,” has been practically adopted by men who would scorn to do wrong in any other case. Nor is this all. The moral ulcer, commencing in that part of the character that takes cognizance of our political relations, too often diffuses its poison throughout the system. Men cannot be reckless of obligation in one respect and conscientious in every other. The principle, that the end sanctifies the means, or more plainly, that that means is to be chosen which will best accomplish our purposes, obtains ascendancy in other things as well as in politics. Hence arise the terrible moral dangers of politicians. We might easily refer to instances; but the subject is too painful. We gladly dismiss it.

Another reflection, irresistibly forced upon us, by the

reading of these volumes, is, that very few things are more overrated in this world than politics and even statesmanship. We have in the work before us an estimate, not only of the personal character, but also of the services, of as splendid a collection of men as any country could glory in. But, as *statesmen*, what have they done for the human race? What great measures do we find to have been carried, or even attempted by these men in their places, in either House of Parliament. The blessings which they have conferred on man may be easily summed up. Wilberforce carried the bill for the abolition of the traffic in slaves. Fox carried his and Erskine's libel act, to which we have already alluded. Here, be believe, we must stop. These are really all that we recollect. Besides these, it will be difficult to mention any act performed by them as statesmen which shows them to have been in advance of their age. We do not, of course, consider successful warfare or skilful negotiation to be entitled to this character. The fact is, statesmen are generally, and almost of necessity, merely indices that point out the course of public opinion, the bubbling ripple that shows the height to which the tide of human feeling has risen. If we move the people, statesmen move of course. If the people do not stir, the leaders have a marvellous alacrity at standing still. And, if such be the character of statesmen, what shall we say of politicians, whose only object is to sustain and advance the interests of a party. They have their reward.

What we would say in a word is this. It seems to us a great oversight for men who desire to produce a wide or a beneficial effect upon the human race, to attempt it through the means of politics or parliamentary statesmanship. They had better move those that move statesmen. They had better labor to enlighten and improve the people, and then legislation will take care of itself. It is of but little consequence who make the laws, so long as the lawmakers are obliged to make them well. When, however, we say this, we beg leave not to be numbered among the class of agitators. They are merely politicians in another form. They have hold of the same lever as the legislative politicians, but they take hold of it by the right end. We refer to a very different mode of operating upon the people,—to an honest, patriotic effort to teach

them how to do well, and to urge them onward to do it. In accomplishing this work, the press is open to every one. Nor is this all. Every man may find ways of raising the intellectual and moral tone of his community, if he be so disposed. Where is the individual among us who is doing so much towards securing to us our liberties, and rendering permanent every thing valuable around us, and sweeping away from before us every thing hurtful, as that distinguished individual, who has, of late, given so great an impulse to the improvement of the educational system of this State. Would that more of our men of talents would go and do likewise.

ARTICLE VIII.*

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

Personal news.—Julius Müller, the early friend of Tholuck and one of the characters, it is said, in his work entitled, *Sin and the Redeemer*, has removed from Göttingen, where he was *privatim docens*, to the university of Marburg, where he has been made Professor of Theology.—Prof. Olshausen, formerly of Königsberg, now of Erlangen, so well known as a New Testament commentator, has been called to a professorship in Kiel. His acceptance had not, at the latest dates, been signified.—Dr. Adolf Stahr, formerly professor in the royal Pädagogium, established by Francke, at Halle, and the author of a standard work, entitled, *Aristotelia* (a part of which, embracing the Life of Aristotle, is about to be translated by Professors Edwards and Park), has become *Conrector* (the highest office but one in a Gymnasium), at Oldenburg.—L. C. Zimmermann died at Darmstadt, Aug. 18, 1888, at the age of 55. He was a distinguished classical scholar, a graduate of the university of Gießen, and is best known as editor of the Darmstadt Classical Journal (*Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft*). There are now, we believe, but two journals in Germany devoted exclusively or chiefly to classical literature, viz., Jahn's *Annals* (*Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*), which is a quarterly periodical of the very highest character; and the one just named. Zimmermann commenced this semi-monthly journal in a newspaper form in 1834, and under his able management it has attained to a very high rank. As it does not, like Jahn's *Jahrbücher*, include the general subject of education in gymnasia and universities, but is limited strictly to classical literature, and is furthermore less voluminous and expensive (it comes at \$4.75 a year), it may be recommended to the majority of American scholars as the best adapted to their wants of any publication of the kind. It is continued by — Zimmermann, probably belonging to the same distinguished family, which

* We are obliged, for want of room, to postpone all our Literary Notices, and to abridge the Miscellaneous Intelligence.—ED.

established, also, the Universal Ecclesiastical Journal (*Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*), still published at Darmstadt, with Bretschneider for an associate editor.—Prof. David Julius Pott died at Göttingen, Oct., 1838, aged 79. He was born 1760, in a small town in the kingdom of Hanover. He studied at Göttingen, and at the age of 26 was appointed professor of theology at Helmstedt. On the extinction of that university in 1809, he was removed to the university of Göttingen where he spent the remaining thirty years of his life. His best works, known to almost every student in theology, are his *Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum* in eight volumes; and his *Annotations* on the Catholic Epistles, forming the ninth volume of Koppe's New Testament. Although both his philology and his theology are fast going out of date, he was justly regarded as one of the distinguished men of the last generation of critics and theologians. We once had the pleasure of passing an hour with him, and found him an accomplished, affable man.—Equally painful is it to record the death of another eminent scholar, Prof. A. T. Hartmann of Rostock, the well-known orientalist. His death occurred April 20, 1839. He was born at Düsseldorf in 1774. He studied theology at Göttingen, under Eichhorn; and on the death of Prof. Ziegler of Rostock in 1811, he was, upon the recommendation of Eichhorn, appointed to fill the vacancy, and from that time, for a period of nearly thirty years, he has distinguished himself by a series of interesting publications illustrating the Old Testament, from the treasures of Oriental and Rabbinical learning. In theology he belonged to the latitudinarian school, as did, also, Prof. Pott. An eulogy was pronounced at his grave by Prof. Wiggers, the historian of the Pelagian controversy.

Bibliography.—C. F. Hefele has published in one octavo volume, at Tübingen, a school edition of the Works of the Apostolic Fathers, with brief notes. This is exactly what the theological student needs for private use. The large and expensive work of Cotelerius he can consult occasionally in public libraries. H. T. Bruns has commenced a *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, under the direction of Neander, the first volume of which has recently appeared at Berlin, in octavo, containing the Apostolic Canons and the Canons of the Councils.—Of Prof. Tholuck's *Miscellaneous Writings* (*Vermischte Schriften*), the First Part has appeared and the Second Part is in press.—Dr. K. F. W. Paniel, preacher at Heidelberg, is preparing in six volumes, a History of Christian Eloquence and Homiletics from the apostolic age to the present, with specimens of pulpit oratory from original sources. The first volume is nearly out of press. If this work is well executed, it will supply a desideratum in our theological literature.—Of the *Conversations Lexicon of the Present Time* (2d supplement began in 1838), 16,000 copies of the first eight numbers from A to F have already been sold. At this rate, it will have an unprecedented sale, by the time it shall have had a fair trial in the market.—A fourth volume of Friedemann's *Paränesen* (*Persuasive and Aids to Classical Study*, drawn chiefly from the writings of the most celebrated classical scholars), has been issued from the press.—A new translation of Cicero's complete works, in eight volumes, is in progress by Professors R. Klotz, F. Jacobs, Dryson, Westernmann, A. W. Zumpt and others. The union of so much talent and learning cannot fail to produce a translation superior to any now in existence.

Statistics of several universities for 1839.—Bonn 876 students (we include in these statements not only matriculated students, but all who regularly attend public lectures); 190 in theology; increase of students the last year 123. Breslau 814; in theology 163; decrease 111. Freyburg 346; in theology 100; decrease 54. Giessen 438; in theology —; increase 143. Halle 625; in theology 357; decrease 13. Heidelberg 654; in theology 22;

increase 186. Jena 416 ———. Marburg 245; in theology 67; decrease 40. Munich 1710; in theology 218; decrease 136. Tubingen 732 ———. Berlin 2159; in theology 455; increase 59. Kiel 246; in theology 67; decrease 8. Vienna 2620; in theology 232 ———. Leipsic 961; in theology 290; increase 71. Göttingen 656; in theology 157; decrease 253.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

L. BAKER, Erie Co., Pa., April 3.
SAMUEL BROWN, Norfolk, Va., June 7, aged 54.
DANIEL CHESMAN, Barnstable, Mass., May 21, aged 52.
JESSE H. GOSS, Clarksburg, Va., April 6, aged 70.
ORANGE GREEN, Danby, Vt., May 27, aged 34.
ELIUD D. HUBBELL, Clifton Park, N. Y., May 6, aged 45.
GEORGE HILDRETH, Green, Hamilton Co., Ohio, May 24, aged 56.
SAMUEL MESSENGER, Clarion, Pa., March 14, aged 72.
THOMAS MURRAY, Baileyville, Me., July 24, aged 27.
WILLIAM NORTHRUP, North Kingston, R. I., May 31, aged 80.
NATHANIEL PAUL, Albany, N. Y., aged 46.
SMITH SHERWOOD, Portsmouth, Va., July 14, aged 50.

ORDINATIONS.

LEVI F. BARNEY, Pawtuxet, R. I., June 27.
ORLEY BENNET, Eaton Village, N. Y., April 18.
ISAAC BLOOMER, Mansfield, Richland Co., Ohio, March 16.
HENRY BOWEN, Sparta, N. Y., June 6.
EDWIN W. CARTER, So. Penfield, N. Y., July 22.
JOHN DUNCAN, Cahoes, N. Y., May 22.
E. D. FENDALL, Cedarville, N. Y., May 17.
RICHARD FURMAN, Cheraw, S. C., April 3.
JONATHAN H. GREENE, Acworth, Vt., July 9.
JOHN HALLIDAY, Willson, Niagara Co., N. Y., Sept. 26.
ABEL HASKELL, Middlesex, Yates Co., N. Y., June 20.
SAMUEL S. HAYWARD, Etna, Tompkins Co., N. Y., July 10.
JOHN JOHNS, Branch, Chesterfield Co., N. C., June 8.
THOMAS T. ST. JOHNS, Greenfield, N. Y., May 22.
INCREASE JONES, Pittsford, Vt., July 25.
ELI KIMBERLY, Middlefield, Otsego Co., N. Y., July 2.
LYMAN B. KING, Belvidere, Boone Co., Ill., June 23.
WARREN KNOWLTON, Sarahville, Monroe Co., Ohio, June 20.
LUTHER LAWRENCE, Belvidere, Boone Co., Ill.
JOHN LORD, East Randolph, Mass., May 1.
LYMAN H. MORE, Macon, Lenawee Co., Mich., June 7.
EZEK MOSIER, Howell, Livingston Co., Mich., May 9.

JEREMIAH MURPHY, Cornwall, Vt., June 6.
—— MACPHERSON, Leroy, McLean Co., Ill., June 30.
M. MADDOX, Elim Ch., Harrison Co., Va., April 14.
HANDEL G. NOTT, Fed. St., Boston, Mass., May 26.
ISAAC S. PARSONS, Royakton, Niagara Co., N. Y., Nov. 7.
E. R. PINNEY, Greenville, Greene Co., N. Y., April 24.
WILLIAM D. POTTER, Hadley, Lapier Co., Mich., May 29.
ERASTUS R. SPEAR, Jackson, Steuben Co., Ind., Feb. 28.
JAMES E. STONE, Wickford, R. I., June 6.
DAVID TERRY, Albion, N. Y., April 30.
M. B. TREMAIN, New Baltimore, N. Y., Jan. 9.
JOHN UPTON, Chester, N. H., April 10.
ELIPHALET H. VAUGHN, Saranac, Clinton Co., N. Y., May 29.
JOHN P. WALTER, Lower Merion, Montgomery Co., Pa., May 27.
LEWIS H. WILLIAMS, Matthews Co., Va., May 21.
B. WOOD, Columbia, Ohio, May 29.

CONSTITUTION OF CHURCHES.

At Trivoli, Peoria Co., Ill., March 3.
At Mansfield, Richland Co., Ohio, March 16.
At Sutton, So. Village, N. H., April 10.
At Tecumseh, Mich., April 10.
At Laporte, Ind., April 11.
At Christolville, McHenry Co., Ill., May 4.
At Cahoes, N. Y., May 22.
At Pine Plains, Dutchess Co., N. Y., May 30.
At Chatanooga, Tenn., June 1.
At Parish, N. Y., June 4.
At Macon, Lenawee Co., Mich., June 7.
At Nantucket, Mass., June 9.
At York, Union Co., Ohio, June 15.
At Oconee River, Bradley Co., Tenn., June 15.
At Rush, Northumberland Co., Pa., June 15.
At Jeffersonville, Ind., June 22.
At Locust Creek, Howard Co., N. C., June 23.
At Sealeysville, Morgan Co., Ohio, June 27.
At Commerce, N. Y., June 27.
At Mount Moriah, N. C., June 30.
At Branch, Branch Co., Mich., July 10.

DEDICATION.

In Strykersville, N. Y., April 18.

THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

No. XVI.

DECEMBER, 1839.

ARTICLE I.

NEW TESTAMENT INTERPRETATION.

SUGGESTIONS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT USE OF THE OLD.

THE writer of the present essay is far from being attached to a mystical mode of interpreting the Bible. In his own practice, he has adopted and endeavored to apply those obvious, and, as they may be called, common-sense views, which regard the language of the Bible as resembling other language of human beings, both written and spoken; and therefore not to be tortured to any preconceived opinions of a reader, nor to be embarrassed with a multifarious meaning. He has, however, observed, in common with all attentive readers, that the writers of the New Testament make applications of the Old Testament language different from those which we are authorized to make of human productions, and different, it may with truth be said, from those which some modern and, for the most part, good systems of interpretation would justify. This last circumstance should, of course, suggest a modification of the systems; for it is out of the Bible itself that the proper way of interpreting it must be drawn; and any system which does not recognize the peculiarities of the Bible, and is not conformed to them, is, on that very account, to be regarded as defective or wrong.

That there is some peculiarity in the design and the

language of the Old Testament, and that the New Testament develops this, is obvious from the use which the evangelists and apostles make of the Old Testament. What were precisely, and in all their extent, the views entertained by the writers of the New Testament in regard to the subserviency of the old dispensation to the new, it may be difficult to tell. After much patient and anxious reflection, the suggestions contained in this article appear to the writer to grow very naturally out of the manner employed by the New Testament writers in using the Old. They are here presented merely as contributions to this subject; not as views which are beyond dispute, certainly not as views which embrace the whole matter.

The inquiry presented for consideration is this: Does not the practice of the New Testament writers in quoting from the Old, show, that the language of the Old Testament was regarded by them as having reference to events and subjects in the gospel dispensation, as well as to the particular events or subjects, to which it was at first applied? Have not the writers of the New Testament proceeded on the principle, that the language of the Old Testament had a recondite sense, as well as the more obvious one; and that while it spoke of men, and things, and topics, of its own time, it did, by those men, and things, and topics, design to give instruction respecting events in the Christian dispensation?

They have, indeed, quoted the Old Testament in reference to matters which, we have reason to think, were not present to the minds of its original writers; and they have quoted in such a manner as would imply that they regarded the language of the Old Testament as referring (besides its original reference) to the times of the New Testament. Nor is this practice confined to the language of prophecy. The language of historical narration, and of description, which, viewed by us in its original connection, would seem to have no reference at all to the Messiah, and to events in the New Testament dispensation, are freely quoted, and directly applied by the writers of the New Testament to him and to those events. Language, in short, pertaining to any subject, if by a more strict view of its meaning, or by a higher application, it can be referred to the Messiah, is thus employed by them, for purposes both of argument and of illustration. They

seem indeed to have regarded the Old Testament as a great storehouse of events and of language, adapted beforehand to the Christian dispensation, and having its designed ultimate use in the events of that dispensation.

That the writers of the New Testament were guided by some principle in their use of the Old, we cannot reasonably doubt; and that the principle, by which they were guided, was acknowledged by those to whom they wrote, we cannot doubt. What that principle was, they have not told us; we are left to gather it from their actual usage.

In the following remarks, it will be assumed, that the writers of the New Testament made a correct use of the Old; and that they were better acquainted with the real nature of the Old Testament than modern critics are. We have inspired guidance, when a New Testament writer employs the language of the Old. Whether the language of the Old Testament was designed to have a fulness of meaning, by which, while it primarily related to persons and things then present to the writer's view, it might also have an ultimate and more exact fulfilment in persons and events pertaining to the New Testament, is a question of fact, the answer to which depends on proper evidence. The manner in which the inspired writers of the New Testament use the Old, seems to proceed on such a principle; and it is, to say the least, very questionable, whether any other principle can so fairly bring under it all the instances of New Testament reference to the Old. We may therefore believe that the Old Testament was designed by its Divine Author as a system of religious instruction, preparatory in its facts and language to the New, foreshadowing it, previously adapted to it with much minuteness, and having its ultimate design accomplished in the events and doctrines of the New Testament.

In regard to this view of the Old Testament, the following considerations are submitted.

1. We are not able to judge, *a priori*, whether the Old Testament would be constructed on such a principle, or not. That it could be so constructed, is plainly possible, because God is its Author, and his resources are boundless. Besides, there are human productions, which are throughout capable of a double meaning, and designed to express such a meaning. Reference is here made to double

entendres, to witticisms, and to compositions purposely enigmatical. What hinders, then, as a matter of fact, that on the most serious of all subjects, respecting which God judged it proper to unfold his designs gradually, the book which he inspired should have a compound reference, and that that compound reference should be fully indicated long after the book was written, and perhaps occasionally shine out during the progress of events detailed in the book?

2. As we have no personal experience in regard to the nature of divine inspiration, and of the prophetic influence, our experience is not adequate to guide us on this question. A person under divine inspiration, and particularly under the influence of the prophetic spirit, might view many things in a manner different from that in which we should view them; and the Divine Being, who inspired them, might have so affected their minds that their language, even beyond their own apprehensions, might have had a fulness of application, which would not be wholly known till certain developments of divine providence should have taken place.

There is, then, no valid objection, from the nature of the case, against considering the Old Testament as having, throughout, a designed reference to the new dispensation, not only in its direct prophecies, but in the structure of the Mosaic system of worship, in various historical facts, and in the very forms of expression which the language employs.

Let us now consider certain views which may help us to discover the fundamental principle on which the New Testament writers proceeded in quoting from the Old.

The Christian dispensation is the grand point to which all preceding arrangements of God had reference. Every thing, then, particularly of a religious character, may be considered as having been preparatory to the New Testament dispensation. Especially was this the case with the whole Mosaic institution, both in its leading features and in its details. That dispensation and the Christian were to be counterparts; the Christian to be the completion of the other—the Christian, that to which the other should conduct, and for which it should be preparatory. All the divine arrangements in the Jewish nation were of this character. Moses and the Messiah were striking coun-

terparts; the priests were typical of the Messiah, as the great high priest; the sacrifices were emblematical of him, as the appointed Lamb of God; the Jewish kings were remote resemblances of the Messiah, as the great king; the whole nation was typical of the Messiah's spiritual subjects. Thus all the arrangements, appointed or permitted of God among the Hebrews, were remarkably adapted to prepare a reflecting and pious worshipper for the Messiah's dispensation; and in that dispensation he could not fail to discover a complete, a remarkably exact and elevated fulfilling of the Mosaic dispensation. Hence, language pertaining to arrangements and events in the Mosaic dispensation, would be found unexpectedly fitted to persons and events in the new dispensation; and it would come to be seen that the Divine Mind, which arranged that dispensation, and led to the use of that language, was contemplating persons and events far down in the vale of time, as well as those that were immediately concerned. A writer, under the inspiring influence of that same Mind, might fully perceive this and express it; and readers, accustomed to those arrangements and to that language, would, when the resemblance was pointed out and traced to a divine purpose, at once subscribe to the correctness of the view. And when numerous instances were found, in which the language of the Old Testament was far more exactly and happily applicable, than to the subjects first spoken of in the Old Testament; this preparatory character, both of divine arrangements and of inspired language, was discerned, and the language was quoted as having a reference to the events in the New Testament dispensation. The original application of the language would by no means be denied; but the *ultimate* design of God in that language had perhaps been so far gradually disclosed, and had come now so to engross the mind, that its primary, inferior design was lost sight of; 'it was no longer remembered, nor came it into mind.'

This view of the preparatory character of the Old Testament, as to its histories, its religious appointments, its forms of expression, is conformed to the current use which is made of the Old Testament in the New. And in making this use of it, the hand of God is devoutly acknowledged as carrying out a great system, which he had been contemplating from the earliest time, and which was

subject to his view in certain events and certain language, although men, even those who were actors in those events and writers of that language, might not have suspected that they were instruments whose agency God was employing with respect to events exceedingly remote and unutterably important.

But, it may be asked, might not an ingenious mind discern many and striking resemblances between any ancient book and some comparatively modern events? And would this prove a designed connection between that book and those events? In reply, it may be said, that between any secular book and a whole system of events, subsequently occurring, such resemblances cannot be pointed out as are noticed in the New Testament. There may be casual and insulated instances; but a *system* of resemblances so numerous and so striking, is without a parallel in any human compositions. Nor can we, with justice, trace the notice of these resemblances in the New Testament to any weakness of mind, or to any fondness for conceit; these notices are made in the same sober, unvarnished, unboasting style, which pervades the other parts of the New Testament. Nor can so many, and so various, and so happy adaptations in the language of the Old Testament, and events therein recorded, to events in the New Testament, be satisfactorily accounted for, without acknowledging the same divine hand operating in the composition of the Old Testament, and in the events recorded in the New.

It may again be asked, whether the view now presented does not require, that the writers of the Old Testament should have had before their minds several distinct objects, as meant by their words, and thus that they did not use their language with one definite meaning, as other men do, and as they would be understood as doing, by their contemporaries? This inquiry has already been anticipated in the remark, that our experience does not qualify us to make such an objection as is contained in it. But something additional may be said. There is a two-fold view which we ought to take of the Old Testament. In one view, it is the word of men (inspired men, no doubt), as having been conceived and written by men, and as embodying thoughts which were present to *their* minds. In another view, it is the word of God, proceeding from the Divine Mind, and employed to express cer-

tain things which *God* designed to express. In the former of these views, it may have had a very limited signification, adapted to the shortness of human sight and the narrowness of human thought. In the latter view, it may have been unspeakably comprehensive, and the real fulness of its meaning may be capable of being known only by *God's* informing us through some authorized agents. If his authorized agents have given us information, that the language of the Old Testament had reference to subjects, more in number and greater in importance than would appear to have been contemplated by the human authors, we may well accede to their representations. Under some event, and in language exactly fitted to that event, *God* may have designed that some other event should be intimated, and when that other event takes place, the correspondence between it and the previously arranged language may become remarkably striking, and may require that divine foresight be acknowledged in the event which Divine Providence has brought to pass in a manner so conformed to a previously existing statement.

This twofold view of Scripture, while it shows the propriety of variously applying Scripture under divine guidance, avoids also all the perplexities and difficulties which are connected with double meanings, designed to be expressed in the same passage. It may also be remarked, that this copiousness of signification in *God's* book, manifested too by his authorized agents, is analogous to the copiousness of application which he makes of any one event, or system, brought into existence by men. The Sabbath school system is a human contrivance, very simple and definite in its character. But how variously does *God* make it bear on his spiritual kingdom! And who can doubt that *God* saw its ever-multiplying ramifications, and designed it to have all the numerous applications which, in the progress of events, it has received? The copiousness of application in the Holy Scriptures, or rather their exact adaptation to remote and immensely important purposes in the divine government, is one of the circumstances which give the sacred volume a place among the other acknowledged works of *God*.

It is also the case, that the writers of the New Testament, when they thus employ the Old, do not always mean

to *explain* the language which they quote. The language may have had reference to a subject different from, yet in some respects resembling, that on which they are writing; and they mean to say, not that the Old Testament writer had in view the same object which they now have, but that when the Old Testament writer employed that language in reference to the subject which was before his mind, God was designing that that very language should have a far more full and striking accomplishment. They do not, then, always *explain* the prophecy, or the remark, which they quote; but they apply the language, and from its remarkable applicableness, they perceive that God did, in some sense, have a view, in that language, to the events which were to be recorded in the New Testament. As examples, see Matt. 1 : 22, 23. 2 : 17, 18. 2 : 23. 3 : 3.

The twofold view of the Old Testament, mentioned above, appears to be recognized in the New Testament. In Acts 1 : 16, the *Holy Ghost* is mentioned as having spoken *by the mouth of David*. David, in the passages there referred to, may have had in view solely his enemies who, by their unjustifiable opposition to him, would bring on themselves the displeasure of God; while the Holy Ghost so arranged the language, that the doom of Judas, the man who was so signally to oppose the great antitype of David, the Messiah, would be most remarkably expressed by it; and by the developments of divine providence it would become evident, that the events pertaining to the Messiah were present to the Holy Spirit, as well as nearer events were present to the mind of David. Another illustration may be found in John 11 : 51. The high priest Caiaphas had given bloody counsel respecting Jesus, regarding it as expedient that one man should be put to death rather than that the whole people should perish. The evangelist John acknowledges the influence of God as specially operating in regard to the language used by Caiaphas; and considers the high priest, while giving vent to his murderous feelings, as also expressing a sentiment which was really in the mind of God, and which was in accordance with his plan. Caiaphas meant one thing; God meant another. So in the Old Testament, the writers expressed their views; and God intended their

language to be also applicable to far higher events. Compare also, Paul's manner of speaking, in Gal. 3 : 22—31 ; and his reasoning in the ninth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews.

To what extent, it may be asked, are we warranted in explaining the word of God as having more applications than one, or as having an allegorical signification, or an interior sense, not at first obvious? Under inspired guidance, it may be answered, we can proceed safely. If we have not inspired guidance, it is well to exercise extreme caution, if not entirely to forbear seeking for additional senses. And yet one can hardly avoid thinking that the manner of the New Testament writers furnishes us *specimens* of their views of the Old Testament in general, as well as applications of the particular passages which they have quoted ; and, consequently, that there are other passages which, if they had had occasion, they would have employed in a similar way. Where the language, for instance, is remarkably adapted to the new dispensation, we shall probably be safe in a modest, not in an assured, application of it in that manner. But we are greatly in danger of mistaking ; and when we have not inspired guidance, we should proceed with much caution. As an instance which may be applied to the Messiah, in perfect harmony with the New Testament writers' manner of applying the Old Testament, reference may be made to the seventy-second Psalm. It is not quoted in the New Testament ; but such are its descriptions, such is its language throughout, that an interpreter is well justified in regarding the person and the kingdom of the Messiah as being in the view of the Holy Spirit, when that Psalm was composed. Just views, then, of this whole subject, while they readily embrace all the fulness of the Old Testament, lead not to the least extravagance in interpreting the word of God.

It may, perhaps, be suggested, that there is no need of resorting to such a principle as has now been exhibited, in order to account for the use which the New Testament writers make of the Old ; for we have only to consider the New Testament writers as being strongly tinctured with the spirit of their nation, and, therefore, disposed to ascribe an allegorical and mystical signification to the Old Testament writings ; and as the communities, for which they

wrote, consisted so much of Jews, this manner of treating the Old Testament would not be objected to. That the Jews were inclined, at some periods of their history, to attach spiritual, or mystical senses to their Scriptures, and that to an unjustifiable extent, must be granted. But that there was no proper foundation to the practice of referring much of the Old Testament to the spiritual glories of the Messiah and his dispensation, has never yet been shown. That which was really essential to a just view of their sacred writings, may have been greatly abused among them; still we may learn from the manner of the New Testament writers, what is the proper view, and how extensively it may be applied. But if the New Testament writers had erred in their application of Old Testament passages, how unhappy would have been their situation, had some intelligent hearer, or reader, disputed their arguments and sustained the charge of their abusing the sacred volume! The *arguments*, as well as the *opinions*, of the New Testament writers, are sound. And though they, like any other men, might use the *argumentum ad hominem*, and thus silence an opponent, it is hardly conceivable that they would have employed a system of argumentation which was essentially unsound. An *argumentum ad hominem* they would acknowledge to be such; but they applied Old Testament passages in a certain way, not because their adversaries so applied them, but because they themselves believed that they ought to be thus applied. And, doubtless, as in the case of our Lord, when he drew instruction respecting the Messiah from the hundred and tenth Psalm, they often presented new views, which grew directly out of a proper explanation of the book of God.

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ARTICLE II.

NEW HAVEN HISTORICAL DISCOURSES.

1. *A Historical Discourse, delivered, by request, before the citizens of New Haven, April 25, 1838.* By JAMES L. KINGSLEY. pp. 115.
2. *Thirteen Historical Discourses on the completion of two hundred years from the beginning of the First Church in New Haven.* By LEONARD BACON, Pastor of the First Church in New Haven. Svo. pp. 400. New Haven. Durrie & Peck. 1839.

THERE is a moral interest, amounting almost to sublimity, connected with the close of a century in a nation's history. It is an epoch peculiarly fitted to furnish activity to the mind of man, endowed, as it is, with "large discourse and looking before and after." It marks the lapse of a mighty period in human affairs. Shorter intervals are often insufficient for the passions and prejudices of men to die away, or for the issues and results of enterprises and achievements fully to develop themselves. But through the vista of a century, the historian may look impartially at the progress of society, and the Christian moralist may contemplate the ampler fulfilment of the designs of Providence, and trace, in the varying fortunes of the past, the wisdom and goodness of the "Divinity that shapes the ends" alike of individuals and of nations.

Among the stated festivals which Roman history has recorded, none could have combined the elements of a deeper interest, and none were celebrated with more of pomp and pride than the Secular Games, with which the closing days of a departing century were filled. As the time for their celebration drew nigh, heralds were sent forth, in every direction, to invite the Roman world to come up to a festival which none had ever seen, and none could hope to see again. The pursuits of pleasure and of business were suspended, and for three days and three nights the people of Rome assembled in the Campus Martius, on the

banks of the Tiber, and celebrated the worship of the guardian deities of the state. The most costly sacrifices were offered upon the altars of the gods, and chosen virgins and chaste young men (*virgines lectas puerosque castos*) were appointed to chant their praises in the temples. The authority that led to the institution of these games and gave them their impressive sanctions, though professing to come to the Romans from the oracle of their ancient Sybil, may yet be traced to a principle of human nature, that leads us back to reflect on the past, and recognize the hand of him who has bestowed its good and arrested its evil.

The importance of such commemorations, especially among our own people, cannot be estimated too highly. Hurried and eager as the American people ever are, in the pursuit of present objects, they can give but little time to the recollection of the past, and are prone to forget the solemn lessons even of their own history. Let these lessons be often repeated. Let the close of every century, in the progress alike of states, and towns, and churches, be honored with appropriate rites. Let its history be recounted to the people, and the names of their fathers mentioned with reverence, and solemn anthems be sung to the praise of him who watched over their early trials and struggles, and planted in the wilderness these hallowed institutions of liberty and religion. Especially may we here be permitted to urge upon the churches of our own denomination in New England, the importance of commemorating these epochs of their history. It was here, in New England, that Baptists first began to assert those principles of spiritual freedom, which they have ever since so fearlessly maintained. Here their battles have been fought, and their victories have been won. From hence have gone forth those who have promulgated the principles we cherish, all over our own rising land, upon the islands of the sea, and to the remotest nations of the earth. Here, too, still remain our oldest churches, whose yet unwritten histories may be found to contain so many lessons of union, and gratitude, and faith. One,* at least, of these ancient

* The First Church in Providence, was founded in the spring of 1639. In consequence of the absence of its pastor, the public commemoration of the second centennial anniversary in the history of this venerable church was delayed till autumn. It has, within a few weeks, been celebrated with appropriate rites. May the spirit which has characterized it through the centuries it has passed, still attend its progress through the century it is just now commencing.

churches (and we now remember only one) has already passed the close of the second century of its existence. A few others have almost reached the same impressive period, while very many are within the last score of their first hundred years. We hope these eras, when they shall arrive, will not be suffered to pass by without some suitable notice. The pastor who places upon enduring record, a sketch of the progress of his parish through the changes of a century, not only erects a monument to the goodness of Providence, but furnishes for the future historian important materials for the history of the denomination, and for the history of the Christian church in America. The humble offerings thus presented, of names identified with retiring virtue and long-suffering piety, the muse of history does not despise. She records them on enduring tablets,

“To guard them, and immortalize her trust.”

The valuable works, which we have placed at the head of this article, both owe their origin to one of the centennial anniversaries, the importance of whose commemoration we have been aiming to set forth. The Discourse of Professor Kingsley was delivered at the request of the authorities of New Haven, at the close of the second century since the settlement of that city. And the volume of Mr. Bacon contains thirteen historical discourses, preached to the First Congregational Church in New Haven, at about the same period. They both go over nearly the same ground, though Mr. Kingsley, from the very nature of the occasion for which his Discourse was prepared, was less at liberty to enter into minute details and sketches of individual character. He, however, has narrated, in a concise and highly interesting oration, the settlement and progress of the town, and this with the historic accuracy and confidence of one who has profoundly studied the scattered memorials of the early colonial times. He has pointed out the excellences and defects of the institutions of the Puritans, and with a well-sustained eloquence, has claimed for the fathers of New England the meed of praise which they deserve. The Discourses of Mr. Bacon have for their object, more particularly, to set forth the history of the church and society of which he is pastor. They present a full and clear view of the causes and the objects

of the settlement at Quinnipiac, or New Haven, and narrate what may be called the ecclesiastical history of the town,—the succession of its early pastors, and the individual characters of the principal pioneers in its religious affairs, interspersed with much valuable information respecting the customs of the Puritans, in matters of church government and public worship.

The settlement at Quinnipiac was commenced about the 25th of April, 1638; eighteen years after the settlement of Plymouth, and eight years after that of Boston. The men who came thus to the wilderness of Connecticut, like most of the other emigrants to New England, had for their object not the acquisition of wealth, not the gratification of a thirst for applause, nor any other of the ordinary inducements which have so often led men forth amidst peril and discouragements, to the founding of new states. They came, that here, beyond the rule of bishops and of synods, they might "practise church reformation," and revive in their characters and their worship, the spirit of pure religion, almost quenched amidst the heartless ceremonies and corrupted doctrines of the age. It is this which constitutes the peculiarity in the aims of the Puritans, and gives a religious character to the origin of New England. On the arrival of the little colony at the place of its destination, the first aim of the planters was to lay the foundations of their state. "In this," says Mr. Bacon, "they proceeded with great deliberation." They began, indeed, very soon after their arrival, by forming, at the close of their first day of fasting and prayer, a "plantation covenant," in which they solemnly pledged themselves to each other and to God, "that, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise, in all public offices, which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritances, and all things of like nature," they would be governed "by those rules which the Scripture holds forth." Under this general compact, with no specific provisions of legislation, the colonists passed the first year of their settlement, maintaining peace with each other, by the elevated and united spirit which they cherished, and peace with the natives around them, by adhering, on all occasions, to the principles of honesty and fair-dealing in their negotiations and intercourse.

The wisdom of the fathers of New Haven is strikingly manifest, in their thus delaying to settle the specific provisions of their constitution. They were well aware how imperfectly, at the beginning of the colony, they could be prepared for a measure so important. The government of England, which they had left behind them, was no model for them. They had felt the severities of its iniquitous administration, and had come forth across the sea, without its chartered protection, and having almost thrown off their allegiance to its sovereignty,—anxious only to escape the reach of its persecuting arm. They could not anticipate the exigences to which they might be exposed, and hence they knew not the laws that would best conduce to the prosperity of their infant state, and accomplish the objects for which they had left their country and their homes. At length, however, after a period of about fourteen months, which they had spent in gathering wisdom by careful observation of their social condition, and by frequent prayers for heavenly instruction, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1639, the planters of the colony again assembled to determine what “mould and form of commonwealth” they should adopt, for securing “the peace and peaceable enjoyment of all Christ’s ordinances in the church.” At this assembly, which was held “in Mr. Newman’s barn,” and which, in accordance with the customs of the Puritans, was opened with prayer, and a sermon from their minister, Mr. Davenport, it was established as the “foundation-work” of the government, that the right of voting and of holding offices should be restricted to church members alone. This principle of government, adopted by the people of New Haven, and before them, by the citizens of Massachusetts, seems to have been taken, unaltered, save in form, from the constitution of England. It is a principle, whose inadequacy and liability to abuse are now clearly seen; yet its soundness went unquestioned by most of the profoundest minds of that age. The shrewd sagacity and independent spirit of Roger Williams led him to reject it, and the persecutions which were visited upon his devoted head, by the people of Massachusetts, drove him forth to plant the settlement at Providence, on the basis of entire “freedom in religious concerns.” With this exception, however, the principle of connection between religious faith and civil immunities, seems to have been

recognized, in one form or another, in all the earlier colonies of New England. History has recorded the fact; and it will ever remain one of the most impressive lessons of human nature, taught by the settlement of this country, that the Puritans, who left their homes and their kindred, in order to escape all restraints upon freedom of conscience and of worship, should, as one of their first acts, have incorporated into their government the very principle from which all these iniquitous restrictions arose.

By adopting the constitution of civil government to which allusion has been made, the people of New Haven had recognized the church as the source of political power, but they had not yet determined what should be the foundation, or who should be members of the church. Accordingly, at the same meeting, in Mr. Newman's barn, it was agreed by the planters, "that twelve men should be chosen, that their fitness for their foundation-work may be tried;" "and that it be in the power of these twelve to choose out of themselves seven, that shall be most approved of the major part, to begin the church." In conformity with this agreement, seven men were chosen from the twelve, to be pillars of the church, and these covenanting together and receiving others into their fellowship, became an independent church, on the 22d of August, 1639. In this singular and characteristic manner was completed the organization, both civil and ecclesiastical, of this ancient colony. As we look back upon these early forms of New England society, we every where trace in them the spirit of the Puritans,—a spirit which, with all its failings and deficiencies, has yet done more than any other cause, to render the sons of New England the pioneers in every glorious enterprise, whether of physical or moral improvement, to which the western continent has given origin. They were a race of men such as England had never before produced; and though history and fiction have united in heaping upon them ridicule and contempt, yet the lustre of their fame has grown brighter and brighter through every succeeding age. Appearing at a most interesting crisis in human affairs, trained under peculiar influences, and cherishing principles of the sternest and most uncompromising severity, they were preëminently fitted to encounter the perils of the wilderness, and to plant the foundations of a free and Christian empire amidst the

desolate domains of savage life. It was a favorite aspiration of many of the leading minds of that age, to find a form of society best fitted to develop the nature of man,—to promote his moral interests and advance the kingdom of Christ on the earth. It was from the influence of an aspiration like this, that the models of government, furnished by the old world, were so little regarded by the settlers on the shores of the new. They turned away from the imperfect systems of earthly rulers, and sought in the theocracy of the Hebrews, and the revelations and promises of the Bible, to find the elements of a jurisprudence which should establish the reign of a more perfect justice, and apply surer and holier tests to the character of men. The error of the Puritans, in their civil organizations, was, that they trusted too implicitly in the purity and sincerity of human nature; and the issue of the social experiment which their history records, is but another proof, added to the many already gleaned from the annals of the world, that both the church and the state are in the healthiest and best condition, when each, with its appropriate constitution, is left to accomplish its objects, entirely unconnected with the other.

The church, which was thus established at New Haven, was in itself a perfect and independent body for the transaction of all ecclesiastical business. Its officers were, according to the custom of the times, the pastor and the teacher, who were both clergymen, and received their support from the people, and the ruling elder, who was usually a layman, and engaged in some secular business. In addition to these, there were two deacons. The offices of pastor and teacher are now, in all Independent churches, usually vested in one person. When, however, they were regarded as distinct, the pastor and the teacher preached by turns on the Sabbath, and seem to have divided between them the responsibility of administering the discipline and good order of the church. In the Cambridge Platform, which was framed in 1648, their duties are thus designated. "The pastor's special work is to attend to exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom; the teacher is to attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of knowledge; and either of them to administer the seals of that covenant unto the dispensation whereof they are alike called; and also to execute the

censures, being but a kind of application of the word; the preaching of which, together with the application thereof, they are alike charged withal."

In the Discourses of Mr. Bacon, the reader may find not a little curious information relative to the early periods of the ancient church of which he is pastor. Situated as we are, amidst circumstances which contribute so largely to the convenience of public worship, and reposing in the ample security, insured by the strength of a mighty people, it is impossible for us fully to conceive the spectacle, presented by an assembly of exiled Puritans, in the first years of their settlement. In a rude structure, framed according to the uncouth fashion of the age, the fathers of New Haven were accustomed, for many years, to meet for the worship of God, at the beat of the drum, instead of the cheerful summons of the bell, and to perform the services of the sanctuary under the protection of a military guard, with a sentinel stationed in the turret during the hours of worship, and three of the six pieces of artillery belonging to the town, planted at the door of the meeting-house, while armed watchmen patrolled the streets and watched the outskirts of the town, to give the earliest alarm of Indian invasion.

"Their mode of conducting public worship," says Mr. Bacon, "was not materially unlike our method at this day. Every Sabbath they came together at the beat of the drum, about nine o'clock, or before. The pastor began with solemn prayer, continuing about a quarter of an hour. The teacher then read and expounded a chapter. Then a psalm was sung, the lines being given out by the ruling elder. After that, the pastor delivered his sermon, not written out in full, but from notes, enlarged upon in speaking. In this church, at an early period, it was customary for the congregation to rise while the preacher read his text. This was a token of reverence for the word of God. After the sermon, the teacher concluded with prayer and a blessing.

"Once a month, as now, the Lord's supper was celebrated at the close of the morning service, in precisely the same forms which we observe,—the pastor, teacher and ruling elder sitting together at the communion table. One of the ministers performed the first part of the service, and the other the last, the order in which they officiated being reversed at each communion.

"The assembly convened again for the exercises of the afternoon, at about two o'clock; and the pastor having commenced, as in the morning, with prayer, and a psalm having been sung as before, another prayer was offered by the teacher, who then preached, as the pastor did in the morning, and prayed again.

"Then, if there was any occasion, baptism was administered, by either pastor or teacher, the officiating minister commonly accompanying the ordinance with exhortation, addressed to the church and to the parents.

"Next in the order of services was the contribution, made every Lord's day, to the treasury of the church. One of the deacons, rising in his place, said, 'Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution; wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer.' The ministers, whenever there was any extraordinary occasion, were wont to accompany the call with some earnest exhortation out of the Scriptures, urging to liberality. The contribution was received, not by passing a box from seat to seat, but first the magistrates and principal gentlemen, then the elders, and then the congregation generally, came up to the deacon's seat, by one way, and returned orderly to their own seats by another way. Each individual contributed either money, or a written promise to pay some certain amount, or any thing else that was convenient and proper. Money and subscriptions were placed in the contribution box,—other offerings were laid down before the deacons. It may be that some of the ancient silver cups, now used in our monthly communion, were given in this way.

"After the contribution, the assembly being not yet dismissed, if there were any members to be admitted into the church, or any to be propounded for admission, or if there were cases of offence and discipline to be acted upon by the church, such things were attended to; and then another psalm was sung, if the day was not too far spent, and then the pastor closed the services with prayer and the blessing.

"In the church, a meeting was held weekly, on Tuesday, when the members of the church, by themselves, conferred together on religious subjects, and the ministers, as they had occasion, communicated appropriate instruction and exhortation. There were also stated 'private meetings,' in the different districts of the town, at which the brethren exercised their gifts for mutual instruction and edification. Besides which, there was a stated public lecture on Wednesday, whether monthly, before the communion, or more frequently, I am not able to determine."—pp. 45, 46.

The history of the church at New Haven brings to our notice a succession of worthies, who, for dignity of character, and loftiness and purity of purpose, are not surpassed by the public men of any portion of the country. There are Davenport and Eaton, the foremost among the founders of the colony. In addition to these, we find the names of Street, and Pierpont, and Noyes, and Whittlesey, and Dana, all men of eminent gifts and attainments, and

together, constituting a galaxy, such as any church may be proud to point to, as the luminaries of its history. Of these, the influence of Mr. Davenport is most clearly traceable upon every part of the political and ecclesiastical character of the colony. Educated for the pulpit at the University of Oxford, and accustomed in England, to an elevated circle of society, he stands forth among the most venerable and accomplished of the Puritan ministers of his time. Before leaving his native land, he had taken an active part in some of the controversies with which that contentious age was filled, and in consequence of the fearless expression of his non-conformity, and his zeal in the purchase of "lay impropriations," for the uses of the church, he became obnoxious to the authority of Archbishop Laud, and was obliged to flee to Amsterdam, to escape the persecution of this haughty prelate. Here he preached to an assembly of English Christians, organized upon Presbyterian principles, but at length differing with his brethren, in relation "to the indiscriminate baptism of children," he returned to England, with the full intention of emigrating to America. Accordingly, we soon find him embarked as one of the leaders of the new expedition to New England, and arriving at Boston on the 26th of June, 1637. The fame of his wisdom and piety had gone before him, and his arrival was hailed with joy by the ministers and churches of Massachusetts, distracted as they then were by the divisions and disorders of a furious controversy. Nor were their anticipations disappointed. From the very day of his arrival, he set the full influence of his talents and character against the contentions and corruptions of doctrine and practice, which then infested the churches. At the meeting of the synod, at Cambridge, in August of the same year, he was invited to a seat, and was actively engaged in promoting a spirit of union and peace. In the words of Cotton Mather, "The learning and wisdom of this worthy man in the synod then assembled, did contribute not a little to dispel the fascinating mists which had suddenly disordered our affairs."

Mr. Davenport and his companions remained in Boston and its vicinity for nearly a year, and, having declined urgent invitations from the people of Massachusetts and of Plymouth, to settle among them, they at length established themselves at New Haven, beyond the jurisdiction of

either of the New England colonies, and, as they supposed, beyond that of any government. There for thirty years, he continued the respected and successful pastor of a church which he had founded, and which he had the happiness to see shining around him, free, in a great measure, from the errors and strifes which corrupted the faith and distracted the peace of other churches in the country. During the whole of this period, he took an active interest in all the affairs of the town. On his counsels the people were accustomed to rely, in matters both of church and state, and to his large and liberal views, more than to those of any other man, is to be ascribed the honest and enlightened policy which characterized the colony. Though the age in which he lived was crowded with events and changes, both in England and America, calculated to affect the prosperity of the settlement, and try the firmness and wisdom of its leaders, yet Mr. Davenport remained faithful to his principles,—the unshaken champion of justice and peace, the active promoter of good morals and popular education, the fearless advocate of truth and freedom.

On the 27th of July, 1660, there arrived in Boston two of the three judges of Charles I, so well known in our history, as the regicides, who, on the restoration of the Stuarts, were obliged to seek refuge in New England. For some time after their arrival, they appeared in public, and received marked attentions from the magistrates and some of the principal men of Boston. Soon, however, apprehensive that warrants were about to be issued for their arrest, they resolved to flee for safety to portions of the country, less open to the scrutiny of the English monarch. They left Massachusetts, and passing through Hartford, where they were kindly received by Mr. Winthrop, the governor of Connecticut, they at length arrived at New Haven. Here the people had been already prepared to receive them. Mr. Davenport, in a series of sermons from the text, "The Lord is my portion, saith my soul, therefore will I hope in him," had called the attention of his flock to the gloomy aspect of the cause of liberty and religion in their native land, and urged upon them the duty of confidence in God amidst the troublous times upon which they had fallen. As he advanced in illustrating and enforcing upon his hearers the spirit of the text, he

grew bolder and plainer, and uttered "what in England," says Mr. Bacon, "might have passed for treason." "Withhold not countenance, entertainment and protection from such, if they come to us from other countries, as from France or England, or any other place. Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares. Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them, and them who suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body. While we are attending to our duty in owning and harboring Christ's witnesses, God will be providing for their and our safety, by destroying those that would destroy his people." By means of these discourses, the bearing of which could not be mistaken, he had breathed into the minds of the people the spirit of hatred of oppression and sympathy with the oppressed, that animated his own, and to the influence which he thus exerted may be ascribed the protection which both magistrates and citizens united in securing to the fugitive regicides. For when pursued by the mandate of the king, they were kept concealed for many months, as is well known, in the cave of West Rock, in the neighborhood of New Haven, and supplied with articles necessary for their comfort, as well as the supports of Christian consolation, by the inhabitants of the town.

Such was Mr. Davenport, in the successive stages of his checkered career. After a ministry of thirty years with the church at New Haven, he removed to Boston, at an age of more than seventy years, where he closed his days on the 12th of March, 1670. His ashes now repose with those of his friend, John Cotton, in a tomb in the Stone Chapel burial ground.

Intimately associated with this venerable pastor, both in the friendship of youth and the toils and enterprises of manhood, was Theophilus Eaton, the first governor of the colony of New Haven. Thrown together in early life, their youthful companionship ripened into an intimacy which united their fortunes, and has rendered their histories almost inseparable. The life of Mr. Eaton, before leaving the mother country, had been devoted to the pursuits of an extended commerce with the north of Europe, and especially with the countries on the shores of the Baltic, in some of which he had resided for many years. With less of literary education, and less of ardor and

enthusiasm than his friend and coadjutor, he probably deserves to be considered a wiser legislator, and, in most respects, better fitted for the political exigences of a new and unformed society. Professor Kingsley says of him, in his public capacity, "He was chargeable with no fault, and was the subject of no blame. Though from his standing and property, he was one to whom all others, engaged in this project of colonization, would look for advice and direction, yet there is no evidence that he at any time manifested a disposition to elevate himself, or to exercise any authority which was not voluntarily conferred. Prudence and firmness were his most obvious characteristics; and so high an opinion was entertained in the colony of his sincerity and integrity, that his simple declaration was always received with implicit confidence." The union of these two men, whom Mather, in his quaint way, styles "the Moses and Aaron of the settlement," was fortunate for themselves and fortunate for the colony, of which they were the founders. Of similar aims and views of life, and harmonizing in their political and religious sentiments, their best days were passed in a close and happy domestic intimacy. The fruits of their united labors, even at this distant day, may be seen in the elevated public morals, in the well-ordered schools, in the eminent university, and the thriving churches, which so highly distinguish the beautiful city of New Haven. These are the monuments of their toilsome and self-sacrificing lives. These speak their character and constitute their best eulogium.

Of the remaining worthies, whose names we have mentioned, our limits will allow us to give only a passing notice of the character of Chauncey Whittlesey. He was ordained as pastor of the church in 1758, in the fortieth year of his age. Prior to his ordination, he was for many years engaged in mercantile business, and in still earlier life he had been employed as a tutor in the college. It was of him, while in this latter capacity, when he had been at prayers with the students in the chapel, that the well-known remark of David Brainerd was made, that "Mr. Whittlesey has no more grace than this chair." And thousands, who never heard his name, except in connection with this remark, have received impressions unfavorable to his piety. But from the delineation of his character, given in the pages of Mr. Bacon, supported as

as it is, by the history of his large and prosperous ministry, and by the testimony of some of his ablest contemporaries, in the sermons which they preached at his funeral, we are forced to the conclusion that in humility, and faithfulness, and sincerity, and all the best elements of piety, he deserves to be considered a preëminent Christian. Whatever may be thought of the treatment of Brainerd, by the governors of the college, *after* he had provoked their censure, there can be no question that the restraints which they had before imposed on the intemperate zeal of himself and his associates were in every way salutary. Brainerd's own views of his spirit and conduct at this period of his life, were subsequently very fully expressed, and it is to be regretted that his biographers have not always been more careful to avoid creating an impression unfavorable to the fame of one who, for aught that appears, was the innocent cause of the treatment he received.

The ministry of Mr. Whittlesey continued through a most troubled period of the history of New Haven, and of the whole country. The "religious commotion" of President Edwards's day had subsided, and left the churches in a state of contention with each other, and indifference to the vital interests of practical piety, while they scrupulously tithed the anise and cummin of speculation and controversial doctrines. In the neighborhood of New Haven other parishes had been created, in some instances, under circumstances tending to produce jealousy and alienation, and even open enmity, and often, "instead of uniting in any affectionate communion, or in any willing coöperation for the common cause, they united only in exposing religion to contempt, and in weakening the power of Christian institutions, by their mutual hostility." Then came the war of the Revolution, absorbing the universal attention of the people, and shedding over the religion of the whole country its deadening and desolating influences. In such an age, it was hardly to be expected that the ministry of Mr. Whittlesey should be attended with any remarkable results; yet the church of which he was pastor seems to have been generally prosperous, and especially after the first few years of his settlement had passed, to have enjoyed a large share of peace and union. He died at New Haven in 1787, in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his ministry. Of his religious views and

his general character, the following description is given in the funeral sermon of President Styles, and quoted by Mr. Bacon :

"His favorite subjects were the glories and excellences of Christ, the majesty of God, the atonement and righteousness of the Redeemer, as the sole foundation of pardon, the grace of the gospel, the necessity of a life of holiness and moral virtue, and the glories of the heavenly world. But while he was a bold and open advocate for moral virtue, yet often have we heard him preach from this desk, that in point of *justification* there was no righteousness which could procure our acceptance with a holy God, but that of the Mediator.

"In his life and general conversation, he was virtuous and benevolent. He had a singular talent at accommodating himself with ease to all characters, high and low, rich and poor. He had always something entertaining, instructive and edifying, something that made religion pleasant and agreeable. He was exceeding careful to avoid vilifying others, even his enemies; but was disposed to think and say good and kind things of all, and to live in love and benevolence with all, though they differed from himself in some material things. He went about doing good, and carried the savor of a cheerful, heavenly life in his conversation, speaking familiarly of the things of religion, heaven, immortality, and the blessed society and beatified glories of the upper world. For many years he has expressed a most confidential hope, and I think I may say, an assurance of a happy eternity, which continued with him to the last. He always founded his hope on the grace of God, and the merit of the Redeemer, and an inward consciousness that it would be his chief, his supreme joy, to spend an eternity in the bosom of Jesus, and among the spirits of just men made perfect; and this he hoped had been wrought in him by the Spirit of God and the power of his grace."

The reflecting reader of these annals of the New Haven church will not fail to mark how important is the influence which political and social events, and even what we are accustomed to call accidental circumstances, often exert upon the spiritual interests of men. The successive wars which the early colonists waged with the Indians, the exactions of the English government, and the tyranny of the English priesthood, the seasons of peace and prosperity, of thriving industry and plentiful harvests, and the periods of anxiety and gloom, all left distinct impressions, which may be clearly traced in the religious history of New England. Periods of long declension had been occasionally interrupted by seasons of partial revival, until in 1735, there commenced a work of grace, which, extending from colony to colony, roused the sluggish spirit of nearly every church in the northern portions of the country. It

was the waking up of the conscience of a whole people, from the long death-sleep in which it had fallen, and the reformation which it wrought, both in the piety of the churches and the morals of the people, were long apparent. The religious interest thus awakened had, however, in a great degree, fallen away, when in the midst of a second, and more general awakening, there appeared in New England a preacher, whose influence, direct and indirect, was destined to work an important change in the religious character and habits of the people. This was no other than George Whitefield, who landed for the second time on these shores in 1739, and after a number of months spent at the South, at length arrived in Boston, at the earnest invitation of the clergy of the town. The master of a peculiar and original eloquence, which burst in artless strength from the fountains of his own fervid and impassioned nature, and wielded at will the thousands who assembled to witness its exhibitions, he stood in the pulpits of America "a minister of the church of England, renovating the piety of the Puritans, seeking to walk in their steps, and giving the right hand of fellowship, without reserve, to all the followers of Christ." Of the character of the influence exerted by this remarkable man, different opinions have been entertained. The candid student of the history of these excited times will find little reason to question that his labors did much to increase the fervor, and deepen the tone of general piety in the churches, and as little, we think, that they also did much to diminish the respect of the people for the existing clergy, to sow the seeds of that religious radicalism, which has since borne so luxuriant harvests, and to multiply the herd of those irregular preachers, who, like himself, breaking away from all ordinary usages, and itinerating from place to place, were accustomed to deal out the most unsparing vituperations, and even to threaten the vengeance of Heaven against all who ventured to oppose the progress of their views. In the autumn of 1740, he made his first visit to New Haven, where the Rev. Joseph Noyes had, for twenty-five years, been the successful and honored pastor of the church. Here he preached with the same boldness and the same success which had already marked his progress through the towns of Massachusetts, and here too, very soon began to appear the bad results which seldom failed to follow his

irregular ministrations. Up to the period of Whitefield's visit, the labors of Mr. Noyes had been regarded with confidence and respect, and without suspicion of either his orthodoxy or his piety. "But soon afterwards," says Mr. Bacon, "an opposition was organized against him, which not only resulted in a large secession from the church, but involved all the evening of his life in storm and conflict."

Among the wildest and most enthusiastic of the itinerating disciples of Mr. Whitefield, was the Rev. James Davenport, a remote descendant of the first minister of New Haven. In furious denunciation of the ministers who opposed the "new measures" then coming into vogue, and in rude familiarity with sacred things, Davenport went far beyond the man, to the imitation of whose peculiarities he owed a large part of his importance and his power. New Haven, it would seem, was the chosen theatre of his misguided labors, and Mr. Noyes the special victim of his phrenzied enthusiasm. In an account published at the time, it is recorded that "Mr. Davenport, in almost every prayer, vents himself against the minister of the place, and often declares him to be an unconverted man, and says that thousands are now cursing him in hell for being the instrument of their damnation. He charges all to pray for his destruction and confusion. He frequently calls him a hypocrite, a wolf in sheep's clothing, and a devil incarnate." If such were the spirits raised and sent forth by the preaching of Whitefield, it is not surprising that his second progress through New England was greeted with diminished cordiality by the wisest and best ministers of the time, or that the ultimate utility of his labors has since been so often called in question. As we review the history of his ministry in Massachusetts and Connecticut, along with many indications of a true religious awakening, we are every where presented with the repulsive picture of churches disordered, of ministers alienated from each other, and from the people of their care, herds of lay exhorters and itinerant preachers usurping the stations and assuming the responsibilities of regular pastors, and spreading over all the flames of a religious excitement, more extravagant and fearful than any to which our own age has given origin.

That all these results are to be attributed even indirectly to the labors of Whitefield alone, we would by no means

assert. Many of them, doubtless, might have appeared had he never visited these shores, and many are but the legitimate consequences of any bold and faithful promulgation of the gospel in the ears of a slumbering people. Still less would we insinuate any distrust of the sincerity of his zeal, or the purity of his motives. He entered the field to which he, doubtless, considered himself summoned by Heaven, and however we may deem him to have erred in his mode of accomplishing the work to which he was sent, we yet would respect the philanthropic purposes which filled his heart and prompted his actions. His life, —the memorials of which still remain to be gathered in any enduring form,—is one of singular interest; and the fame which he has left, peculiar though it be, will long be cherished both in England and America. But while we admire his bold and brilliant eloquence, and his unwearied zeal in the cause of benevolence, while we call to mind the multitudes whom he gathered to the church of Christ, by the unequalled force of his appeals, we yet cannot but regard his irregular and startling preaching as scarcely better fitted to promote the continued peace and the religious progress of society, than the lightning which blazes along the sky is fitted to be the permanent medium of vision.

The reader of the works we have placed at the head of this article, will be surprised to find that neither of their authors admits the existence of those absurd and ridiculous laws, known under the name of "blue laws," which are so often mentioned as the reproach of the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven. That the absurdity of such laws would find great palliation in the spirit of the times, and the peculiar views of the Puritans, it would be easy to show; but few, however, are prepared for the conclusion that they never had any existence. The fact cannot surely have escaped the notice of these writers, that laws regulating the private and unimportant habits of individuals, formed a part of the code of Governor Eaton, and were, in some measure, incorporated into the "*Laws, liberties and orders made, granted and established at several times, by the General Court of New Haven, for and to the inhabitants of that jurisdiction,*" &c., which were published for the use of said colony in London, in 1656. Indeed, we have now before us a collection of the blue laws of New Haven and other colonies, coming,

as is said, from respectable authority, and printed at Hartford during the past year. The genuineness of many of them is supported by the most unquestioned testimony, and how their existence even, is to be reconciled with the views of Professor Kingsley and Mr. Bacon, we leave it for antiquarians to decide.

The view of the early age of New England history, presented in the works before us, inclines us strongly to distrust the prevailing sentiment with respect to the degeneracy of our own times. In the Discourses of Mr. Bacon, though there is no lack of disposition to vindicate and eulogize every thing relating to the Puritans, there is yet evidence enough that the very evils we are most wont to complain of as characterizing our own age, were not wanting in the days of the Davenports and Eatons, the Mathers and the Winthrops. The agitations and tumults that disturb the peace of society now, swept with even greater violence, though it may be in somewhat different forms, over the age of our early fathers. We would have these things, and the faults of private or public character from which they sprang, recorded in impartial history. Truth, even though it be prejudicial to the fame of ancestral worth, is incalculably better than error; and the founders of New England have virtues enough to irradiate with unfading glory all the frailties that may be found in their character.

ARTICLE III.

BROUGHAM'S HISTORICAL SKETCHES, SECOND SERIES.

Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III. Second Series. By HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F. R. S., and Member of the National Institute of France. 2 vols. pp. 212, 196.

THESE volumes, though, in the main, interesting, are decidedly inferior to the preceding series. This, however, may be attributed to the inferiority of the subjects. With the exception of George IV, Lord Eldon, Lords Castle-

reagh, Liverpool and Stowell, there are none of the English statesmen here commemorated, in whom we feel a special interest. The list of foreigners is rich in great names, but we think Lord Brougham decidedly at home no where else but in Great Britain. His best portraits, without question, are those of his own countrymen; next, and near to them, are those of Americans; after these, though at a considerable interval, come the continental statesmen. Of these latter, the best are those of Carnôt and Napoleon. Of Americans, as was meet, the best is that of Washington.

Of George Fourth we have here a full length portrait, drawn by one who knew him well. A more disgusting picture could scarcely be looked upon. The ruler of the most illustrious nation upon earth; the son of pious and exemplary parents; the head of the Protestant Episcopal church in his realm; called to the throne at the most perilous crisis that his kingdom had for centuries seen; with very respectable talents, and all the impulses which would naturally have rendered him popular, he came forth into public life the *arbiter elegantiarum* of drawing rooms, the copyist of every new invention for the tying on of a cravat; squandering the people's money by millions at the gambling table, and allowing the women whom he had ruined to perish by starvation; rioting in licentiousness, which set all the morality even of courts at defiance, deliberately planning intrigues for the ruin of his wife's honor, and then commanding his ministers to bring in a bill of pains and penalties against her for infidelity to his bed; claiming to be esteemed the "first gentleman in Europe," and quietly submitting to be turned out of a jockey-club for cheating at a horse race; such are the titles to respect which cluster around the character of this "illustrious personage." But few years have passed since his death, and now none but his parasites speak of him with the semblance either of respect or affection, and even they dare do no more than feebly hint an apology for his baseness. They tell us that his taste *originally* was good, although he wasted millions upon his hideous pagoda at Brighton. When we say he was a rake, they assure us that he made an elegant bow. When we accuse him of unbridled profligacy, they inform us that he cut Beau Brummel for insulting him. When we denounce him as a villain, who not only perpetrated a horrid lie, in denying

his marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, but also beguiled Lord Grey, as honorable a man as lives, into the uttering of the lie for him, they apologize by informing us that he was an exquisite judge of Flemish painting, though they do not tell us that all these paintings are of scenes from the kitchen. But enough. May it be long before the British nation is again cursed with such a ruler!

Intimately associated with George IV, was that great lawyer, Lord Eldon, of whom it is professional praise enough to say, that he was more learned than Lord Coke. But he was far from being nothing but a lawyer. He was a most strenuous and active politician. Of his long delays, his interminable doubts, his distinctions and discriminations without number, we have all heard, but we have probably not heard before how different was the part he played in the council chamber from that which he enacted on the bench. The following exceedingly graphic description of this distinguished man is too good to be omitted, and we regret that it is all that we are able to extract respecting him :

"Lord Eldon, to great legal experience, and the most profound professional learning, united that thorough knowledge of men, which lawyers who practise in the courts, and especially the courts of common law, attain in a measure and with an accuracy hardly conceivable by those out of the profession, who fancy that it is only from intercourse with courts and camps that a knowledge of the world can be derived. He had a sagacity almost unrivalled; a penetration of mind at once quick and sure; a shrewdness so great as to pierce through each feature of his peculiarly intelligent countenance; a subtlety so nimble, that it materially impaired the strength of his other qualities, by lending his ingenuity an edge sometimes too fine for use. Yet this defect, the leading one of his intellectual character, was chiefly confined to his professional exertions; and the counsellor so hesitating in answering an important case,—the judge so prone to doubt that he could hardly bring his mind to decide one,—was, in all that practically concerned his party or himself, as ready to take a line, and to follow it with determination of purpose, as the least ingenious of ordinary politicians. The timidity, too, of which he has been accused, and sometimes justly, was more frequently the result of the subtlety and refinement which we have mentioned. At all events, no one knew better when to cast it off; and upon great occasions, like the one we have just been contemplating,—that is, the occasions which put his interest or his power in jeopardy,—a less wavering actor, indeed one more ready at a moment's warning to go all lengths for the attainment of his object, never appeared upon the political stage. His fears in this respect very much resembled his conscientious scruples, of which no man

spoke more or felt less; he was about as often the slave of them as the Indian is of his deformed little gods, which he now makes much of, and now breaks in pieces, or casts into the fire. When all in politics seemed smooth, and the parliamentary sea was unruffled as the peaceful lake, nothing was to be heard but his lordship's deep sense of his responsible duties; his willingness to quit the Great Seal; the imminent risk there was of his not again sitting in that place; the uncertainty of all the tenures by which official life is held; and even the arrival of that season when it became him to prepare for a yet more awful change; and the hearer who knew the speaker, felt here an intimate persuasion, that the most religious of mortals could not have named the great debt of nature with more touching sincerity, or employed an expression better calculated to convey the feeling of dread which such contemplations are fitted to inspire. Such were the songs of the swan when the waters were a mirror, and there was no fear of dissolution. But in foul weather,—the instant that peril approached,—be the black cloud on the verge of the horizon, and but the size of a man's hand,—all these notes were hushed, and a front was assumed as if the Great Seal had been given to him for life, with the power to name his successor by a writing under his hand, or by parole before a single witness. In like manner, when the interests of suitors required despatch, when causes had been heard by the hour and by the day, and all the efforts of the judge to coax the advocate into greater prolixity had been exhausted, the dreaded moment of decision came, but brought only hesitation, doubt, delay. So, too, when common matters appeared in Parliament, and no kind of importance could be attached to the adoption of one course rather than another, bless us! what inexhaustible suggestions of difficulty, what endless effusion of conflicting views, what a rich mine of mock diamonds, all glittering and worthless, in the shape of reasons on all sides, of some question never worth the trouble of asking, and which none but this great magician would stop to resolve! So again in the council,—when there was no danger of any kind, and it signified not a straw what was done, the day, had it been lengthened out by the sun being made to stand still, while our Joshua slew all the men in buckram that he conjured up, would yet have been too short to state and solve his difficulties about nothing! But let there come any real embarrassment, any substantial peril, which required a bold and vigorous blow to ward it off,—let there be but occasion for nerves to word through a crisis which it asked no common boldness to face at all,—let there arise some new and strange combination of circumstances, which, governed by no precedent, must be met by unprecedented measures,—and no man that ever sat at a council board, more quickly made up his mind, or more gallantly performed his part. Be the act mild or harsh, moderate or violent, sanctioned by the law and constitution, or an open outrage upon both, he was heard indeed to wail and groan much of piteous necessity,—often vowed to God,—spoke largely of conscience—complained bitterly of his hard lot,—but the paramount sense of duty overcame all other feelings, and, with wailing and with tears, beating his breast, and only not tearing his hair, he did in the twinkling of an eye the act which unexpectedly discomfited his adversaries, and secured his

own power for ever. He who would adjourn a private road or estate bill for weeks, unable to make up his mind on one of its clauses, or would take a month to decide on what terms some amendment should be allowed in a suit, could, without one moment's hesitation, resolve to give the King's consent to the making of laws, when he was in such a state of mental disease, that the keeper of his person could not be suffered to quit the royal closet for an instant, while his patient was with the keeper of his conscience performing the highest function of sovereignty!"

Passing over the intermediate great names, we delay for a moment at the sketch of Admiral Jervis (Lord St. Vincent), for the sake of extracting a remarkable anecdote illustrative of the sagacity of this illustrious captain and statesman. It is worthy of attention, as an exhibition of astonishing forecast; a forecast which, to us who have witnessed the transactions of the last two years, seems almost beyond belief. Well would it have been, if the counsels of this sage sailor had been followed.

"While Sir John Jervis remained during this long and eventful period on shore, and unemployed in any branch of the public service, he accomplished himself by constant reading, by much reflection, by the intercourse in which he ever delighted with men of learning and talents, as a statesman of profound views, and of penetration hardly equalled by any other man of his time. His natural acuteness no obstacle could impede; his shrewdness was never to be lulled asleep; his sagacity no man ever found at fault; while his provident anticipations of future events seemed often beyond the reach of human penetration. We shall give a remarkable example of this, in a matter of deep interest at the present moment. When Lord Shelburne's peace (1783) was signed, and before the terms were made public, he sent for the admiral, and, showing them, asked his opinion. 'I like them very well,' said he, 'but there is a great omission.' 'In what?' 'In leaving Canada as a British province.' 'How could we possibly give it up?' inquired Lord Shelburne. 'How can you hope to keep it?' replied the veteran warrior. 'With an English republic just established in the sight of Canada, and with a population of a handful of English settled among a body of hereditary Frenchmen. It is impossible; and rely on it, you only retain a running sore, the source of endless disquiet and expense.' 'Would the country bear it? Have you forgotten Wolfe and Quebec?' asked his lordship. 'Forgotten Wolfe and Quebec? No; it is because I remember both. I served with Wolfe at Quebec; having lived so long, I have had full time for reflection on this matter; and my clear opinion is, that if this fair occasion of giving up Canada is neglected, nothing but difficulty, in either keeping or resigning it, will ever after be known.' We give the substance of this remarkable conversation as we have it from more sources of information than one; and the recollection of the parties is confirmed by the tone of the earl's letters in 1813, which we have seen. There was then no question of a surrender; but he plainly shows the greatest distrust of our being suffered to retain the colony."

In the second volume, we find sketches of Carnôt, Necker, De Stäel, the Mirabeau family, Lafayette, Talleyrand, Napoleon and Washington. Carnôt is well drawn, and his character is placed in a better light than we have ever before seen it. Lafayette is described, we fear truly, yet hardly such as we Americans would desire. Lord Brougham considers him a very virtuous, just, and brave man; yet, from the elements of his nature, unfit for a grave crisis; unequal to the pressure of sudden events; even though they were events which he himself had created. The sketch of Napoleon is good, but it is a short and rather a meagre outline of his character. So far as it goes, we think it exceedingly just. We gladly pass over it, however, to close with the following extract, which embodies our author's conception of the character of "the greatest man of our own age, or of any other age."

"How grateful the relief which the friend of mankind, the lover of virtue, experiences when, turning from the contemplation of such a character, his eye rests upon the greatest man of our own or of any age:—the only one upon whom an epithet so thoughtlessly lavished by men, to foster the crimes of their worst enemies, may be innocently and justly bestowed! In Washington, we truly behold a marvellous contrast to almost every one of the endowments and the vices which we have been contemplating; and which are so well fitted to excite a mingled admiration, and sorrow, and abhorrence. With none of that brilliant genius which dazzles ordinary minds; with not even any remarkable quickness of apprehension; with knowledge less than almost all persons in the middle ranks, and many well educated of the humbler classes possess; this eminent person is presented to our observation clothed in attributes as modest, as unpretending, as little calculated to strike or astonish, as if he had passed unknown through some secluded region of private life. But he had a judgment sure and sound; a steadiness of mind which never suffered any passion, or even any feeling to ruffle its calm; a strength of understanding which worked rather than forced its way through all obstacles,—removing or avoiding rather than overleaping them. If profound sagacity, unshaken steadiness of purpose, the entire subjugation of all the passions which carry havoc through ordinary minds, and oftentimes lay waste the fairest prospects of greatness,—nay, the discipline of those feelings which are wont to lull or to seduce genius, and to mar and to cloud over the aspect of virtue herself,—joined with, or rather leading to the most absolute self-denial, the most habitual and exclusive devotion to principle,—if these things can constitute a great character, without either quickness of apprehension, or resources of information, or inventive powers, or any brilliant quality that might dazzle the vulgar,—then surely Washington was the greatest man that ever lived in this world uninspired by Divine wisdom, and unsustained by supernatural virtue.

"Nor could the human fancy create a combination of qualities, even to the very wants and defects of the subject, more perfectly fitted for the scenes in which it was his lot to bear the chief part; whether we regard the war which he conducted, the political constitution over which he afterwards presided, or the tempestuous times through which he had finally to guide the bark himself had launched. Averse as his pure mind and temperate disposition naturally was from the atrocities of the French revolution, he yet never leant against the cause of liberty, but clung to it even when degraded by the excesses of its savage votaries. Towards France, while he reprobated her aggressions upon other states, and bravely resisted her pretensions to control his own, he yet never ceased to feel the gratitude which her aid to the American cause had planted eternally in every American bosom; and for the freedom of a nation which had followed the noble example of his countrymen in breaking the chains of a thousand years, he united with those countrymen in cherishing a natural sympathy and regard. Towards England, whom he had only known as a tyrant, he never, even in the worst times of French turbulence at home, and injury to foreign states, could unbend from the attitude of distrust and defiance into which the conduct of her sovereign and his parliament, not unsupported by her people, had forced him, and in which the war had left him. Nor was there ever among all the complacent self-delusions with which the fond conceits of national vanity are apt to intoxicate us, one more utterly fantastical than the notion wherewith the politicians of the Pitt school were wont to flatter themselves and beguile their followers,—that simply because the Great American would not yield either to the bravadoes of the Republican envoy, or to the fierce democracy of Jefferson, he therefore had become weary of Republics, and a friend to monarchy and to England. In truth, his devotion to liberty, and his intimate persuasion that it can only be enjoyed under the republican scheme, constantly gained strength to the end of his truly glorious life; and his steady resolution to hold the balance even between contending extremes at home, as well as to repel any advance from abroad incompatible with perfect independence, was not more dictated by the natural justice of his disposition, and the habitual sobriety of his views, than it sprang from a profound conviction that a commonwealth is most effectually served by the commanding prudence which checks all excesses, and guarantees it against the peril that chiefly besets popular governments.

"His courage, whether in battle or in council, was as perfect as might be expected from this pure and steady temper of soul. A perfect just man, with a thoroughly firm resolution never to be misled by others, any more than to be by others overawed; never to be seduced or betrayed, or hurried away by his own weaknesses or self-delusions, any more than by other men's arts; nor ever to be disheartened by the most complicated difficulties, any more than to be spoilt on the giddy heights of fortune,—such was this great man,—great, preëminently great, whether we regard him sustaining alone the whole weight of campaigns all but desperate, or gloriously terminating a just warfare by his resources and his courage,—presiding over the jarring elements of his political council, alike deaf to

the storms of all extremes,—or directing the formation of a new government for a great people, the first time that so vast an experiment had ever been tried by man,—or finally retiring from the supreme power to which his virtue had raised him over the nation he had created, and whose destinies he had guided as long as his aid was required,—retiring with the veneration of all parties, of all nations, of all mankind, in order that the rights of men might be conserved, and that his example never might be appealed to by vulgar tyrants. This is the consummate glory of Washington; a triumphant warrior where the most sanguine had a right to despair; a successful ruler in all the difficulties of a course wholly untried; but a warrior, whose sword only left its sheath when the first law of our nature commanded it to be drawn; and a ruler who having tasted of supreme power, gently and unostentatiously desired that the cup might pass from him, nor would suffer more to wet his lips than the most solemn and sacred duty to his country and his God required!

“To his latest breath did this great patriot maintain the noble character of a captain the patron of peace, and a statesman the friend of justice. Dying, he bequeathed to his heirs the sword which he had worn in the war for liberty, and charged them ‘Never to take it from the scabbard but in self-defence, or in defence of their country and her freedom: and commanding them, that when it should thus be drawn, they should never sheathe it nor ever give it up, but prefer falling with it in their hands to the relinquishment thereof;’—words, the majesty and simple eloquence of which are not surpassed in the oratory of Athens and Rome.

“It will be the duty of the historian and the sage in all ages to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of WASHINGTON!”

It is delightful to behold such a testimony borne to the character of Washington, by a peer of that realm whose ministry once pronounced him an outlaw. Nor are these opinions peculiar to Lord Brougham; they are the sentiments of the civilized world. History records the name of no mere mortal, who so towered above his race in the majesty of unapproached and unapproachable virtue. No man ever lived, whose power of personal character could for a moment be compared with his. Other men have been endowed with more brilliant military talent, yet no brilliancy of military talent ever conferred success in defiance of such complicated and almost inestimable difficulties. Other men may have been endowed with the genius for more rapid political combination, yet who ever laid the foundations of a mighty nation with so unerring wisdom. Other men have been pure and disinterested, yet who ever

was placed under such temptations as Washington, and where was patriotism ever seen to assume so awfully venerable a form. His judgment seemed as unerring as prescience; and every one was as conscious as he was of his own existence, that it was utterly incapable of being swerved a hair's breadth from the line of simple truth and incorruptible virtue. Of the influence of his personal character among his countrymen, it is sufficient to remark, that the present constitution of the United States would never have been adopted but for his recommendation; and that, after its adoption, the government could not have been carried on for a single year, had it not been for the confidence reposed in his wisdom and virtue. Nor are these the sentiments of his countrymen alone. His character, both public and private, stands to this hour before the world, without stain, and nations are proud to bow down before it in reverence. While living, Thomas, afterwards Lord Erskine, thus addressed him:

"SIR,—I have taken the liberty to introduce your august and immortal name in a short sentence which will be found in a book I send you. I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted classes of men; but you are the only being for whom I ever felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God to grant a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world.

"T. ERSKINE."

When the news of his death was received in France, Napoleon, then First Consul, issued an order of the day, expressive of his estimate of Washington's character, and directing that black crape should be suspended from all the standards and flags throughout the Republic. About the same time an American vessel, bearing the first intelligence of his death, was boarded by the British channel fleet of sixty sail of the line, then lying off Torbay. Lord Bridport, then in command, issued a general order to the fleet, and ordered the flags to be lowered to half mast throughout the day. And last, though not least, when the British fleet, during the last war, was ascending the Potomac, for the purpose of burning our national capital, the officers, with one consent, took off their hats as they came opposite to Mount Vernon, and stood uncovered while they were passing by the tomb of WASHINGTON.

ARTICLE IV.

JOHN HOWE.

It does not often happen, that any great correspondence exists between the internal character and the external conformation of distinguished men. But in the case of John Howe, this was strikingly observable. He was a man full six feet high, of an erect form and dignified gait. His eyes were dark and piercing, his forehead clear and high, and his whole countenance open and intellectual. We allude to this fact, at the outset, because there was connected with it, in the history of Howe, a circumstance which formed the turning point in his public career. After having been settled as parish minister, in Great Torrington, Devonshire, he had occasion to visit London, on business. He was detained there longer than he expected, and went, as a matter of curiosity, to the Royal Chapel, Whitehall, on the last day he designed to be in town. Cromwell, the Protector, who, as it has been remarked, "had his eyes every where," distinguished Howe from the crowd, by the nobleness of his mien. He knew also, from the style of his dress, that he was a country minister, and after service sent him a message, requesting an opportunity to speak with him. On his complying, Cromwell requested him to preach before him next Lord's day. Howe was naturally surprised at this, and modestly desired to be excused. Cromwell told him that it was a vain thing to excuse himself, and that he would take no denial. Howe pleaded his engagements to his people, who were expecting him to preach on the ensuing Sabbath. But Cromwell overruled this objection, by engaging not only to send a preacher in his stead, but to write them with his own hand. On this, Howe felt himself obliged to yield, and preached on the Sabbath, as he was desired. Cromwell, however, was not satisfied with one sermon, but urged him to preach again and again, and was so much pleased with his performances, that in a long, private conversation, he pressed him to become his family chaplain. Howe did all in his power to excuse himself, but Cromwell, who

had a wonderful insight into character, and sought to surround himself with the most learned and distinguished men of the age, would not be denied. He promised to make his place good at Torrington, and supply his people with a suitable minister. Thus Howe was subjected to the necessity of reluctantly complying with the kind but imperious request of the Lord Protector. He accordingly removed his family to Whitehall, and became a court preacher for Cromwell, at a time of great intellectual, moral and political excitement. Here he remained several years, fulfilling the duties of his office with great conscientiousness and diligence. And highly does it redound to his credit, as all his contemporaries admitted, that in this difficult situation, and with access to the secrets of the state, as much perhaps as any other man, he conducted himself with such integrity and prudence, as to be entirely free from censure with reference to the political troubles and changes of the times.

So disinterested was he, that while he obtained many favors for others, Cromwell was known to have remarked, that he wondered when he would ask any thing for himself or his family. He was equally honest, and did not shun to declare the whole counsel of God, even when it was unpalatable to his distinguished auditors. Having occasion to preach against a fanatical notion which was prevalent in Whitehall, and known to be cherished by Cromwell, he observed that the Protector occasionally knit his brows and discovered great uneasiness during the sermon. At the close of the service, a person of distinction came to him, and asked him if he knew what he had done, and intimated that Cromwell would be so incensed against him, that he was doubtful whether he would ever recover his favor. To this Howe replied, that he had "discharged his conscience, and would leave the event with God!" A truly Christian and magnanimous reply! Cromwell was somewhat colder towards him for a time, but never referred to the subject in conversation. Howe continued to perform his appropriate duties, as he was wont to do, and felt increasing satisfaction in the reflection, that he had obeyed God and "discharged his conscience."

The subject of our sketch was born on the 17th of May, A. D. 1630, in the village of Loughborough, a market town in Leicestershire. The same month was distin-

guished by the birth of Charles the Second. Archbishop Tillotson, with whom, in subsequent life, Howe enjoyed an intimate friendship, was born a few months after. Little is known of Howe's early youth. He was certainly educated with great care, and imbibed the principles of Christianity at an early age. The seeds of future greatness must have been sown in his mind, probably by the hands of his parents, and time and experience only served to ripen them into maturity. He studied at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, where he acquired great distinction as a scholar. He took his degree in A. D. 1650, and became a fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford. Soon after this, he was ordained, and began his ministry in the town of Great Torrington, a donative or curacy belonging to Christ Church, Oxford. In a few years, he removed to London, as already stated, and became household chaplain to the Lord Protector, and lecturer at St. Margaret's, Westminster.

The period, during which Howe flourished, was one of the most interesting in the history of England. Every thing pertaining to the great interests of society was in a state of change. The principles of the Reformation were developing their strong but irregular and stormy energies. The social and political elements were heaving and dashing in strange commotion. The minds of men were grappling with the great problems of morals, politics, philosophy and religion. Great changes were taking place in the modes of investigating truth; literature was springing into fresh and vigorous existence, and religion was throwing off the prejudices of ages, and gathering herself up for greater achievements. It was an era of immense intellectual and moral power. "There were giants in those days." Such were Boyle in science, Selden* in law, and Milton in song. Such, too, were Cudworth and More,† in mental and moral philosophy, Sherlock, Stillingfleet, Charnock and Owen, in didactic theology, Gale, Burnet and Fuller, in history, Tillotson and Barrow, Baxter and Bates, in practical divinity. All these were the contemporaries, and some of them the friends and associates of Howe. He moved among them as an equal in literary attainment, in mental power, and in moral worth.

* Though Selden was born in A. D. 1584, he did not die till A. D. 1654.

† Dr. Henry More.

It is generally allowed that he owed much to More and Cudworth, whose instructions he enjoyed at the University of Cambridge; and to this has been traced "that Platonic tinge," which is supposed to characterize his writings. Cudworth, it is evident, from his "Intellectual System," and his "Immutable Morality," was deeply imbued with the Platonic philosophy, and it is not surprising that a young man of the classical attainments, the deep thoughtfulness, and the pure morality of John Howe, should have yielded to the impression of Cudworth's genius, inspired as it was with the visions of "the divine Plato." Another thing, doubtless, contributed to this result. Of all the opinions and speculations of the heathen classical writers, those of Plato are probably nearest in harmony with the truths of Revelation. His views of the beautiful and the true, his ideal perfection, his conceptions of the Deity, his estimate of the relative importance of the inward, spiritual world, and the outward and material, and his anticipation of something better beyond the present life, all easily blend, in speculative minds, with the Scripture representations. Howe cherished a strong and abiding conviction of the truth of the great, comprehensive doctrines of the Bible, and loved to dwell upon them in their higher bearings and more stupendous results. His mind was eminently philosophical and expansive. Though no idealist, in the proper sense of the term, he loved to contemplate the abstract, the beautiful, the perfect. His powerful imagination was, indeed, under the dominion of his intellect; but both were cultivated in the highest degree. "The Living Temple" is conceived in the very spirit of Plato, sanctified by the gospel of the Son of God. The chief point in which it differs from the manner of the Grecian sage is, the style of its composition, which, though vigorous and imposing, is somewhat involved, rugged and heavy.

During the period of his youth, Howe sedulously improved the great literary advantages which he enjoyed, and laid a broad and deep foundation for future distinction. At the age of twenty-two, when he took his degree, "he had not only gone through a course of philosophy, conversed closely with the heathen moralists, read over the accounts we have remaining of pagan theology, the writings of the schoolmen, and several systems and common

places of the Reformers, and the divines that succeeded them, but had thoroughly studied the sacred Scriptures, and from thence drawn up a body of divinity for his own use, which he saw very little occasion afterwards to vary from in compliance with the schemes of others." Patient of toil, he verified the truth of the scriptural adage, that "the hand of the diligent maketh rich." His learning was great, various and well digested.

But he was equally laborious in the discharge of his pastoral duties. Deeply sensible of the responsibilities involved in the office of a Christian minister, devotedly attached to his work, and yearning for the salvation of souls, he performed an amount of pastoral labor at which most preachers would tremble. While settled at Torrington, public fasts occurred with great frequency, and were observed with much strictness and solemnity. It was his custom to begin the public services of such occasions "about nine in the morning, with a prayer for about a quarter of an hour, in which he begged a blessing upon the work of the day; afterwards he read and expounded a chapter or psalm, in which he spent about *three quarters* of an hour; then prayed for about *one hour*, preached for another *hour*, and prayed for about *half an hour*. After this, he retired and took some refreshment for about a quarter of an hour (the people singing all the while), and then came again into the pulpit and prayed for another *hour*, and gave them another sermon of an *hour's* length; and so concluded the service of the day at about four o'clock in the evening, with about half an hour or more in prayer,—a sort of service," adds Dr. Calamy, to whom we are indebted for this account, "that few could have gone through without inexpressible weariness, both to themselves and their auditors. But he had a strong head, a warm heart, and a good bodily constitution; and the more he spent himself in his Master's service, the more was he beloved by the inhabitants of the parish." These fast-day services, all will allow, were protracted to an immoderate length; yet the preacher who could perform them, and the people who could enjoy them, must have been distinguished for vigor of mind, as well as depth of devotion.

Howe was preëminently possessed of a catholic spirit. Perhaps he was more distinguished for this trait of char-

acter than any other man of his time. Originally attached to the Established Church, as it existed in a modified form, in the days of the Protectorate, he became a Non-Conformist "for conscience sake," after the restoration of Charles the Second; not that he objected to the constitution of the church, its articles of faith, or its practical discipline, as these existed at the time of his ordination, but he could not, as an honest man, submit to "the Act of Uniformity." He felt that it was inconsistent with the great principles of religious freedom and charity, for which he was willing to suffer the loss of all things. He was urged more than once, by friends of the Establishment, to yield his scruples, and submit to the Act of Uniformity. He was even tempted to do so by the hopes of preferment. But he maintained his integrity. Conversing, on one occasion, with a distinguished bishop, upon this subject, and being unwilling to enter fully into it, being convinced that this would avail nothing, he was urged to name a single objection which he deemed of vital importance. In reply, he referred to the matter of *re-ordination*. "Pray, sir," said the bishop, "what hurt is there in being twice ordained?" "Hurt! my lord," replied Howe. "The thought is shocking; it hurts my understanding; it is an absurdity; for nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure," he added, "I am a minister of Christ, and am ready to debate that matter with your lordship, if you please; and I cannot begin again to be a minister." His ordination, we presume, would be deemed irregular by the members of the Episcopal Church; for it was performed by one whom they would not recognize as a regular bishop. This was the Rev. Charles Herle, assisted by the clergymen, who officiated in the chapelries attached to the church of which he was the rector. Mr. Herle was a somewhat distinguished man in those days, and at a subsequent period was elected *prolocutor* of the "Assembly of Divines," at Westminster. Howe maintained that this clergyman was a bishop of the primitive order, and that the assistants in his several chapelries were his clergy; on which account he thought that few in modern times had such a pure and apostolic ordination as he had. Thus, while attached to the general principles and order of the Church of England, as it existed before the restoration of Charles, he yet became a dissenter from it, and an out-

cast,—an honor which he enjoyed in connection with a large number of the most pious, learned and distinguished men of the times. On one occasion, he told Dr. Wilkins, “that that very latitude of his, which some were pleased to take notice of, was so far from inducing him to conformity, that it was the very thing which made him and kept him a Non-Conformist.” His free and generous spirit could not be confined within the narrow trammels of the Act of Uniformity.

Previous to the passing of this act, Howe had left London, and returned to Torrington. But as soon as that obnoxious measure went into effect, he left his people in this place, with many tears on both sides. In 1665, he suffered a two years’ imprisonment in the Isle of St. Nicholas, and in 1671 set sail for Ireland, where he spent a few years as chaplain to Lord Masserene, in the county of Antrim. Here he was treated with great respect and kindness. He lived on terms of intimacy with the bishop of the diocese, who put a high estimate upon his learning and piety, and permitted him occasionally to preach in the destitute churches. After this, he returned to London, and settled as successor to Dr. Seaman, having been elected by a majority of the congregation, in preference even to the celebrated Dr. Charnock, who was proposed by some as a candidate for the pulpit. In this situation he labored for several years, taking advantage of the *Indulgence* granted by Charles the Second, preaching the gospel, and publishing various tracts and books, among which were the first part of “The Living Temple,” and “The Redeemer’s Tears.” He was strongly opposed to Antinomianism and bigotry, at that time somewhat prevalent in the churches, and applied all the powers of his gigantic mind to break down these monstrous forms of evil. Most of his practical works were written to withdraw Christians, from contentions respecting the forms of Christianity, to its inner spirit and essential glory. He was known as a man of peace; and although his efforts were not eventually successful in that changeful and stormy age, yet we doubt not they gained the blessing promised to the peace-maker. Amid all the troubles of the times, he carried about with him a delightful serenity of mind. Yet he did not hesitate to defend what he considered truth, even at the hazard of provoking opposition.

He entered upon a public discussion of the doctrine of the *Trinity*, defending it from what he esteemed popular errors, and attacked *hyper-Calvinism* with great vigor, in a tract entitled "The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men, with the Wisdom and Sincerity of his Counsels and Exhortations, and whatever other means he uses to prevent them." Of this treatise, Robert Hall entertained a very high opinion, as, in fact, he did of all Howe's writings, esteeming them among the very best in the whole range of English theological literature.* He gave a preference, however, to this one over all the rest. "In my opinion," said he, "the best thing he ever wrote is his defence of the sincerity of the gospel offer. I refer to his treatise on 'The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience,' &c. This I regard as the most profound, the most philosophical, and the most valuable of all Howe's writings." We would not presume to controvert the opinion of so admirable a judge; yet we are free to confess that "The Living Temple" appears to us greatly superior, both in plan and execution. We can scarcely conceive of any thing "more profound, more philosophical, or more valuable."

While his treatise on the Prescience of God was, on its first appearance, much admired by some, it was strongly opposed by others. Gale, in his "Court of the Gentiles," made some animadversions upon it, to which Howe replied in a postscript to his original production. One Dawson wrote a tract against it, of which Howe took no notice, although Andrew Marvel replied to it in a very witty and amusing style. Some, on the ground of this treatise, represented him as a strict Arminian, but unjustly; for he only maintains, as its main position, "that it is inconceivable that the holy and good God should irresistibly determine the will of a man to the hatred of his own blessed self, and then exact severest punishment for the offence done," and that, consequently, the prescience of God ought not to be conceived of as producing any such irresistible determination of the minds of men to evil, and that all his counsels and exhortations to sinners are essentially and entirely sincere.

While Howe exerted a commanding influence over his

* He told a friend that he had learned more from Howe than from any other author he had ever read.—*Hall's Works*, Vol. III, p. 78.

Non-Conformist brethren, he was on terms of intimacy with many eminent men of the Established Church, and exerted over them no inconsiderable influence. An amusing and instructive instance of this occurred in the case of Dean Tillotson.* This clergyman had occasion to preach before Charles the Second. He chose for his text Joshua, 24 : 15; and attempted to vindicate, to use his own words, "the Protestant religion from the charge of singularity and novelty." Among other things, he asserted that no one had a right to preach against the established religion of a country, though false, unless he were endowed with the power of working miracles. Charles, who cared little for preaching, or any thing else of a sacred nature, slept soundly during the sermon; but one of his courtiers stepped up to him at the close of the service and said, "'Tis a pity that your majesty slept, for we had the most precious piece of *Hobbism* that you ever heard in your life." "Odds fish!" replied Charles, "he shall print it then." On this, he called the lord chamberlain, and gave him a commission to the dean to print his sermon. The dean, of course, complied with the *gracious* injunction, and when the sermon came from the press, he sent a copy of it to Howe. On perusing it, the latter was much grieved to meet with the pernicious sentiment to which we have referred, and feared it might exert a most injurious influence. He took the liberty, therefore, of writing to the dean, expostulating with him on the wound which he had thus given to the cause of God and the Reformation. The dean perused it with Christian and brotherly feeling, and requested Howe to take a little journey with him into the country, that they might have an opportunity of talking the matter over. Howe conversed freely on the various topics embraced in his letter, urging home the truth upon the heart and conscience of his friend with great fidelity. Such was the effect of his representations, that the dean was melted into tears; he confessed that it was the most unhappy affair that had for a long time befallen him, that the position he had maintained, as he then supposed, from the text, was untenable, and that he deeply regretted his error.

In the year 1685, when the Dissenters were much

* Subsequently Archbishop. !

oppressed by the dominant party, Howe, having an opportunity to travel abroad, went in company with Lord Wharton, to the continent of Europe, where, after visiting various places, and acquiring much interesting information, he settled at Utrecht, the capital of the Seven United Provinces, in which place he was accustomed to preach on every Lord's day evening, at his own private house, and, occasionally, during the day, at the English church. He also gave private instruction to some of the theological students belonging to the University. Here, too, he enjoyed the society of several distinguished persons, among others that of Dr. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Sarum. Here, also, he frequently saw William, Prince of Orange, subsequently king of England, who treated him with great respect, and took great pleasure in his conversation.

In 1687, when king James published his manifesto in favor of liberty of conscience, Howe returned to England, and resumed the care of his former church, the members of which welcomed him back with unfeigned joy. The old controversies upon the subjects of conformity, especially "occasional" conformity and Arminianism, were again taken up by the former disputants; and although Howe took a part in them all, he did so with dignity and Christian meekness. It was during this time he published the second part of "Living Temple." He opposed the plan of the bigoted James, to unite the Catholics and Dissenters against the Episcopal Church, sympathizing more fully with Protestant Episcopacy, though intolerant, than with Popish Catholicism, pretending to be liberal. He declared also in favor of occasional communion with the dominant church, although the practice became exceedingly unpopular with almost all parties. Intolerance and uncharitableness seemed to gain ground, both in the church and out of it; and Howe, weary of continual contention, turned himself away from it,—to die! "He had seen enough of the world," says Dr. Calamy, "to discover how unfit a place it was to *continue* to dwell in. He wanted to breathe in nobler air, and inhabit better regions." His last publication was "A Discourse of Patience, relating to the Expectation of Future Blessedness," an appropriate close to the more public labors of one who longed earnestly for this blessedness, and was soon to enter upon its enjoyment. His piety appeared to

grow more deep and fervid the nearer he approached the celestial world. He appeared, indeed, to have entered what Bunyan calls "the land of Beulah," where wandering through green pastures and by still waters, he enjoyed a foretaste of celestial glory. On one occasion, he tells us that he was so penetrated with a sense of "the admirable beauty of his God," and felt "so pleasant and comforting an influence of the Holy Spirit, as far surpassed the most expressive words his thoughts could suggest." "I then experienced," continues he, "an inexpressibly pleasant melting of heart, tears gushing out of mine eyes for joy, that God should shed abroad his love abundantly through the hearts of men, and that for this very purpose mine own should be so signally possessed of and by his blessed Spirit."

In this way, for a few days before his death, he dwelt, as it were, on "the very sides of eternity." As his bodily frame grew weaker, his inward man was renewed day by day. At one of the communion seasons in the church, he was in "a most affecting, melting, heavenly frame." So transported was he with the love of Christ, that his friends were apprehensive he might expire during the service. He continued to be uncommonly cheerful and communicative till the day of his death, conversing with his friends, and especially with ministers of the gospel, young and old, in a manner which made them feel as if he belonged to another world. At one time, he told his wife that "though he loved her as much as one creature ought to love another, yet if it were put to his choice, to die that moment or to live that night, and the living that night should secure his living for seven years, yet he would prefer to die that moment." Richard Cromwell, the son of the Protector, now an old man and a private citizen, hearing that the former chaplain of his father was about to leave the world, paid him a visit of respect and sympathy. They had much interesting and earnest conversation together, and tears fell freely from both. His physical system was very weak and languid, but his faith was strong, and his hope *full*, literally *full*, of immortality. Thus he waited, as he himself expressed it, in his "last will and testament," composed long previous to the time, for a seasonable, unfeared dissolution of his earthly tabernacle, and transition of the inhabiting spirit into the hands of the

great and merciful God." On the second day of April, 1705, this great and good man fell asleep in Jesus, and entered upon "that future blessedness," which on earth he had so beautifully described, and for which he had longed with intense desire.

A large proportion of the works of Howe are practical, although all of them embody more or less of original and profound argument. His treatises on "The Vanity of Man as Mortal;" "The Blessedness of the Righteous;" "Delighting in God;" and especially "The Redeemer's Tears," have been extensively known and read in the Christian world. They abound in elevated thought, profound reasoning, devout feeling and pathetic appeal. "The Vanity of Man as Mortal" is a noble exposition of the truth, that man is a poor, evanescent and miserable creature, viewed aside from his moral nature and eternal destiny. The author, however, shows that these confer upon him a more than regal dignity, and invest his being with an interest the most sublime and affecting. One of the most eloquent passages in the whole range of the English tongue, occurs in this production. The expressions of which it is composed are so arranged and so modulated, as to give one the idea of a grand and solemn march. One part follows another, in the form of a climax, increasing in beauty, strength and majesty, like wave succeeding wave, as they roll and break upon the shore.

"But that lofty soul, that bears about with it the living apprehensions of its being, made for an everlasting state, so earnestly intends it, that it shall ever be a descent and vouchsafement with it, if it allow itself to take notice what busy mortals are doing in these (as they reckon them) grand negotiations here below. And if there be a suspicion of an aptness or inclination to intermeddle in them to their prejudice, to whom that part belongs, can heartily say to it (as the philosopher to the jealous tyrant), We of this academy are not at leisure to mind so mean things; we have somewhat else to do than to talk of you. He hath still the image before his eye, of this world vanishing and passing away; of the other, with the everlasting affairs and concernments of it, even now ready to take place, and fill up all the stage: and can represent to himself the vision (not from a melancholic fancy or crazed brain, but a rational faith, and a sober, well-instructed mind) of the world dissolving, monarchies and kingdoms breaking up, thrones tumbling, crowns and sceptres lying as neglected things. He hath a telescope, through which he can behold the glorious appearance of the Supreme Judge; the solemn state of his majestic person; the splendid pomp of his magnificent and vastly numerous retinue; the obsequious throng of glorious, celestial crea-

tures, doing homage to their Eternal King; the swift flight of his royal guards, sent forth into the four winds to gather the elect, and covering the face of the heavens with their spreading wings; the universal, silent attention of all to that loud-sounding trumpet that shakes the pillars of the world, pierces the inward caverns of the earth, and resounds from every part of the encircling heavens; the many myriads of joyful expectants, arising, changing, putting on glory, taking wing, and contending upwards to join themselves to the triumphant heavenly host; the judgment set; the books opened; the frightful, amazed looks of surprised wretches; the equal administration of the final judgment; the adjudication of all to their eternal states; the heavens rolled up as a scroll; the earth and all things therein consumed and burnt up."—*Works*, p. 286.

Here a magnificent picture rises before our eyes; and with a sort of panoramic effect, grows in beauty and grandeur, as part after part engages the vision, till the whole stands before us, a scene of vast and varied splendor.

The two tracts "On delighting in God," and "The Future Blessedness of the Righteous," are nearly similar in character. They abound in striking delineations of the nature and attributes of God, and the pure, enrapturing bliss derived from his more immediate presence. "The Future Blessedness of the Righteous" naturally reminds us of Baxter's "Saint's Everlasting Rest." It has much in common with that devout and inspiring treatise. But it is, in our estimation, superior to Baxter's work, in all the higher qualities of thought. It takes a wider and more comprehensive view; its descriptions are richer and more finished; and its general spirit, though not so earnest and devout, is more calm and philosophical. It is the production of a nobler intellect, and a more vigorous imagination. Baxter is direct, pungent, overpowering; Howe is contemplative, profound and elevating. Baxter dwells upon one or two great points, as freedom from sin, and conformity to the will of God; Howe takes a freer range, and describes the perfection of our whole nature, physical, intellectual and moral. Baxter concentrates his attention upon the salvation of the soul; Howe expatiates upon the vision of God, the expansion of the intellect, the improvement of the affections, and the ever-advancing perfection of the immortal spirit.

"The Redeemer's Tears Wept over Lost Souls" is a beautiful exposition of our Saviour's lament over Jerusalem. It is full of tenderness and power of appeal, and has

been more extensively blest in the conversion of souls than perhaps any other of his productions.

Of Howe's polemical works, it is enough to say that they abound in vigorous thought, nice discrimination and cogent reasoning. They are especially distinguished by a liberal and courteous spirit. We have already spoken of "The Reconcilableness of God's Prescience with the sincerity of his Counsels," &c. It would require more space than we can devote to the subject, to give any thing like an adequate view of his several treatises on the doctrine of the *Trinity*. We have doubts as to the correctness of some of his positions; but can unhesitatingly say, that his discussions upon this point are generally characterized by sobriety of views, great power of analysis and sound argument. His lectures upon the doctrines of the Gospel may be read with profit, as his general system of theology is free from all extremes, holding a middle course between hyper-Calvinism on the one hand, and Arminianism on the other. His views of the fundamental and "distinguishing" doctrines of Christianity are uncommonly just and scriptural.

Howe's principal work is "The Living Temple," a production distinguished by great erudition and vast compass of thought, by metaphysical acumen and glowing eloquence. It was written, as he informs us, for the purpose of withdrawing the attention of men from the outworks of the temple of truth to the temple itself.

In order to prepare the way for a description of this temple, he first directs his attention to its great inhabitant—God,—proving his existence, his infinite and eternal power, his intelligence and spirituality, his wisdom and goodness, his absolute and infinite perfection. By this means he establishes the fact of "his conversableness with man," and the propriety of dedicating a temple to his worship. In discussing these points, he grapples with the Epicurean philosophy, which was somewhat fashionable at the dissolute court of Charles, and was spreading its baneful influence through the nation. Throughout the whole discussion, he proves himself a perfect master of the art of reasoning. The infidel philosophy is shown to be weak and shallow; its wild theories and gilded sophistries are scattered to the winds. A storm of argument, wit and ridicule is poured upon the heads of "the athe-

istical tribe," while the most striking proofs and illustrations are given of the wisdom, power and goodness of God.

Howe gives many beautiful illustrations of the great principle of design; among others, that of a watch, the original, perhaps, of Paley's celebrated argument upon the same subject.

The discussion of the various arguments, to which reference has been made, occupies the first part of the *Living Temple*.

In the second part of this treatise, which was written several years after the first, he recapitulates his former arguments, and discusses the theoretical speculations of Spinoza. This philosopher maintained the unity and identity, and, in fact, homogeneousness of all substance, insisting that there is only one substance in the universe, and that this substance is God. He consequently denied the essential distinction between matter and mind, and maintained the eternity of all things. One of his favorite positions was, that no substance can be produced by another, by which means he virtually denied the creation of the world. And yet he defended his system as pre-eminently religious and Christian, prefixing to his work,—*Posthumous Ethics*,—the following passage of Scripture: 1 John 4 : 13, "By this we know that we dwell in God, and that God dwelleth in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit."

Having proved the absurdity of these notions, Howe addresses himself to the consideration of the *Living Temple*, of which that God, whose existence and "conversableness with man," he had established, is the *great Inhabitant*. He first describes the temple in ruins, and yet retaining so much of its former state, as to indicate its primitive grandeur and beauty. The passage, in which this sublime conception is embodied, is inexpressibly striking and eloquent. We once heard it quoted before his class, by Professor Wilson, of Edinburgh, as one of the noblest passages in the whole compass of English literature. He compared it with a passage from Kant, on the infinitude of the universe, giving the preference to the one from John Howe.

"The stately ruins are visible to every eye, that bear in their front, yet extant, this doleful inscription,—**HERE GOD ONCE DWELT**. Enough appears of the admirable frame and structure of the soul

of man, to show the Divine presence did some time reside in it; more than enough of vicious deformity, to proclaim he is now retired and gone. The lamps are extinct, the altar overturned; the light and love are now vanished, which did the one shine with so heavenly a brightness, the other burn with so pious fervor; the golden candlestick is displaced, and thrown away as a useless thing, to make room for the throne of the prince of darkness; the sacred incense, which sent rolling up in clouds its rich perfumes, is exchanged for a poisonous, hellish vapor. * * * * Look upon the fragments of that curious sculpture which once adorned the palace of that great King; the relics of common notions; the lively prints of some undefaced truth; the fair ideas of things; the yet legible precepts that relate to practice. Behold! with what accuracy the broken pieces show these to have been engraven by the finger of God, and how they now lie torn and scattered, one in this dark corner, another in that, buried in heaps of dirt and rubbish. * * * You come amidst all this confusion, as into the ruined palace of some great prince, in which you see here the fragments of a noble pillar, there the shattered pieces of some curious imagery, and all lying neglected and useless among heaps of dirt. He that invites you to take a view of the soul of man, gives you but such another prospect, and doth but say to you, 'Behold the desolation,'—all things rude and waste. So that should there be any pretence to the Divine presence, it might be said, if God be here, why is it thus? The faded glory, the darkness, the disorder, the impurity, the decayed state in all respects of this temple, too plainly show that the great Inhabitant is gone."—*Living Temple*, pp. 75, 76.

But the temple is to be rebuilt and reoccupied. This is done, as our author shows, by the incarnation of the Son of God, whom he represents as the great *model temple*, according to which all inferior temples are to be constructed. Under this head, he discusses all the great principles of the Christian system, in a manner highly scriptural and interesting.

Howe's style is somewhat surcharged with epithets, and is not unfrequently harsh and heavy, though much relieved by passages of great beauty and power. He abounds in divisions and subdivisions, a fault which he had in common with many learned divines of his age. His gold is rich and massive, though seldom wrought into beautiful and finished forms; and the reader must be willing to labor somewhat in order to find it.

One of the greatest charms of the old theological writers is, their all-pervading holiness, their forgetfulness of self, their simplicity and earnestness, their confiding faith, their love to God and to souls. It is this which gives them such power over the pious heart, and renders them so suc-

cessful in converting souls to God. These characteristics appear conspicuous in the works of Howe. We feel, in reading them, as if we were conversing with one of the ancient seers. While the intellect is informed, the heart is made better, and thus while growing in knowledge, we grow also in grace. We feel "the vanity of man as mortal," aspire to become "living temples" of God, and pant after "the future blessedness of the righteous."

SCOTUS.

ARTICLE V.

HENRY STEPHENS.

A Biographical Sketch of Henry Stephens. By FRANCIS PASSOW. Translated from the German by the Editor.

INTRODUCTION.

As the art of printing spread rapidly from its home in Germany, throughout all the countries of Europe, it every where called forth men, who could not be satisfied with perfecting and embellishing the mechanical part of the new invention, but who also labored to qualify themselves, by profound erudition, to prepare works of their own for the press, and to employ learned men under their supervision, in elaborating productions worthy of being perpetuated. When the threefold employment of printer, publisher and author was united in the same person, the numerous advantages arising from such a union could not remain unobserved; and it is not strange, that a business which had proved a father's source of wealth, and,—what was then of still greater account,—of just renown, should be transmitted to his son. This hereditary profession, to which we owe so much, first appeared in the family of the *Aldi*, at Venice. Soon after, their example was followed by the *Junta*, in Florence, by the *Plantins*, in Holland, and by the *Wechels*, in Frankfort, on the Mayn. But in no family did this arrangement continue longer, or extend itself into more branches, or achieve greater enterprises, than in that of *Stephens* (properly *Etienne*, or, as

the family itself wrote their name, *Estienne*), which continued to flourish for nearly two centuries (from 1500 to 1684), first in Paris, subsequently in Geneva, afterwards in both at the same time, and again in Rochelle. It was allied by marriage with the families of Badius, Colines and Patissoe.

It reflects no small discredit upon the French, that as yet they have not in any manner honored the memory of such distinguished citizens.* These men do not, indeed, need such memorials, inasmuch as their own productions will never cease to proclaim their virtues. Still, as a consequence of this neglect, a great and almost fabulous obscurity rests upon the connecting links of their history, which nothing but documents, city archives, registers, company books and family papers can remove.

The office, which ungrateful countrymen neglected, was undertaken by Theodore Jansson van *Almeloveen*, of Holland, in his *Lives of the Stephenses*, 1683, and a little later (1709), by *Michael Maittaire*, of England. Neither of them had access to any thing more than to published accounts, which, however, were diligently examined. But in regard to a historical arrangement and recasting of the materials, nothing was attempted by either.

As the writer is daily, in his own labors,† employed with the works of the most celebrated member of this family, the second *Henry Stephens*, he is desirous of presenting some token of his gratitude to that great man, by attempting to draw from the same materials some connected account of his eventful life.

But as there are frequently chasms of successive years in his history, which could be filled only by conjecture, it was found impossible to follow the chronological order; instead of this, an internal connection has been sought, which it is hoped will not mislead the reader.

HIS CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

About the commencement of the sixteenth century, and in the reign of Louis XII, *Henry Stephens*, the first of his name and of his profession, of whom we have any knowledge, had a press in successful operation in Paris. About the year 1520, he left behind him, at his death, a well-arranged establishment, of which at first *Simon de Colines*,

* The only exception is, that F. Didot has given some notices of Robert and Henry Stephens in his Translation of Tyrtæus.

† In preparing his own Greek Lexicon — Ed.

who married the widow of Stephens, took charge; soon, however, his three orphan sons, *Francis*, *Robert* and *Charles* took the business into their own hands, and prosecuted it zealously.

Robert (born 1503) was far superior to his brothers in ability and enterprise, and especially in firmness of purpose, in a thorough knowledge of languages, and in a skilful management of the business of printing. His intelligence and enterprise could not long be concealed from the chivalric king, Francis I, who honored every spirited effort, and who, by personal example and by emolument, strove to create for his country a better golden age than that which dawned upon it two hundred years later, under Louis XIV. In 1539, the king appointed him for the Hebrew and Latin press, and, a little later, royal printer of the Greek, and supplied him with types worthy of his office. Thus was he recognized, in every respect, as the first typographer of France.

To these facilities were added others of a domestic kind, which rarely occur. His wife, *Perrette*,* was the daughter of the learned printer, *Jodocus Badius Ascensius*, who had transferred his business from Lyons to Paris, and was here prosecuting it with great success. Not a little of the father's learning was inherited by the daughter; the Latin language, in particular, had almost become a second mother-tongue to her, with such fluency and accuracy was she accustomed to speak it. Besides for a long time, Robert had not less than ten learned men, from the different countries of Europe, continually with him in his house, who were employed in the different departments of his business, and who formed a literary circle, in which, more by custom than by agreement, the Latin was adopted as a common language. In this social intercourse, as well as in the ordinary conversation at the table, the presence of the servants was often necessary. Some words were understood by them, from their resemblance to others in their own language; some were guessed out; and others learned; and it soon became the established order in *Robert Stephens's* house, that servants and maids understood at least the Latin of others, and had more or less ability to speak the language themselves.

* Died 1566.

In this small Latin republic, which was formed so naturally and was so truly social, the head of it had three sons born, *Henry II*, *Robert II* and *Francis II*. Of several daughters, the name of *Catharine* only is preserved. She also spoke the Latin with ease, although not always with perfect purity, inasmuch as her knowledge of it was the result of daily intercourse rather than of elaborate instruction. In 1585, she was the only surviving sister, and we have no account of her subsequent to that date.

Henry Stephens, with whom we are now chiefly concerned, the oldest of the three brothers, was born in Paris, in the year 1528. The father's athletic form, still discoverable in his portrait, was not inherited by Henry. Early habit, however, may have strengthened him for the trials of his subsequent life; we only know, that up to his eighth year he amused himself with gardening.

In his literary course, he was to commence, according to the custom of the times, with the study of the Latin language. What Victorinus of Feltri, and especially Ambrocius Traversari had said and done for the precdence of the Greek, had long since passed away. European nations, generally, had adopted a course of study mostly from Italy; and this circumstance gave the Latin language the preponderance. The bold independence which never forsook the man, first manifested itself in the boy, by his opposing the ordinary method, and insisting on commencing with the Greek. He heard his first teacher explain to older students the *Medea* of Euripides, in doing which he required them to commit the original to memory, and to represent it on the stage. The boy, pleased with the harmony of the language and with the versification, expressed to his father a strong desire to learn the Greek first. Robert urged the objection, that he had not yet acquired a knowledge of the Latin language; and, as all the helps and manuals for studying the Greek were written in Latin, it was necessary to study this first. The son replied, that with the knowledge of the Latin which he had acquired by hearing it spoken from his infancy, he could make use of those books; and when this knowledge should fail him, he could make out the meaning from the analogy of his own language. His earnestness overcame the objections of his father, who, in fact, agreed with him in opinion. The Greek declensions and conjugations were soon mas-

tered; in a short time, he read that same *Medea*, and translated, not as usual, into Latin, but with great spirit, into French, those splendid passages from the lips of the heroine, of Jason and of Creusa, for a knowledge of which he had so recently envied his more advanced associates.

Henry now easily made up his deficiency in Latin. But his preference for Greek literature was fixed for ever, and his plans for life, with reference to it, were formed; and, in later years, he was always happy that his youthful impulses led him in that direction.

That which was commenced with such ardor, was prosecuted with skill and with great success. Robert was indeed hindered, by his complicated labors connected with the press, from instructing his son personally; but he knew what teachers Henry's talents required. He first procured Peter Danés, then James Tusan [Toussain], and finally Adrian Turnebus (Tournebeuf). This last, like John Oporinus, in Basle, and Francis Raphelengius, in Leyden, successfully combined the office of royal professor of Greek with that of the supervisor of an extensive printing establishment. Under the direction of Turnebus, he prosecuted the critical study of the Greek authors with such success, that he was able, when but eighteen years of age (1546) to aid his father in editing the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. This appears to be the time when his studies under a teacher terminated.

HIS TRAVELS IN ITALY.

A decided fondness for travelling, which subsequently degenerated into a disposition to rove from city to city, and from country to country, was early manifested in Henry Stephens, as in most literary men of that period; and Robert, remembering his own youthful feelings, readily granted him indulgence. Immediately after leaving the school of Turnebus, he commenced a journey to Italy, which continued from 1547 to 1549. His principal design seems to have been to examine the most celebrated libraries, for the purpose of comparing important manuscripts, and of transcribing unpublished ancient productions. His numerous works, which afterwards appeared, testify how faithfully he improved his time, and what treasures of various learning he brought with him on his return. Nor was he negligent in forming an acquaintance with men of

the most distinguished talents and learning, of whom there were so many in Italy at that period. We find him at one time with cardinals and ambassadors, at another, with learned men of every description. It is pleasant to notice that, while his personal character won general favor, his learning acquired him the friendship and respect of such men as Charles Sigonius, Peter Victorius, Dionysius Lambinus, Francis Robortell and William Sirlet. From the dedicatory epistles of many of his later works, it is obvious that he formed not merely travelling acquaintances, but permanent literary connections. Ancient art only escaped his attention in Italy; but no one will reproach him for that, who knows how unremittingly his mind was occupied with the monuments of ancient literature, which then needed, more than they now do, the labors of the learned to remove their corruptions, and even to rescue them from ruin.

Although it is not now known in what order he visited the various Italian cities, or how much time he devoted to each, we learn from miscellaneous notices that he visited Genoa, Lucca, Milan, Vicenza, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Florence, Sienna, Rome and Naples. If it be borne in mind what tract of country it is that lies between these places, it may well be supposed that no important point was unnoticed by him. He appears to have made the longest stay in Venice, whither the manuscripts of Bessarion, the favor of the French minister, Odet de Selves, and the friendship of Sigonius attracted him.

But during his second Italian journey, which extended from 1554 to 1656, the good-will of Odet de Selves came near proving his ruin. That minister employed him on a secret embassy to Naples, during the Italian war between Charles V and Henry II, in which he was suspected and taken up; but, by his great presence of mind and his fluency in the Italian language, he succeeded in concealing the fact that he was a Frenchman. After this adventure, he never visited Italy again, though he still retained his love for intimacy with the great.

HIS TRAVELS IN ENGLAND.

Scarcely was he returned from his first Italian journey, when in 1550, he took a new flight in an opposite direction; he went to England. Of learned

occupations we hear nothing at this time. His residence on the other side of the channel was of short duration; long enough, however, for the acquisition of the English language. The recollection of this tour continued to be fondly cherished in later life. After he had been favorably received by the young king Edward VI, then but thirteen years old, he returned in 1551, through Flanders and Brabant, to his own country. He employed his short stay at the University of Louvain, partly in making the acquaintance of the professors of that place, and partly in learning the Spanish language, for which there was a melancholy occasion at that time in the Netherlands.

HIS RESIDENCE IN GENEVA.

At this period, those generally who were well versed in ancient literature, and saw in that the surest defence against intellectual servitude and barbarism, had separated from the Papacy and from monasticism, and attached themselves warmly to the pure doctrines of the Reformation. Thus it was with Turnebus, thus with Stephen Doletus, and thus with the most zealous of them all, Robert Stephens and his sons. Decided in action, as well as in thinking, he not only circulated, by means of his presses, the writings of Calvin, Beza, Bucer and other leaders of the Reformation, but even at an earlier period, under the protection of the generous Francis I, he had labored to open to the people the pure sources of knowledge and of salvation, by publishing new and improved editions of the Scriptures, in the original Hebrew and Greek text, as well as in the Latin translation.

The doctors of the Sorbonne had long witnessed these successful efforts with smothered rage. When Robert, in the year 1547, lost his magnanimous protector, who was taken away by an early death, and Henry II ascended the throne, with whom a reign of strife and disorder commenced, this malignant inquisitorial body hesitated no longer to come out openly and accuse Stephens of heresy. Though there might have been no immediate personal danger, his keen foresight descried what would await him, if he continued in his present situation. He could not but perceive that every means would be resorted to, in order to annoy him in his labors, and to prepare the way for his final ruin. There was but one remedy for this evil, and this required

great decision,—a virtue in which Robert Stephens was not wanting.

On the borders of France and Switzerland, uniting the advantages of both countries, was Geneva, at that time the theatre of Calvin's revolutionary activity as a reformer. Although some things transpired here, which savored more of the Papacy and of the Sorbonne than of the gospel of love, such as the execution of Servetus, they were infrequent, and were loudly reprobated by many. There was a general tendency to improvement, which was favored by a flourishing literary institution; and it was obvious that religious liberty was winning its way in this place, as rapidly as it was approaching to its extinction in France.

It was precisely such a situation that Robert needed. To secure it, the external advantages which bound him to Paris,—and what is often of still greater influence,—the time-hallowed usages and manners of his country, must all be yielded up. In 1550 or 1551, Robert removed to Geneva, where he was received with open arms. His typographical enterprise suffered no change, except that it was directed more to theological works, a circumstance easily explained from the prevailing interest then felt in theology at that place. Whether Henry accompanied him to Geneva, or remained in Paris to carry on a business which was so extensive and complicated that it could not be broken off suddenly, or whether, by passing back and forth, he kept up a connection between the two places, is doubtful; the last is not improbable. So much is certain, that after he had acquired great reputation by publishing, in 1554, the first edition of the Anacreontic poems in Paris, he went, in 1556, to Geneva, where he was occupied a long time aiding his father in publishing an edition of the Collection of Proverbs by Erasmus of Rotterdam.

But Robert did not live to enjoy his new home long. He died September 7, 1559, at the age of fifty-six, a victim to restless activity of body and of mind. In his last will, he appointed Henry to act as the head of the family, and to manage all its domestic affairs, with the express provision, that the establishment never be removed back to Paris, nor transferred to any other place. The second son, Robert, was disinherited, for settling as a printer at Paris, contrary to his father's will, and for returning to the Catholic church.

Thus Henry was settled in Geneva for all the remainder of his life. But the attractions of the place could no longer please him, when he was held there by compulsion, rather than by choice. The press was, indeed, kept for a time in unremitted operation, though he himself was often absent. As soon as he was freed from a literary engagement with which he was then occupied, he yielded to his passion for change, which strengthened with his years, and wandered about at one time in France, at another in Germany, being absent for years at a time, till at length his humor brought him, for a short period, back to Geneva, or to Gri re, his country residence in the vicinity. This pernicious instability rapidly increased upon him after the completion of his chief production, the *Greek Thesaurus*, in 1572. It appeared as if the object of his life was thereby accomplished, and nothing remained for him worthy of his ambition.

He once made an attempt to get a dispensation from the will of his father, and to effect a return to Paris. He went thither about the year 1580, and secured the favor of king Henry III, and communicated to him his wishes. He engaged that prince to intercede for him with the Genevan council, and if Scaliger's account may be trusted, he even promised, in case of success, to return to the Catholic church. But the Genevans could not be induced to surrender the advantages secured to them by Robert's will. That Henry's affairs could not be in a prosperous state under such circumstances, it is easy to divine; and the small estate left by him at his death, confirms the conjecture.

HIS CONJUGAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE.

Henry seems not to have given his mind to the subject of matrimony, till the death of his father and the superintendence of the household made it necessary. The first notice of him in married life is in the year 1560. Who his consort was is no where mentioned. It has been conjectured that she was either the daughter or near relation of Henry Scrimger, a Scotchman, one of the most distinguished civilians of his time, with whom an acquaintance and friendship were formed by Henry Stephens during his first residence in Venice. Scrimger resided in Geneva about the time of Henry's marriage, and died there in 1671. Nearly

all that is known of her history is, that she died in 1580, twelve years later than has commonly been supposed, and that she was the mother of two daughters, Florentia and Dionysia, and of a younger son, Paulus, all of whom survived her.

If we may judge from the attachment mutually professed, the conjugal union was a happy one. Nearly twenty years subsequently to her death, Henry, in a dedicatory epistle to his son, prefixed to his edition of Gellius, commends her as a lady of honorable character and parentage, of exquisite natural beauty and superior education, of attractive manners, formed by free intercourse with noble and even princely females, and at the same time excelling in all the quiet domestic virtues; unassuming and yet dignified, kind to every one, liberal or frugal, as the case required, in merriment and festivity moderate, in her appearance cheerful, in conversation mild and persuasive, and to complete the picture, an excellent mother, who knew how, in the government of her children, to accomplish with a word what others could scarcely effect with blows.

We willingly indulge the belief, that if Henry had remained longer in the possession of such a companion, his life would have continued to be one of quiet and contentment within the limits of his domestic circle. Certainly the most quiet and laborious years of his life were during the period of his union with her; and not till her death did the demon of instability, which, favored by many circumstances, finally proved his ruin, get possession of him. It is true that he married again afterwards, but it was chiefly to obtain a good housekeeper, who could manage with ability his business, during his frequent and long absences. For skill in this respect she had great credit, and this is all that is known of her.

Henry saw all his children grow up to maturity, and they all long survived him. Paulus, born 1566, was in early life instructed by his own father, and then sent to travel in Holland and England. He afterwards succeeded to his father's business, about the year 1599, and lived till 1625. Dionysia was always in feeble health, and died unmarried. Florentia had the good fortune to be the wife of the noble and profoundly erudite Casaubon, who was born in Geneva in 1559, and died in Paris, July 1, 1614.

From 1581 to 1595, Casaubon was employed in Geneva, partly as corrector of the presses of Henry, whose disciple he was proud to be, and partly as professor in the university. It was at this period that he formed his acquaintance with Florentia, to whom he was married about the year 1590. With great affection, fidelity and fortitude she shared with him in all the vicissitudes of his frequently unhappy lot, and up to the time of his death was often his solace and his stay. Her mother's mantle seems to have rested upon her. It is melancholy to add, that Henry never received into his confidence and affection his son-in-law, a man of admirable character, in which mildness and firmness were equally blended. Many a time, when the father was in a sullen mood, Casaubon and Florentia could not even appear in his presence. But their love to him never suffered diminution.

HIS LIFE AT COURT. .

When literary men resort to the courts of princes, they are liable to render themselves ridiculous, and even contemptible. They will be obliged to adopt ceremonial usages, to which they can never yield their hearty assent, without renouncing their appropriate character as lovers of truth and sincerity. A proof of this is furnished in the case of Stephens. His ardent desire to return from Geneva to Paris, brought him to the court of Henry III. Miserable, heartless and worthless as this king was, Stephens labored, and not without success, to gain his favor. He even obtained from him pecuniary support in carrying forward his typographical enterprises, instead of which, however, he soon received nothing but empty promises. Before he himself perceived that his position was unworthy of his character, his contemporaries poured their ridicule upon the literary veteran, who attempted to play the courtier, and to flirt in velvet and silk with dissipated satellites. But the king was highly gratified with his society, and entrusted to him secrets of state. Yet for this confidence he came very near paying too dearly. The king entrusted him a secret, and the next day it was a topic of conversation at court. Stephens was summoned and dismissed very ungraciously, as betrayer of the secret. Conscious of his innocence, he endeavored to free himself from suspicion, but all to no purpose; the king had committed the secret to none but

him, and he alone could have made it public. He was sent away with menaces. Of course, he enjoyed no sleep that night. He turned the matter over and over in his mind, and it occurred to him that there was another courtier, to whom the king had also repeated the same thing, and perhaps he had divulged it. He resolved to go early in the morning to the prince, and to beg of him to review the matter, and see if the individual alluded to was not the betrayer of the secret. But perhaps he will not reconsider it; or that person may not prove to be guilty of the deed; or I may subject myself to the charge of being not only an unfaithful servant, but a false accuser, and experience both the anger of the king and the revenge of an embittered courtier. From these considerations, he was induced to abandon his resolution. Providence, however, delivered him from these unjust suspicions. The king himself recollected that he had made a second person his confidant. That person was examined, convicted and punished; and Stephens was again received into favor. He immortalized these unhappy incidents in a beautiful Latin poem. At length, other similar occurrences, and the growing conviction that his great object could never be obtained in this way, made him weary of a court life; and he left Paris in 1587, never to return.

HIS TRAVELS IN GERMANY.

After Henry Stephens took up his residence in Geneva, Germany was, in respect both to trade and literature, as accessible to him as France. He had long corresponded with German scholars, and had experienced many instances of German liberality. His productions were probably more highly prized there than in his own country, now fearfully distracted by religious and political controversies; the sale of them was greater in the east of Europe than in the west. Besides, the Frankfort Fairs, which from the middle of the sixteenth century became an important market for books, demanded his presence. He even commemorated them in a small work, entitled "The Frankfort Mart and its Praises."

At what time his acquaintance with Germany commenced,—whether he visited Augsburg in his youth, as he returned from Italy, must be left unsettled. His frequent and stated visits at Frankfort can hardly have commenced

before the publication of his Greek Thesaurus, in 1572. From the Fair he went down the Rhine to the venerable Cologne. With Bacharach [a small village below Mayence, on the Rhine] he was so delighted that he celebrated it in a Latin poem. Basle, Strasburg and Heidelberg he visited on his way to the Fairs, and on his return. At a later period, in 1574, he became acquainted with the interior of the country; he visited Ratisbon, Vienna, and travelled in a part of Hungary. He was in Germany, for the last time, in 1595, three years before his death. It has been said that he resided three successive years in Frankfort and Ratisbon, beginning in 1593, and that he carried on printing in the former place; but this last assertion cannot be proved. When the emperor Rudolph II, with whom, as well as with both his predecessors, Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, he was personally acquainted, held a diet in Ratisbon, in 1594, and recommended the vigorous prosecution of the Turkish war, Stephens presented the Diet two written addresses, in one of which he refuted Hubert Foliet's book on the Greatness of the Turkish Empire, and in the other urged the Diet to carry on the war against the hereditary foe of Christendom with all their power.*

That he was pleased with the Germans and their mode of life, we may, without overweening national vanity, infer from his frequent residence in Germany. There was one thing, however, with which he could not sympathize, the carousing propensity of the Germans. But he made ample amends, in the true spirit of a philologist, not only by his poetical effusions, "Thirst for the Cup" (*Cylicodipsia*), and "Loathing of Intemperance" (*Methysomisia*), but by collecting from the Greek Anthology, from Lucias [Lucian?], Libanius and Basil, and from Seneca and Pliny every thing that related to this vice, and publishing it with a Latin translation of the Greek extracts. He seems not to have been versed in the German language. The reason is obvious: the Latin was then the language not only of the schools, but of the court and of the refined circles of Germany.

* Even in his treatise *De Latinitate Lipsiana*, he has much more to do with the Turkish war than with Lipsius's Latin.

HIS HORSEMANSHIP AND POETRY.

The equestrian taste of Stephens, it would seem, was hereditary. It is well known of Robert, that he divided the chapters of the Bible into verses mostly on horseback; and the biblical critics say, that his horse must have frequently stumbled, for the marks of division are often in the wrong place. Henry's horse was in reality his Pegasus, upon which, according to his own declaration, nearly every thing of any value originated which is to be found among his Greek and Latin poems. This will appear by no means incredible, when we consider that he made all his journeys alone and on horseback; and that, in the absence of books, he could not better divert his mind from the various discomforts attendant on travelling than in this manner. Thus in the old Roman spirit, his leisure hours were devoted entirely to the muses. With what facility he composed verses, we learn, not merely from the great number of his poems, but from the traces of genius every where apparent. These happy passages were never the fruit of elaborate industry; on the contrary, the finishing hand is often wanting. He could compose with equal facility in the Greek language and in the Latin. These circumstances will explain why the higher lyric strain and the epic, were not attempted. The number of his epigrams, in which he was highly successful, is very great. No one copied the Grecian models more skilfully, except Grotius. His vein was naturally satirical, as we see it in his "*Methysomisia*" and "*Cylicodipsia*," and, most of all, in the "*Musa Monitrix Princepum*" [the Muse, the Monitress of Princes], a production of great historical value.

HIS NATIVE LANGUAGE.

His French poems, written mostly while he was at court, not as the learned Genevan *Estienne* [Stephens], but as the *Sieur de Grière* [the title taken from his country-seat], are nearly forgotten. But his prose writings along with those of Montaigne and Amyot, are among the most important monuments for the history of the language. They have an antique air, are simple and animated, and abound in strength and in graphic descriptions. The most celebrated of them are his "*Defence of Herodotus*," in which he vindicates the character of the historian from the

charge of incredulity and unfaithfulness, and galls his Catholic opponents, by drawing a parallel between the wonders of Herodotus and those of the priests; and his "Life of Catharine de Medici," in which he expresses in bold language the profligacy of the French monarch's own mother. Stephens is the only French philologist of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who could write better in his native language than in Latin.

HIS EDITIONS OF ANCIENT AUTHORS.

Stephens extended his usefulness far beyond the confines of France, by his editions of the ancient classics, especially the Greek. Their least merit consisted in their typographical execution; for it is not to be denied, that Robert, aided as he was by his royal sets of type and his fine Paris paper, secured a more splendid mechanical execution than Henry. The design of Henry was, by means of convenient editions, to circulate the most important Greek authors widely, and, indeed, to render them universally accessible. There is scarcely a writer, either of prose or poetry, from the time of Homer and Hesiod to that of Demosthenes, from the commencement of Grecian literature to the end of its golden period, under the Macedonian supremacy, whose works did not receive from him particular attention, and, for that age, great improvements. Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, the early philosophical poets, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Ctesias, Plato and the Attic orators, all shared his labors. Aristophanes is the only name missing in the whole series, and the design was cherished of editing his works. He neglected no poet of distinction, even of the Alexandrine age and of later times, except Nonnus. Hippocrates, Aristotle and Theophrastus, are the earliest prose writers in the chronological series, of whom he took little notice. On the other hand, he issued complete editions of the later authors Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Appian, Dio Cassius, Herodian, Diogenes Laertius, Maximus Tyrius, Sextus Empiricus and others, to which we must add, as worthy of special regard, those that had hitherto existed only in manuscript, viz., the Anacreontic Poems, the contest between Homer and Hesiod and other similar pieces, many epigrams of the Greek Anthology, parts of Aristotle, and several

declamations of Themistius, Himerius and Polemon. In his editions of Roman authors, he limited himself to parts of Cicero, to Virgil and Horace, Pliny the Younger, Gellius and Macrobius. In his invaluable collection of the fragments of the earlier Latin poets, he availed himself of the preparations which his father had made.

With the desire to make the Greek authors accessible to all scholars, was necessarily connected that of correcting the text, in order to render it intelligible and easy for use. It is true, that for the critic of the present day, the most valuable labors of Stephens, with regard to the text, are those of presenting a very exact copy of manuscripts now lost. The nice textual criticisms, which distinguish the present age, were scarcely known then; there were so many gross errors and corruptions to be removed by simple methods, and especially by conjectural emendation, that an exquisite knowledge of the critical art, which is hardly appreciated at the present time, was much less so then. The extensive travels and literary connections of Stephens put him in possession of many rare and important manuscripts. But he employed them only for restoring passages decidedly and grossly corrupted; and where these helps failed him, he resorted to his own talent at divination, which was for the most part skilfully applied. But this is the very practice of which the greatest complaints have been made in regard to his editions, particularly those of Plato and Plutarch. In fact, he has been accused not only of haste and negligence, but of fraud and deception. To attempt his defence against the first charge, would be worse than useless. Stephens must have renounced his natural activity and versatile habits, before it would have been possible for him to labor with the cautious circumspection and minute accuracy for which Frederic Sylburg, his admirable contemporary, was proverbial. If we take into consideration his restless activity and rapid execution, and the difficulties with which literary intercourse was then attended, we can have no other feeling than that of astonishment at what he accomplished. As to dishonesty and deception, they were so foreign to his nature, that the very attempt to exonerate him from such a charge would be unjust to his memory. His edition of Plato, which has been most severely attacked, was, for two full centuries, the only one in which this author was

studied, while J. F. Fischer, Stephens's bitterest accuser, could, as an editor, make his way through only a few of the dialogues, and even these are now nearly forgotten.

HIS GREEK THESAURUS.

If all the other works of Stephens had passed into oblivion, his Thesaurus, a work of the most untiring diligence and unbounded research, distinguished alike for sound judgment and a deep knowledge of the language, would perpetuate his name with increasing glory till the latest times. Robert Stephens had performed a valuable service in his Thesaurus of the Latin language, and Charles Stephens had made important contributions to an accurate knowledge of the Ciceronian phraseology, by his Thesaurus of Cicero; but an incomparably more difficult task remained to be accomplished in a similar work, embracing the whole Greek language. Since the first rude attempt by John Craston, a Carmelite monk, of Placenza (1497), none but the deeply learned William Budaeus and Robert Constantine, a physician, had labored in the department of Greek lexicography with any considerable success. The immense materials to be collected and elaborated lay in huge and rude masses, and required a man of an ardent and active mind, who could devote his whole life to the work. It was the design of Robert Stephens to construct such a work, beginning at the very foundations; and that restless scholar made considerable preparations; but an early death interrupted him. This work he earnestly commended to his son, as the choicest and dearest inheritance, and he could not have committed it to better hands.

How it was, that Henry Stephens accomplished such a work is inexplicable,—inconceivable. Robert died in 1559, and twelve years from that time, on the first of March, 1572, the whole Thesaurus, in five folio volumes, was completed, and appeared in Geneva, and not, as many still believe, in Paris. This period was not one of leisure, devoted exclusively to that work in his study at Geneva. It was interrupted by repeated journeys in France and Germany; and, besides, every year brought forth from his hands some other production, frequently of no moderate compass. We will specify a part of them: Diodorus in 1559, Pindar and the Fragments of the other lyric poems

in 1560, Xenophon in 1561, Sextus Empiricus in 1562, Themistius in 1562, the treatise on the Abuse of the Greek Language in 1563, the Fragments of the Older Latin Poets in 1564, Thucydides in 1564, the Greek Anthology in 1566, Herodotus in 1566, the Defence of Herodotus in 1566, the Collection of the Greek Epic Poets in 1566, Polemon and Himerius in 1567, the Greek Physicians after the time of Hippocrates in 1567, Sophocles in 1568, the Fragments of the Greek Comic Poets in 1569, Diogenes Laertius in 1570, and the whole of Plutarch in 1572! These facts, and the character of his productions, testify more strongly than any thing else can do, to the amazing intellectual power with which he grasped and mastered his materials.* In his great work he cannot have had very much aid; he mentions only his father; that his disciple, Sylburg, contributed a considerable share, is well known; but the amount of his aid has been over-estimated by some of Stephen's opponents, particularly in Germany. The internal uniformity of character, that pervades the entire work, is the strongest evidence against these insinuations.

The learned are now beginning again to perceive what a treasure of learning they possess in that work. For it must be acknowledged, that later lexicographers, instead of following the path so admirably struck out, have receded farther and farther from it, and have neither carried out the better features of his plan, nor removed its defects; so that those who have departed least from Stephens, have furnished us with the best lexicons. But we think we are beginning to see better times, not merely because recent lexicographers manifest their sense of his worth, both in word and deed, but because his work itself is coming into new life. The great London edition (1816—1828), the first since the original edition, cannot, indeed, be highly commended; for notwithstanding the excellent new materials, especially those furnished by Schäfer, it sinks under the weight of its own burden. But two new editions, one at Leipsic,† and the other at Paris, undertaken with a

* These immense labors will appear the less incredible, if we consider that the collections for the *Thesaurus* could not be better made than in editing those Greek authors which it was necessary to examine.—Ed.

† In October, 1829, C. Cnobloch, of Leipsic, issued proposals for a new and enlarged edition of Stephens's *Thesaurus*. It was, however, to be but a reprint of the London edition, with some additions. In the beginning of 1830, the Paris edition was advertised at 336 francs, about \$64. As this last was to be much the most thoroughly revised edition, and was, at the same time, to cost \$16 less than the other, the Leipsic

noble emulation, betray an interest in the subject, such as has not existed for two hundred and fifty years; and though we can hardly expect that they will be executed entirely in the spirit of Stephens, there is no room to doubt that all the diligence and care will be exercised which we have a right to demand.

The chief excellence of the *Thesaurus* of Stephens is twofold; first, the masterly selection of his materials, in regard to words, peculiarities and usage; secondly, the wise etymological arrangement, omitting obsolete or imaginary roots, and adopting only those which could be found by the student with ease.* We might add, as a third quality, the perspicacity manifested in the frequent correction of the text, which he made without intimating it to the reader. It not unfrequently happens, that modern editors think they make discoveries, which, in fact, were noticed in the *Thesaurus* long before by Stephens. The only real defect which pervades the whole work is the entire omission of the quantity of syllables. But the whole body of lexicographers, the London editors of the *Thesaurus* not excepted, have followed his example. It is only within a few years, that the necessity of adding the prosodial quantity, and the disgrace of omitting it, has been felt,† and we rejoice that this deficiency will be supplied in the Paris edition of Stephens.

The personal advantages derived by Stephens, during his life time, from his immortal production, were far from being what he deserved. As the profits of sale fell considerably short of the cost, poverty was the unavoidable consequence. He was grieved, most of all, by the disingenuousness of Scapula, who, with a well-planned policy, diverted the pecuniary gain from Stephens to himself. This young man, an obscure German, was a scholar of Stephens at the time the *Thesaurus* was printed, and was entrusted with the correction of the press. He perceived that the limited sale of the work was owing to its being so voluminous and expensive. Without the knowl-

publisher abandoned the enterprise. The price of the London edition was fifty guineas. Of the Paris edition, not far from fifteen of the twenty-eight numbers have by this time appeared.—Ed.

* See Hermann's opinion, *Opusc.* II, 220, 221,—non modo vere *Thesauri* nomine dignum, sed plane divinum opus esse videtur.

† To Passow himself belongs chiefly the honor of introducing this improvement in Greek lexicography.—Ed.

edge of his teacher and employer, he prepared an abridgment, which, to every one's surprise, appeared in Basle, in 1579 (not in 1570, as Mattaire affirms),* and was received with great favor; and from that time down to this century, it has passed through many editions, and, for a long time, held the first rank† as a school lexicon. Although it is undeniable that Scapula performed his work with great skill and judgment, and in the etymological arrangement, improved upon the Thesaurus, far be it from us to justify so wanton an act, even though it should not prove to be a violation of the letter of the law. Stephens felt himself deeply injured, both as to his honor and as to his pecuniary interest; and this circumstance contributed, undoubtedly, not a little to the peevishness of his latter days. He expressed, in several of his writings, his grief and his anger at this dishonorable procedure. The learned world, it is now universally conceded, have been greatly benefited by this greatest of Stephens's works; but he was not even permitted to share the honor of such an acknowledgment; for it was not till long after his death, that its merits were fully perceived.

HIS PATRONS.

The support which Stephens derived from Henry III was uncertain and transient. But Ulric Fugger, belonging to one of the distinguished mercantile families of the age, and himself one of the greatest patrons of learning, aided Henry Stephens with a yearly pension, amounting, according to Pithou, to fifty rix dollars. This he gratefully acknowledged, by styling himself on the title-page of many of the books which he printed between 1558 and 1570, "Printer to Ulric Fugger." The patronage appears to have continued to the death of Fugger in 1584. He found a similar friend in Thomas von Rehdiger, also a man of great wealth, and a liberal patron of learning. But this support failed him on the death of his benefactor in 1576. In fact, Stephens's evil star always followed him,

* If Scapula's lexicon appeared in 1570, it was published two years before the Thesaurus, which would set his dishonesty in the clearest light; for in that case he must have prepared his work from Stephens's manuscripts while the Thesaurus was going through the press. But, had this been so, Stephens would not have waited till 1580, before uttering his complaints. Besides, no scholar, whose testimony would be any authority, has ever seen the alleged edition of 1570.

† Hermann gives it the first rank still.—Ed.

as no sources of pecuniary aid were open to him long, and as they generally failed him when they were most needed.

HIS CONNECTIONS WITH LITERARY MEN.

In consequence of being long in active life, travelling in France, Holland, England, Germany and Italy, and appearing to great advantage in every social circle, as well as in general commerce with mankind, Stephens became personally acquainted with many of the great and the influential, as well as with most of the literary men of the age, whose studies stood in any connection with his. But his quick, excitable mind often becoming inconstant, and his conscious intellectual power often rendering him haughty and unyielding, and both of these weaknesses growing upon him with his misfortunes, it was a natural consequence that few of his connections should remain uninterrupted and harmonious, and that he should come into open hostility with some, as with Vavassor, Lipsius, Leunclav, and, in part, with Joseph Scaliger.

Frederic Sylburg, John Scapula and Isaac Casaubon are mentioned as his disciples, but as being at the same time in his employ. As he was never a professed teacher, and as these three men are known to have been employed in his establishment as correctors of the press, we can understand by their having been his disciples nothing but their residence with him in Geneva, which could not be otherwise than instructive.

Many evils in the life of Stephens would have been avoided, had he put suitable confidence in the firm and prudent Casaubon. The latter was always, with an exemplary filial respect, devoted to his interests; and often, without the knowledge of his father-in-law, averted from him impending evils; but he could not restrain Stephens from his ruinous course. Hence it was the lot of this great man, after a life of toil, to close his days alone and without a friend.

HIS LAST DAYS.

For a series of years up to 1595, Germany seems to have had the strongest claim on him. But suddenly he was seized with an irresistible longing for his native land, as if he had a presentiment that this was to be his resting-place. He took up his residence, for a time, at Geneva,

but soon resorted to his wanderings again, which, however, took a new direction, to the south of France,—to Orleans, Lyons, Montpellier, Avignon, Marseilles, whence he returned to make a brief stay in Geneva again. The periods of his remaining at home grew shorter and shorter. Neither his age, nor his exhausted strength, nor the entreaties of his friends, nor the arguments of Casaubon, could overcome his ruling propensity. Journey after journey was made without satisfying him in the least degree, and tending to no other issue than to wear out his life. Thus in the winter of 1598, he went solitary, as usual, to Lyons. There, unknown and penniless, he was taken ill and carried to the hospital, where, according to vague report, under signs of total derangement, he closed his unhappy life, at the end of February or the beginning of March, at the age of seventy. No marble indicates the place of his repose, no work of art has preserved his form.

ARTICLE VI.

AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES.

An Inquiry into the Origin of the Antiquities of America.

By JOHN DELAFIELD, JR. *With an Appendix, containing Notes, and a "View of the causes of the superiority of the men of the Northern over those of the Southern Hemisphere."* By JAMES LAKEY, M. D. Cincinnati. N. C. Burgess & Co. 1839.

A WORK like this, coming from such a quarter, may well be regarded with both admiration and surprise. Fifty years ago Cincinnati was a wilderness, and now it is putting out the most abstruse and elaborate disquisitions on difficult and intricate matters of science. The mere execution of the volume makes the phenomenon still more remarkable. Including the style of the maps and diagrams, it is got up in a manner that would be creditable in London or Paris, in both which places, by the way, we see it is published. Nothing which has been issued this season from our famous University Press,—the "American Aldine,"—has more than rivalled it, to say the least.

So much, in a general way, and without committ

ourselves in regard to the contents of the book. To these, indeed, no adequate justice can be done in the course of a single article; and we shall not attempt it to any great extent. At the same time, however, the work is one which it will hardly do to neglect altogether, and we shall endeavor to put our readers in possession at least of the design of the author, though we may not be able to inquire minutely into the grounds he proceeds on, or the degree of success with which he has accomplished his object. It is not difficult to see, at a glance, that he has pretty thoroughly studied his subject, and we are not aware, indeed, though a great deal has been written about it, that any investigations have purported to be equally complete with these.

In this essay, then, an answer is sought to two great questions; 1. What races of people built the ancient works in America? 2. Whence and how was America peopled?

In regard to the first question, the author endeavors to establish the point, that all our monuments of remote antiquity in Mexico and Peru, as well as in the United States, were built by one people,—that is, by one race; and he thinks that he has made out his argument so effectually as to throw on him who disputes its conclusiveness, the *onus* of showing wherein he is wrong. This is an important part of the investigation, and we shall briefly notice some of the points which Mr. Delafield makes in it. In general terms he says:

“Given probably to agriculture, our fertile plains attracted the undivided attention of this people, save that which was necessary for their protection from the mammoth, or from the hostile attacks of another race, and which resulted in the construction of the earthen ramparts now remaining. But on proceeding southwardly, where they were probably no more molested by hostile invasion, their wonted industry found a new object for its exertion, in the erection of extensive cities of stone. This change of custom may also be easily accounted for in the beautiful language of a learned author, who says, that ‘the faculties unfold themselves with more facility wherever man, chained to a barren soil, compelled to struggle with the parsimony of nature, rises victorious from the lengthened contest.’

“Deserting the fertile prairies of this land, and encountering the more sterile plains of the volcanic mountains of Mexico and Peru, their energy directed its impulses to more lasting monuments of their existence as a people.”

This is the author's explanation of that diversity which is known to exist among the monuments he refers to, extending, as they do, northwardly as far as the buffalo has

been known to range, and thence, through the whole of North America and the Isthmus of Darien, to Peru. In North America, they are almost universally constructed of earth. Mr. Delafield knows of but one exception to this remark, which occurs near Newark, Licking County, and not far from the Ohio and Erie Canal, where is a large tumulus, built of *stone*,—a right cone in figure, about 40 feet high, and with a base diameter of 100 feet. This is said to be the only specimen of the class in the whole region north of Mexico.

It is remarked, respecting the material of these mounds, that the soil they are made of is, "in some instances," different from that on which they are built, and must have been brought a distance of three or four miles. Elsewhere we have seen it stated that the material is universally the same; and that, whatever the circumambient soil may be, *that* is always a yellow brick-clay. This circumstance seems a little singular, when we consider the labor which it often involves. There is, for example, a mound of the largest class, as we understand, near Newtown, in Hamilton County, Ohio, situated on a gravelly soil, but wholly composed of this clay. The dimensions of the mound, from actual admeasurement, are as follows:

Circumference at the base,	-	-	-	-	600 feet
Width at the base	-	-	-	-	100 "
Length at the base	-	-	-	-	250 "
Perpendicular height,	-	-	-	-	40 "

The whole covering an area of about an acre.

Near the summit of this tumulus is a large beech, probably two feet in diameter, and its sides are covered by a thick growth of underwood, with several large forest trees. It is within three hundred yards of a high range of hills, and could not, therefore, it is suggested, have been erected as a watch-tower, or a place of defence.

This account we have from a Cincinnati authority, and allusion seems to be made in it to Mr. Delafield's theory, intimated in the volume before us, that the mounds served, to a considerable extent, the purpose of scopuloi or beacons, and points of observation, running between and connecting the large and extensive castra. These latter, he says, so far as his own observation has gone, are always near water-courses; and at intervals, along the streams,

tumuli are found, which would be visible, one from the other, were the country cleared of its present forest; in fact, he supposes that a map of North America, delineating all these ruins, *in situ*, would display such a connection between them, as that a signal, by fire or otherwise, would transmit, with ease and despatch, intelligence of an enemy's approach, or an application for assistance. Confirmation of this idea is found in Garcilasso de la Vega, who says of the ancient Peruvians, that at every quarter of a league they built a cabin on an eminence, in which Indians were stationed as sentinels on certain occasions. In case of rebellions, the news was communicated by means of fire, which was always in readiness at each post.

This theory is not essential, nor very important to Mr. Delafield's main one, but we notice it, in passing, because every thing is interesting which may help to throw light on the origin and object of these remarkable monuments themselves, without reference to any ulterior researches; and we may, therefore, remind the curious reader that some of the sketches of the western country, published in this city by General Dearborn, a few months ago, seem rather to favor this notion of scopuloi. The General says that the mounds are more numerous on *Rock river* than in any other portion of the western country. He examined groups or collections of them *at thirteen places, within a distance of fifteen miles. They were from seven to forty-three in number, at the various locations, and extended along the bank, at some points, for more than half a mile.* "They are round, or in the form of embankments, like the breastworks of field fortifications, and in many cases the latter are from fifty to two hundred feet in length. Their height varies from seven to nearly twenty feet. They extend from near the mouth of Rock river, through Illinois, far into Wisconsin Territory,—showing how densely that region must have been populated some five hundred or five thousand years since."

The more common notion has been, as our readers are aware, that these tumuli were mostly sepulchral, in this as in other countries. The large one, near Newtown, mentioned above, was so situated in regard to neighboring hills, that it could not have served the martial purpose. In many other cases, the same and other circumstances lead us to a similar conclusion, particularly the fact that

bones, and what would appear to be funereal relics, are frequently found in the mounds. During the current season, for example, we see that an immense one, well entitled the "mammoth mound," and said to be the largest yet discovered in North America, has been opened near Elizabethtown, in Marshall County, Virginia, about twelve miles from Wheeling; and this, by the way, stands but a quarter of a mile from the Ohio river. This monument is worthy of a passing notice for its own sake. It was excavated in March last. The workmen commenced on what is called the north wing, cutting an arched tunnel or entrance, ten feet high, seven wide, and one hundred and eleven in length, before they struck the mouth of the "lower vault." This vault was found to be seven feet high, and in length eight by twelve feet, north and south. After commencing the tunnel, the first thing of any note discovered, was the appearance of charcoal, with fragments of burnt bones, continuing to the entrance of the vault. Within fourteen feet of the mouth of the vault, they struck the original entrance or passage, descending like the entrance of a cellar, apparently supported by timbers. Within this vault were found two *skeletons*; the first nearly perfect—not one tooth missing,—supposed to have been placed erect, but fallen near the wall, with the head south, and thereby preserved by the crumbling of sand over it. With this skeleton there were no beads or trinkets. On the opposite side lay the other skeleton, the bones much broken to pieces. With the latter were found six hundred and fifty ivory beads, an ivory ornament of peculiar construction near the breast, about six inches in length, &c.

From the middle of this vault they proceeded to cut or excavate a rotunda, eleven feet in diameter, through the middle to the top, a distance of sixty-three feet. After proceeding about half way, they struck another vault, eight feet by eighteen, east and west. In this were found one skeleton and its trinkets, consisting of seventeen hundred ivory beads, five hundred sea-shells, one hundred and fifty pieces of isinglass, and five copper bands, worn round the wrist, weighing seventeen ounces; also a small stone, about two inches in length and one and a half in width, with marks resembling letters and figures, supposed to be the name, &c., with several other small trinkets.

This description is furnished by the proprietors of the mound, who have fitted it up as a sort of museum. They have walled and arched with brick the avenue or tunnel, leaving forty-six feet of the arch in its natural state.

They have also enlarged the lower vaults to twenty-eight feet in diameter, by nine feet high, and running through the centre is a circular wall, leaving nine different departments for trinkets, &c. In one of these departments the full skeleton is fitted up erect, with not a tooth missing, near the spot on which it was found. The other two are placed in departments, each with their trinkets, &c.

All these matters are exhibited, or will be, for "twenty-five cents a grown person,—children, half price;"—rather a better specimen, perhaps, of American thrift, than of antiquarian "reverence." Our present purpose, however, is merely to point out this case as a striking illustration of the apparent use to which these monuments were put, as well as of the enormous scale of labor and grandeur upon which they were built. We shall only add here, that Mr. Delafield shows that the Mexican and Peruvian mounds were, many, if not most of them, sepulchral also, and that their contents corresponded to those we have been describing. He quotes Ulloa as stating that the Indians, having laid a body on the ground, environed it with a rude arch of stones, or bricks, and then threw earth upon it, till it grew to a tumulus, which they called *guaca*. This, generally, was eight or ten toises high, and twenty feet long; the breadth rather less; but some were larger. They were not exactly pyramidal, but "more like hillocks." The plains near Cayambe were covered with such mounds. Within them were found, just as in ours (so at least Mr. Delafield tells us), idols, clay masks, mica, stone axes, silver and copper rings and *rosaries*, and other trinkets. Ranking states, in his "Conquest of Peru," that the same things are found in the tumuli of the Siberian deserts. "Some are of earth, and in such numbers on the plain, that at a distance they appear like a ridge of hills."

So much for the northern division of the monuments. In the course of this little sketch of them, we have suggested some points of resemblance between them and the southern ones. Mr. Delafield finds, or thinks he finds,

* The Newtown mound is said to be "exactly coal."

several others, of considerable, if not conclusive importance to his argument, while at the same time he argues that the diversities observable between the two classes of monuments are not greater than might have been expected from the circumstances which he refers to, and admit of an explanation consistent with his theory in all cases. He gives a drawing of an elevated terrace, two ramparts, and two large mounds, the ground-plan of a splendid building, used as the receptacle of the remains of the princes of Tzapoteck, a powerful Mexican tribe; and in this drawing he has no difficulty in "*recognizing a specimen of our ancient remains.*" As to this point, we are unable to pronounce conclusively, and can only refer the reader to Mr. Delafield's volume.

Again, he finds some of the Mexican mounds surrounded by an embankment, like those about some of *our* largest tumuli,—those at Circleville and Marietta, for instance; and he thinks the object of this peculiarity was in both cases the same; that is, they were defences. The chief difference between them was in the circumstance that stone was used in one case, and earth, as we have shown, in the other. Our author is not so thorough-going as we could wish, in explaining this diversity, but seems to attribute it mainly to the more comfortable and leisurely situation in which the mound-builders found themselves at length comparatively established, after their departure from the north, which, as will be seen, he attributes to necessity. Theorists are apt to see things afar off, to the disparagement of familiar considerations, and we are not sure he might not have laid some stress on the simple fact, that in a great part of our western country, including all the prairie region, stone is not easily to be had in any considerable quantities, and often not at all; a want which the Mexicans and Peruvians seem never to have experienced. It is consistent, also, with his main theory, concerning the history of this ancient race, as the sequel will show, to suppose that their stay in our western country was but a brief one, and that the monuments they erected there might have been raised scarcely with the expectation of making a permanent use of them.

And yet it must be acknowledged, that some of them were sufficiently extensive and elaborate. The mound-builders, whoever they were, and whencesoever they came

from, might well be called a labor-loving people; and their notions of the employment and uses of labor were on a grand scale. Some of the northern tumuli, already described, abundantly show this. The pains bestowed on them, and the scale of their construction, seem to have often been prodigal, and quite gratuitously so, as well as we can now judge. At the south, Mr. Delafield prepares us to look for this characteristic in still stronger development, and so we find it, and not alone in the use of stone instead of earth. Our readers, unless they have studied this subject more than it is very fashionable, we suspect, to do, may not be aware of the grandeur of some of these old Mexican and Peruvian monuments, and even of some of the remains of them which still attract admiration. The "pyramids," as they are called, of Teotihuacan, considered the oldest of the Mexican, may be taken as a fair specimen, and we give the following account of them from Ranking :

"The group of pyramids of Teotihuacan is eight leagues north-east from Mexico, in a plain called Micoatl, or the 'Path of the Dead.' There are two large ones dedicated to the sun (Tonituih) and to the moon (Metzli); they are surrounded by several hundreds of small pyramids, which form streets, in exact lines from north to south, and from east to west. One is fifty-five, the other forty-four metres in perpendicular height. The basis of the first is two hundred and eight metres* in length. It is, according to Mr. Otryzai's measurement, made in 1803, higher than the Mycerinus, the third of the great pyramids of Geiza, in Egypt; and the length of the base is nearly equal to that of the Cephren. The small ones are nine or ten metres high, and are said to be burial-places of the chiefs of the tribes. The two large ones had four principal stories, each subdivided into steps. The nucleus is composed of clay mixed with small stones, and encased by a thick wall of porous amygdaloid. The construction recalls to mind that of one of the Egyptian pyramids of Sakhara, which has six stories, and which, according to Pococke, is a mass of pebbles and yellow mortar, covered on the outside with rough stones."

In Humboldt's "Essai Politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne," we find a sketch of the *teocalli* of Cholula, the most famous of the monuments of Anahuac :

"At a distance it has the appearance of a natural hill, covered with vegetation. It has four stories, all of equal height. It appears to have been constructed exactly in the direction of the four cardinal points. The base of this pyramid is twice as broad as that of Cheops in Egypt, but its height is very little more than that of Mycerinus.

* A metre is about thirty-nine inches.

On comparing the dimensions of the House of the Sun, in Peru, with those of the pyramid of Cholula, we see that the people who constructed these remarkable monuments intended to give them the same height, but with a basis of length in proportion of one to two. The pyramid of Cholula is built of unburnt brick, alternating with layers of clay."

The same character, with its corresponding results, appears in Peru. We read thus, in the pages of the old Spanish writer, Garcilasso de la Vega :

"In the time of Calla Cunchuy, an effort was made which surpasses human belief; it was the removing the monstrous rock, called the Wearied Stone, which was brought from the mountain. About twenty thousand natives dragged it along with cables. In letting it down a hill, they could not keep their hold, and it fell and crushed three or four thousand men. After this, it was dragged by main force to the place where it now is seen; but the civil war of Atahualpa, and the conquest, put an end to every thing, without distinction. The Indians say that this stone wept blood at not reaching its destined position in the fortress of Couzco."

And again, in another Spanish work, that of Ulloa, as follows :

"The walls of the palace of the Incas of Quito, named Callo, show the dignity and magnificence of the princes. You enter through a passage five or six toises long, into a court, on three sides of which is a spacious saloon, each consisting of several compartments. Behind that which faces the entrance, are several small offices. This palace is entirely of stone, almost black, and as hard as flint, well cut, and joined so close that the point of a knife cannot be put between them; but no cement is perceivable.

"On a mountain north of Cuzco, is the famous fort or wall, of freestone, some stones being of such prodigious dimensions, that human reason is astonished how they could be brought thither, and fitted so neatly that the joinings are not seen without narrow inspection. The design appears to have been to inclose the whole mountain as a defence; it was built by the first Inca, Mango."

Mr. Delafield speaks in no exaggerated terms of the architectural genius of the race who built these monuments, and of the vast mechanical power which it would seem they must have employed. Few, if any, precedents or parallels for either can be found any where on the globe, excepting in Egypt and certain other parts of the old world, which, it will soon be seen, Mr. Delafield has occasion to survey in the course of his reasoning.

We have now pretty thoroughly canvassed our author's first point. The others will hardly detain us as long.

The *second* may be considered to be a tradition of the

Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians. This represents that they anciently lived in the western part of the continent; that they resolved to migrate eastward; that having undertaken the expedition, they reached, after a long journey, the banks of the Namœsi Sipu (Mississippi). Here they encountered the Mengwe, or Five Nations, who were also migrating. The eastern country was inhabited by a powerful people, the Alligewi (from whom the Alleghanias have been named), who built great fortifications. A contest ensued. The Lenape were joined by the Mengwe, a bloody war followed, new fortresses were raised by the enemy, great battles were fought, till finally the Alligewi abandoned the country to the conquerors, and made their retreat down the Mississippi, in the vicinity of which the whole struggle seems to have been carried on. The authority cited for this tradition, is the History of New York, by Yates and Moulton. If it is worth any thing, it goes to show that there have been two distinct races, not European, on the continent; that the eastern division were much superior to the western in civilization; that they built great monuments; that after a long resistance, the latter were driven off southward, a great distance it would seem, for by their successors they appear never to have been heard of more.

This is all very well for the theory, supposing it to be proved. And now it would be still better, if another tradition, or something of the sort, could be discovered in Mexico, or Peru, or both, *corresponding to this one*. This, accordingly, is Mr. Delafield's *third* point.

He observes, that on the discovery of America, it is well known that the range of the Cordilleras, and the mountains thence running south to the lower extremity of Peru, under the name of Andes, were the abodes of a high state of civilization, the residences of nations dwelling in cities, skilful in the texture of cloths, ingenious in the mechanical arts, and possessing no small acquaintance with astronomy and general science; while the rest of America was savage and benighted, without a ray of that intelligence which illumined the region just alluded to. The enlightened country comprehended several nations, differing in language and government, yet possessing such affinities as indicate conclusively a common origin. The most prominent tribes of this civilized family were the Aztecs, 'Totteicans and

Tlascalans, inhabiting Mexico; the Muyscas, who dwelt where is now Colombia; and the Peruvians.

Now Mr. Delafield undertakes to disclose among these people distinct traces of northern origin. He quotes from a work of some authority, Humboldt's "Views of the Cordilleras," to the effect that national annals and records have been found with them, dating back to a period which corresponds to our sixth century, and representing how "the illustrious Catin led, from the plains of Aztalan and Teocolhuacan, the *northern* nations into the plains of Anahuac." These "plains" mean the Mississippian country. This is not very definite; however, we must take what we can get in such a rambling and remote investigation as this must needs be,—make what we can of it,—and thankfully pass on.

Among the Peruvians is thought to have been a peculiar tradition, derived from their Incas, who, without being very communicative, yet disclosed so much as to occasion the common legend, that "men with beards and clearer complexions than the natives of Anahuac, &c., made their appearance, without any indication of the place of their birth, bearing the title of high priests, legislators, friends of the arts, &c. * * * Quetzalcoatl, clothed in a black sacerdotal robe, comes from Panuco, from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. Bochica presents himself on the high plains of Bogota, where he arrives from the savannahs that stretch along the east of the Cordilleras." Rather vague this, again, it must be acknowledged, but perhaps worthy of consideration, in connection with other things; and with that view, no doubt, it is cited. It is obvious to remark, and may be properly borne in mind here, that the circumstance of this immigration appearing to be a peaceful and somewhat leisurely one, does not at all militate against the theory of a violent ejection, as before related, from the north. It is not to be supposed, that the whole vast distance which these people had to traverse would be gone over, so to speak, at *one heat*. Nothing is more probable, than that they should make more or less permanent residences, here and there on the way, from time to time, till at length they found out the country which they liked best. Such has generally been the course of nations.

This last quotation, like the preceding, is from the

"Views." Our author thinks "we might infer from it an original affinity" between those who introduced civilization into Mexico and Peru. Such reasoning is a little too sanguine, too much in the style of a theorist, it seems to us. Some weight may be allowed to the solitary passage in question, such as it is; but Mr. Delafield has done a much better thing for his argument, in summoning into his court of inquiry the disinterested, unintended testimony of Dr. Warren, of this city, relating to a totally different branch of the subject. In 1837, this distinguished surgeon read before the British Association for the Promotion of Science, in Liverpool, an essay on certain "*crania* found in the ancient mounds of North America." In this paper, he stated that these *crania* differ from those of the existing Indian race, as well as from the Caucasian, and, indeed, all living nations, so far as they are known. These diversities are remarkable, and are distinctly pointed out. Moreover, the doctor had examined the skulls of ancient Peruvians, which resembled the former "more nearly than one European skull does another," and he exhibited casts, &c., in support of this position. His own conclusion was, that the mound-builders and the Peruvians must be the same race, &c. On the whole, this evidence is quite a point gained for Mr. Delafield's theory,—that is, for the part of it we are now discussing. He gives us drawings of several *crania* from Peru and Bogota, and from a tumulus near Cincinnati.

It will be borne in mind, that we have a Peruvian tradition that *their* civilization came from Mexico. The identity of these two people is a matter of considerable moment in this scheme, and the author has wisely collected some additional considerations in favor of that point. All these are circumstantial, of course. For example, he introduces some evidence to show that the two nations had a custom of flattening the cranium by forcible means; and again, that an extraordinary kind of cane-bridge, which he describes, was common to them. Ulloa, who spent ten years in Mexico, Peru and Colombia, is quoted as saying of the people generally, that "if we have seen one American we may be said to have seen all, their color and make are so nearly alike." The author concludes, on the whole, that this subject is cleared of collateral difficulties, and that we may safely proceed on

the argument, that the region of civilization among the Aborigines of the Cordilleras and Andes, comprehended one large family, whom the effects of climate and the peculiarity of country have divided into different tribes and nations, speaking diverse dialects, and possessing dissimilar customs; and who were descended from one common source which emigrated from the north, and on its way constructed the various tumuli, embankments, fossa, &c., found in Western North America. At least, he asks, may we not believe that so much evidence has been adduced as to throw the *onus probandi* on him who doubts.

To some readers it may occur that this theory is gratuitously got up, so far as it relates to the origin of our northern mounds, since the existence of our own natives may be sufficient to account for them. Mr. Delafield seems, on the contrary, to think that hypothesis scarcely noticeable, and he dismisses it in a few lines. We concur with him in his conclusion on this point certainly, and his reasoning about it seems sound, so far as it goes; but we could wish it had been a little more distinctly developed. Some of the *thin places* in his scheme are so of necessity; there was no more material to be had; but others, and this among them, might have been strengthened, we think, to considerable advantage. As regards the origin of Mexican civilization particularly, we agree with the writer of a notice of the "American Antiquities," in a contemporary Review, that the discourse which Montezuma addressed to Cortes, after he had established him in one of his splendid palaces, is a document which should not be overlooked. For example,

"We have long known," said the Indian prince, "by the traditions received from our ancestors, that neither myself nor any inhabitant of this country is of a stock which had its origin here; we are strangers, who came from a great distance, under the standard of a king who went back to his own country after the conquest, and remained away from Mexico so long that his subjects had formed a very numerous population at the time of his return to it. The king endeavored to take away his subjects with him, but they would not follow him, and still less receive him for a master. He went away a second time alone, and afterwards announced to us that one of his descendants would come to subjugate the country. From that part of the East from which you say you came, and from all that you relate of the king who sent you here, we believe that he is our destined sovereign, and this the more firmly, as you add that he had long known of us."

It is justly remarked, that Montezuma received Cortes in a manner entirely accordant with the language which the Spanish captain has put into his mouth; and that it is, therefore, right to give some credit to the substance of the discourse.

In that learned work, De Laet's "*Nieuwe Werelde*," is recorded a tradition respecting Yucatan, which deserves notice too. That author says :

"Several Indians, worthy of credit, relate that they have heard from their ancestors, that their country (Yucatan) was peopled by a certain nation from the east, that God had separated from other nations, by opening to them a way across the seas."—*Nieuwe Werelde*, p. 174.

In these last extracts a glimpse is had of what may be called the oriental branch of Mr. Delafield's main theory, to the brief consideration of which we must now attend. Having established, as he believes, the identity of our northern mound-builders with the inhabitants of the semi-civilized region of the southern parts of the continent, he proceeds to the inquiry, whence this great family was derived, and where was their ancient home? The answer, as to the former clause, is, Egypt and Southern Asia; or perhaps more correctly from Egypt, by the way of Southern Asia;—and, by the way of China, moreover, we shall probably have occasion to add. Mr. Delafield's argument, in this interesting department of his subject, is elaborate and extended, as might be supposed. It embraces numerous details, and covers a good deal of ground. How conclusive these details are, and how thoroughly this ground is covered, the reader can ascertain to his complete satisfaction, only by going over them, step by step, with the author. We must content ourselves with a mere outline of the scheme, and a few specimens of the evidence by which it is sought to be established. The former is set forth as follows :

1. The evidence from comparative philology.
2. That drawn from anatomy.
3. That deduced from their mythology.
4. That arising from their hieroglyphical writings.
5. That drawn from their astronomy.
6. The evidence derived from their architecture and decorations.
7. That deduced from their manners and customs.

In the philological department, the result of the labors of Barton, who first investigated this subject, is stated thus :

"In eighty-three American languages, one hundred and seventy words have been found, the roots of which have been the same in both continents ; and it is easy to perceive that this analogy is not accidental, since it does not rest merely on imitative harmony, or on that conformity of organs which produces almost an identity in the first sounds articulated by children. Of these, three-fifths resemble the Mantchou, Tongouse, Mongul, and Samoiede languages ; and two-fifths the Celtic, Tchoud, Biscayan, Coptic and Congo languages."

This summary is quoted from Humboldt. In regard to the inference proper to be made from such coincidences, we have the opinion of the learned Dr. Young, who applied the test of the calculus to the subject, that if so many as *three* words appear to be identical, the odds would be ten to one that they must have a common origin ; if *six* words, seventeen hundred to one ; if *eight*, nearly one hundred thousand to one ; so that in these latter cases the evidence would seem to be little short of certainty ; and our author accordingly pronounces without hesitation, that ethnography has "furnished conclusive evidence that the American languages had a common origin with those of Asia." He adds, rather ingeniously for his purpose, too, respecting Humboldt's statement, just cited, that as of the American dialects three-fifths resemble the Mongolian languages, and two-fifths the Coptic, &c., it will be remembered also that in *his* division of America, the savage occupies three-fifths of the continent, and the region of past civilization the rest ! The readers of this volume will often be amused with discoveries of this sort, which, however, we by no means condemn as unworthy of notice. They indicate enthusiasm, and that is to be expected. They indicate industry and perseverance, moreover, and these are qualities always entitled to respect.

The lack of a very logical severity in the sifting of evidence appears again in the consideration of the anatomical argument, under which head about one-third of the space is appropriated to pointing out the resemblance existing between the American Indians and the Mongolians of Northern Asia, in respect to their wild disposition, and nomadic and savage life. This is very well, however, in

its place, and the point is illustrated with some effect, though not so fully as we think desirable. It would almost seem as if the author, in his eagerness, took for granted that every reader would be as easily satisfied as himself with his evidence; or rather, would ask no evidence at all; for a single citation, perhaps from the Gentleman's Magazine, or from some other similar authority, can hardly be dignified with such a name.

What anatomical testimony there is in this connection goes to two points; one to compare our Indians and the Mongolians as above, and the other to compare our mound-builders with a more southern oriental race. To the former, an extract from Pritchard's History of Mankind is introduced:

"It seems doubtful whether there are any strongly marked and universal characters which distinguish the skulls of the American nations from those of the Northern Asiatics. Travellers, who have described particular nations among the aborigines of America, have often been struck with their resemblance, in feature and in the shape of the head, to the Kalmuc or Mongole race. To this race many other nations in the north of Asia bear a strong resemblance. From the numerous assertions, to be found in a variety of authors, of this analogy, it would appear to be very decidedly marked; and we do not find that any clearly defined difference has been generally proved between the two classes of nations."

As regards the other branch of his theory, the author relies chiefly on Dr. Warren again, whose conclusion is that "there is much resemblance between the crania of the race of the mounds and ancient Peru, and those of the modern Hindoos;" and the similarity is such as to induce a belief, on the whole, that the former must have been derived from Southern Asia. Drawings of crania are introduced to enforce this point.

The drift of the mythological evidence may be best gathered from Mr. Delafield's own view of it:

"First, proof is adduced showing an identity between the religious sects of India and Mexico, and between the deities of each country; and a close correspondence is detected in their cosmogony. Still farther and more important evidence, however, renders the point conclusive that Southern Asia was the birth-place of this people, as we detect among them actual traditions of the flood, the building of Babel, and the death of Abel; and from their cosmogony, we think we trace farther traditions of the famine, and the destruction of the cities of the plain. These historical facts stamp their origin conclusively, as they are peculiar to those who have once been residents of the country where the transactions occurred."

He speaks here with the usual confidence of a theorist; other minds will probably consider the matter more cautiously. As to these traditions, for example, wherein so extraordinary a coincidence is discovered, as we said of similar ones before, they are no doubt distinct enough to be what we call *curious*, and a certain weight is to be allowed them; but the author himself does not get them to work entirely to his satisfaction in detail. The Mexican cosmogonical legends vaguely allude to *four ages* in the early history of man. Of these, the first ended with a famine, and the second with fire; and Mr. Delafield has little doubt that these corresponded in Scripture to Joseph's famine (which prevailed "in all lands"), and the destruction of the cities of the plain. The fourth cycle ends with a *deluge*, and of course there is no question about that. The third, however, is admitted to be "difficult of solution."

The hieroglyphic evidence is next considered. The Mexican mysteries, under this head, have not received the attention which has been devoted to the Egyptian by Champollion and others, but it is thought to be established that all the three species of hieroglyphics are common between these two regions; and an argument to this effect is concluded with a pertinent quotation from Humboldt's Researches. That author says:

"We seek in vain, on the elevated plains of Central Asia, or farther to the north and the east, for nations who have made use of this hieroglyphic painting, which has been practised in the country of Anahuac ever since the end of the seventh century. The Kamtschadales, the Tongoosees, and other tribes of Siberia, described by Stralenbergh, paint figures, which represent historical facts. Under every zone we find nations more or less addicted to this kind of painting. But there is a wide difference between a plate covered with certain characters, and the Mexican manuscripts, which are all composed according to a uniform system, and which may be considered as the annals of the empire."

The astronomical argument is elaborate, ingenious, and on the whole as satisfactory, we think, as any the author has urged. He certainly finds an analogy between the Egyptian system and that of the American party in question. The intercalation, and the number of complementary days, he thinks are identical. There is a marked coincidence in the zodiacal signs of the Americans and those of Southern Asia; and a correspondence is found in the

division of the year, month and week. On this point the author is supported by Humboldt again, to a considerable extent. Of the intercalation, that author says: "The Persians, who intercalated thirty days every hundred and twenty years; the Chaldeans, who employed the era of Nabonassar; the Romans, who added a day every four years; the Syrians, and almost all the nations who regulated their calendar by the course of the sun, appear to me to have taken from Egypt the notion of a solar year of three hundred days. As to the Mexicans, it would be superfluous to examine how they attained this knowledge. Such a problem would not be soon solved; but the fact of the intercalation of thirteen days every cycle, that is, the use of a year of three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter, is a proof that it was either borrowed from the Egyptians, or that they had a common origin. It is also to be observed, that the year of the Peruvians is not solar, but regulated according to the course of the moon, as among the Jews, the Greeks, the Macedonians, and the Turks. However, the circumstance of eighteen months of twenty days, instead of twelve months of thirty days, makes a great difference. The Mexicans are the only people who have divided the year in this manner." All this is certainly, if not conclusively, to the point.

The architectural evidence we have before alluded to incidentally in speaking of the magnificent notions which seem to have characterized the mound-builders, as regards certain labors of which they were so eminently prodigal; and quotations were introduced to this point, which, taken in connection with what must be familiar to all readers concerning the monuments of India and Egypt, may be considered sufficient for our present purpose, with the addition of Mr. Delafield's summary. He thinks he establishes, 1. The coincidence of pyramidal sarcophagi and temples, and their peculiar structure. 2. The possession of the same architectural and mechanical genius, which enabled them to remove masses which our mechanical skill has not attained to. 3. The peculiarity of hieroglyphic inscription and zodiacal planispheric sculpture in their sacred buildings. 4. An identity of architectural sepulchral decoration. 5. An analogous construction of bridges. 6. A singular analogy in the specimen given of their sculpture.

Under the head of manners and customs, the last division of this part of his argument, he establishes, to a certain extent, 1. The use of the *pyrula perversa* in religious or other rites. 2. Identity in the practice of embalming and preservation of the royal corpses. 3. Identity in punishment by wild animals. 4. Coincidence in the monuments of victory, built and ornamented by the skulls of the slain. 5. Identity in the existence of four castes.

This *pyrula* is a shell, from six to fourteen inches in length, found in and about our western mounds, and nowhere else (as our author states) in North and South America, with the exception of some very small specimens discovered on the Gulf of Mexico, by M. Say. They are said to abound, however, in *Hindustan*, and to be used to this day in the religious ceremonies of the natives. Mr. Delafield introduces no authority to these points but his own. In this respect, again, he takes his reader's faith and zeal too readily for granted. Another specimen of the like logic, resulting from the same enthusiasm, occurs only a few pages after this, where, having shown the identity of the existence of *castes* between India and Egypt, by one quotation,—a good one, indeed,—from a "standard writer,"—that is, Russell's *Modern Egypt*,—he despatches the most important part of the argument in two lines and a half, by observing that "*the author ought by no means to omit to state that precisely the same division of caste prevailed among the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians!*" This, certainly, is a summary style of ratiocination, and it is well for the author that he is generally more explicit and elaborate in his "*statements*," if not in his *proofs*.

Having endeavored to establish the oriental origin of the mound-builders, Mr. Delafield, in advance of all his predecessors, boldly undertakes to point out and prove, specially and distinctly, *who these people were*. This is new ground; the rest of the theory was far from being so, as our readers may be aware. The opinion of our author as to the Asiatic derivation of the Mexican and Peruvian civilization, has been often expressed and expounded before. Humboldt, in one place, says:

"I think I have proved, in my *Views of the Cordilleras*, that the inhabitants of the new continent had been connected with Eastern Asia, long before the arrival of the Spaniards. My proofs are derived from a comparison of the Mexican calendars with the Japan Tube-

tan; from the pyramids, whose sides exactly correspond to the cardinal point; and from the most ancient *mythos*, relative to the four ages or revolutions of the globe. What has appeared in England upon the remarkable pieces of sculpture found in the ruins of Gaute-mala, since I published my work, has served only to give greater value to my analogies. I regard it as certain, that there was formerly intercourse between Western America and Eastern Asia."

But familiar as this theory is, no elaborate effort has been made, as we remarked above, to follow it out in its ulterior detail. Humboldt expressly declines doing any thing of the kind. One of his remarks is, that "thus far, neither the mode of communication, nor the races between which the communication existed, can be determined.

Other writers have, indeed, gone something farther than this. They have undertaken to explain how, where, and when the communication between the two continents, which Humboldt now considers to be established, was effected. And here the diversities of opinion among them, again, are not a little remarkable. A large class maintain that this communication, instead of being from east to west, was from *west to east*, or that our continent, in other words, was the original and central point of human civilization and population. This was President Jefferson's belief. The late learned Dr. Mitchell also supported it. In a letter to Governor Clinton, he says—

"I avoid the opportunity, which this grand conclusion affords me, of stating that *America was the cradle of the human race*; of tracing its colonies westward over the Pacific ocean, and beyond the sea of Kamschatka, to new settlements; of following the emigrants by land and water, until they reached Europe and Africa. I had no inclination to oppose the current opinions relative to the place of man's creation and dispersion. I thought it was scarcely worth while to inform a European that, in coming to America, he had left the new world behind him, for the purpose of visiting the old."

We confess we make these quotations rather by way of amusement than otherwise. This theory never was staunchly maintained by facts, and the record of it seems to exist now chiefly as an illustration of the eccentricities into which theorists are liable to fall.

Another theory, more firmly argued, is that which supposes our continent to have been once connected with the old ones,—either Western Africa or Eastern Asia. Calcott favors the former of these two hypotheses. He concludes "that Africa and America were once joined, or at least

separated from each other but by a very narrow gulf; and that some time after the flood the earth was divided or parted asunder, probably by means of an earthquake, and then this middle land sank beneath the ocean." And Clavigero inclines to the same belief. He says—

"The Americans of the south are of a character too different from those in the north to be regarded as having a common origin. Their passage to this continent is *necessarily connected with that of several animals*, which cannot have traversed the frozen zones; nor can it for a moment be admitted that these animals swam across the ocean, and still less that those which are ferocious can have been brought in ships by man; the migration of animals can, therefore, be explained only on the supposition of a connection between the two hemispheres, either on the side of Africa or Asia. *The American crocodiles favor the former.*"

Here, it will be seen, the theorists are getting into the clouds again, by connecting the question of the migration of the first human inhabitants with that of the arrival of the *brute animals*. How puzzling and profitless this is, may be inferred from the contradictions which exist between those who discuss the subject. We find, for instance, as the author of an article on the "Antiquities" in the New York Review remarks, that Clavigero, on glancing at the animals of Africa, concludes from them, that this country must necessarily have had a land communication with the ancient continent, either in the torrid or temperate zones; while Zimmerman, after having gone over the list of these animals, comes to the opposite conclusion, that America can never have been united with Asia, except at the north: "and it should be added, that Clavigero seems to have contented himself with the fact, that there are animals in Central America, but that Zimmerman examined them in detail."

On this point, the writer just cited makes a judicious remark. He observes that the most remarkable animals of the ancient continent, not originally found in the new, are the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamos, giraffe, camel, dromedary, lion, tiger, the panther proper, the horse, ass, zebra, ox, buffalo, and sheep; the most remarkable of those peculiar to the new, are the tapir, cabia, ant-eater, sloth, lama, alpaca, bison, jaguar, and cougar.

Now in this first list are found the animals most useful to man. If, then, the animal theory is to be introduced, and

any thing is to be inferred from it, it must surely be Zimmerman's conclusion, for how, as the New York reviewer asks, can we admit that had a nation, sufficiently civilized to construct these wonderful monuments, arrived directly by land, they would not have brought with them their domestic animals, of which some, as the camel and sheep, appear to have been known to the Asiatics from the remotest antiquity !

This diversion, as we consider it, rather favors, then, the theory of a connection "at the north," as Clavigero has it, so far as it favors any. As to historical authority for any other connection, a show is attempted to be made of it by the theorists, who find in ancient authors passages that make mention of a very large island, situated in the great Atlantic Ocean, which island or continent, called Atlantis, must have since disappeared in the depths of the sea. Plato, Diodorus Siculus, Aristotle and others, speak of this land, situated beyond the Pillars of Hercules. All this, however, is now generally allowed to be too vague for serious consideration. The geological objections to the connection referred to, on the other hand, may be considered conclusive. We return, then, to the theory of a connection at the north, maintained by Mr. Delafield, and by others before him, for the idea, by the way, has been by no means confined to Clavigero. Ogilby, for example, in his "*America*," which was published in 1671, and *before Beering's Straits were discovered*, concludes "that the Americans have absolutely their original from *Tartary*, which, bordering Armenia, where Noah's ark first rested, hath a convenient way, though beyond the Arctic circle, through a temperate climate, betwixt heat and cold, to Cathay, in the same parallel with the neighboring America."

This opinion, certainly, assumes new plausibility, since the discovery of the Straits in question. These are, of course, made by Mr. Delafield the medium of the communication for which he contends; and he clearly shows with what comparative facility that passage might have been made, respecting which it is sufficient to say here that the Straits are only *fifty-two miles across, and that distance is divided by three islands*. This would seem, as Mr. Delafield argues, to establish at least the possibility of the passage. The probability of it is, moreover, strength-

ened by various authorities and circumstances indicating an early intimacy between the inhabitants of the two continents at the northern extremity of America. These we must pass over with this slight notice.

The fact of communication, then, being first settled,—and next the place and mode,—once more the great question comes, who were the people that made it? Who were the mound-builders? Who settled and civilized Mexico and Peru? The answer is, a portion, more or less, of THE CUSHITE FAMILY. Here we shall give Mr. Delafield's own recapitulation :

“The early annals of this race are clearly presented in the pages of the inspired volume. Profane historians, too, corroborate that narrative, and give more minute information as to the successive migrations of this warlike and great family. From them we learn that after the apportionment of the various descendants of Noah to the different territorial possessions, in the days of Peleg, the Cushite family were insubordinate, seizing on the property of their neighbors. They increased so greatly in power, as to surpass all other nations; and after their dispersion by the Almighty, a portion of them invaded and overran Egypt. There they erected a splendid empire, from which they were subsequently expelled, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand persons. Thence they are traced by history in a northeasterly direction to Palestine, and here all records of them are lost.

“The families of the earth, then existing, were pastoral and peaceful in their habits, except this race; but a journey through these nations, who had been formerly conquered by the Cushites, must necessarily have been polemic. They must have forcibly provided for their very sustenance. As they were the only race recorded as being skilful in mural defences, wherever these very ancient remains are found, circumstantial evidence is presented of the primitive migrations of this people. They have thus been traced, as also by the relics found in the tumuli, and their peculiar zodiacal signs, to the north of Siberia. Here all positive traces are lost.”

Such is the outline of this theory, which may be considered Mr. Delafield's own. He has certainly succeeded, as much by his ingenuity as his industry, in giving it a respectable aspect as to plausibility. It is the most elaborate, and comparatively the best sustained part of his whole scheme, and will interest the reader on this account, as well as by the air of originality which it wears, and the numerous fresh topics which it brings into the discussion. In these details we cannot now follow him; we can only allude briefly to two or three points of the progress of his Cushites.

In Egypt he makes them to have been the "shepherd kings," and to have held possession there over five hundred years. He ascribes to them the magnificent works in that region, the ruins of which have since so much astonished the world, and offers some reasons for doing so, and for concluding that this mechanical and architectural genius belonged exclusively to them. Their monuments in Egypt are alluded to only in general terms. Some fuller account of them might, perhaps, have been given to advantage; for we apprehend that, much as has been written and said on the subject, it has been chiefly in these same generalities, so that the world is far from having a distinct conception of the wonders of art in question, or of the character of the race who erected them. They hardly bear in mind, for instance, that travellers in Egypt still find there obelisks of eighty, and seated statues of more than sixty feet high, each formed of a single stone, and erected on a bed of sand, often hundreds of miles from the quarries where they grew. Nor do we seem to realize even the vivid descriptions of the Colossi, by Belzoni himself;—for example, the four figures seated side by side in front of the excavated temple of Ipsambul,—each of them, though seated, measuring sixty-four feet to the top of his cap, and the arm, from the shoulder to the elbow, measuring fifteen feet and a half, the ear three feet and a half, and the chest, across the shoulders, twenty-five feet four inches! Yet, as a late writer remarks, the great sphynx is half as large again as these! And, moreover, so far from being extraordinary embellishments of one favored spot, they exist, as he says, *every where*;—"the land groans under them, and they are lavished with a prodigality that seems to have accounted labor as nothing." The approach to one temple at Thebes is formed by an avenue of sphynxes sixty-three feet wide and about three thousand feet in length; yet the figures in each line stand but twelve feet apart.

Such are the works of the Cushites in Egypt. To the same people it certainly seems natural to ascribe, as Mr. Delafield does, the splendid stone temples of India,—the "*line of ramparts*," in the Caspian country, mentioned by Sir William Jones,—and the more northern monuments of like character, described by that writer and others as having been found and still existing in regions farther north

and east,—and, in fact, pretty generally, it would seem, along the track which it is thought would have been taken by the Cushites, on their way to the northern extremity of the Asiatic and then of the American continent, under the circumstances supposed.

As to the progress of this people over the Straits, and southward through our continent, similar remarks may be made. Their course may be said to be traceable, more or less distinctly, by monuments indicative both of the circumstances in which they would be likely to find themselves involved, and of the peculiar genius and science which appear to have belonged to them. If these works are *less* magnificent in our region than in Egypt and Asia, they are still apparently far beyond the powers or conception of the original natives; and, as we have before hinted, there were perhaps only such modifications in them as would naturally be expected from the situation of the builders, and especially from the nature of the country itself which they had now invaded. Here, however, we are getting into needless speculation. The case stands as well as it can, perhaps, without farther comment. Nor do we think, by the way, that Mr. Delafield strengthens it very materially by the aid of his great Aztec *map*. Splendid and curious it certainly is, nor do we think its authenticity need be questioned; the evidence on that score is strong. As to the conclusions concerning the march of the Cushites, however, which are deduced from an examination of it, we must agree with the New York reviewer, that Mr. Delafield's enthusiasm has led him to be rather fanciful.

Here, then, we must be content to leave him. His theory stands thus:

1. The Northern American mounds, and the Peruvian and Mexican monuments, must have been built by one and the same people.

2. This people could not have been the existing Indian race, or their ancestors, nor can any other race be found on the continent which could be supposed to do the work in question.

3. These very Indians have, nevertheless, a tradition concerning another and more civilized race, who did build great monuments, and who, having issued from a northeastern quarter, were driven by them to the south.

Traditions, moreover, exist at the south, corresponding in a considerable degree to these.

4. Striking resemblances are found between these emigrants and certain nations of the old world, and monuments are discovered there which resemble strongly those which remain here. They abound in Egypt, and are thence traced northward in a direction which a people leaving that country might be supposed to take in its course to Northern Asia and America, under circumstances described. In these regions, as in North America, only *one* people is known or believed to have resided, to whom these monuments could be justly ascribed.

5. While circumstances are shown to account for *this* people undertaking such a progress, being found upon the grounds mentioned, and raising the monuments described, it is pointed out what should induce them to leave one continent for the other, and where and how this could be done with comparative ease. Having got them across the Straits, the theory here connects itself again with the positions first stated.

Such is Mr. Delafield's scheme. There are weak places in it, as we have said before. It was to be expected there would be. Sometimes he is hasty, and at all times enthusiastic. Certain trifles which he lays stress on, rather disparage than strengthen his argument. Other points might have been made stronger than they are, and that to no small advantage. Frequently too little authority, as well as too little detail is given, and too much weight is allowed to what we have. And other defects of omission and commission might be specified. After all, however, we cannot but consider the author to be entitled to great credit in the premises. If he has not done all that might have been done, he has done a great deal;—much more, on the whole, towards the accomplishment of his specific object, than any of his predecessors. All this will stand recorded on his behalf. It will occupy an honorable place in American literature; while those, if any, who are disposed to be more critical than liberal in their views of it, may well be reminded of the good legal rule, which requires of him who quashes the writ of his opponent, to *substitute a better in its stead*. It is much easier to criticise a good theory than to make one.

ARTICLE VII.

DIGNITY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PREACHER'S WORK.

THE remark has been often made, that a scholar of but moderate powers can be more certain of a livelihood in the profession of divinity, than in that of law or physic. It has been hence inferred that the clerical profession makes a less imperative demand than the others upon the intellectual and moral strength. An impression has gone abroad that it gives no adequate scope to the higher capacities of mind. One of the most eminent politicians of New England was in his earlier days one of our most promising clergymen; but he abandoned his sacred vocation because he deemed its sphere of activity too low and small. There is reason to fear that some candidates for the preacher's office undervalue its inherent dignity, and hope to wear its titles without any strong impulse after excellence, or any severities of mental toil. And perhaps there are some incumbents of the office, who rest contented with the routine of their common duties, and never feel that the kingdom of sacred as well as secular truth is to suffer violence, and the violent are to take it by force. But no minister can live in the healthful discharge of his duty, without feeling the need of his unceasing movement upward, nor will he train his intellect to its becoming assiduities without a high idea of his office. What constitutes a call to the Christian ministry; what kind of mental discipline should the pastor adopt; what, how, how often should he preach; questions such as these can be most fitly answered by him who has the deepest reverence for the pulpit. "The moment we permit ourselves," says Robert Hall, "to think lightly of the Christian ministry, our right arm is withered; nothing but imbecility and relaxation remains. For no man ever excelled in a profession to which he did not feel an attachment bordering on enthusiasm; though what in other professions is enthusiasm, is in ours the dictate of sobriety and truth." The design of the present article is to exhibit several views of the dignity and importance of

the preacher's work ; not so much of the ministerial office in general, as of that branch of it which consists in the ministrations of the word, and especially from the pulpit.

With this design, it may be well to glance at the nature of the themes which the minister is to study and discuss. The character of his office receives its hue from the character of the subjects that he is to master. All truths are important ; yet there is a gradation among them, and one rises above another like the stones of the pyramid. Though it is neither scholar-like nor Christian to depreciate any of the sciences, there is yet no harm in saying that the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. Entomology is not an idle study ; for the minutest insect is an illustration of the greatness of God's care and the cunning of his workmanship. But we commonly feel that we have made some advance, when we come to mineralogy and geology, and inspect those monuments of Jehovah's love and strength that are curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. And certainly we are rising higher still, when we expatiate on the truths with which astronomy expands and ennobles the soul. As the intellect is of more value than a whole system of worlds, we owe a profounder homage to the science of intellect than to that of all matter ; yet even this is subordinate to its sister science, that of the heart ; of the affections, the will. Man's moral nature is nobler than his mental, as the architrave is lifted up above the pedestal. For his moral nature all his other powers were made ; they are the frame-work for this ; his knowledge of them was meant to be subservient to his knowledge of duty and moral retribution. But from the mind and heart of man we can make an ascent to the mind and heart of an angel ; and higher still to that incomprehensible Spirit, our first idea of whom is a specimen of sublimity. Now the preacher of the gospel should go up all the steps of science ; nothing of truth comes amiss to him ; every thing is of use. In the language of an acute divine, " he must know something of every thing, though he can know every thing of nothing." It may be said, however, that his appropriate work begins with the philosophy of the human intellect. As a man, as a scholar, as a candidate for a theologian, he must indeed explore the arcana of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms ; but as a Chris-

tian preacher he must commence his studies with an inquiry into the nature of the mental instruments which he uses; the mental laws to which he is to make constant appeal from the pulpit; the way to instruct, to convince, to enchain attention, to keep permanent hold of the memory. He must search out the laws of mind as they are developed in the structure of language; and must learn to interpret the Bible from the principles of mental suggestion or association. That philosophy, then, which transcends the knowledge of planets and suns is the elementary branch of the preacher's great science. It affords him his foundation-stones, which are none the less useful because they lie covered and out of sight.

But he must not stay too long upon the basis. His higher theme is man's moral constitution. He must learn how to touch the secret springs of the heart; how to evoke that volition which will be followed by an eternity of reward; how to check the indulgence of that feeling which brings in its train an eternity of punishment. The exalted and impressive designation of his office is, "the care of *souls*." Immortality, free agency, interminable joy or pain, such are the themes of his prolonged attention. Nor does he confine himself to this province of human nature. He is to discuss the doctrine of those superior intelligences who come from above and below on ministries of good or evil to our race. He is to analyze the intellectual character of God, or what is called in theological phrase, omniscience, infinite wisdom, foreknowledge, decrees. He is to enlarge still more freely on what is still more exalted, the moral nature of him who is defined with more than logical preciseness, "God is love." Rising above the physical and psychological workmanship of the great Architect, above the government of the material and sentient universe, the preacher arrives at his mind's home and resting-place, when he comes to the crowning excellence of the Divine Being, and portrays the atoning mercy of him who "so loved the world." If, then, the acme of the Creator's glories is to be the most familiar of the preacher's themes; if all human sciences are but ancillary to that revealed system which the minister is to explain and enforce, if eternity and the resurrection, and God and Christ, the Sovereign, the Judge, the Saviour, are to be the great objects on which his mind is to dilate, then it is well

to require of him that he be not a novice, but a man of greatness of spirit, of high aims, and a large compass of thought.

The effects produced by a preacher illustrate the dignity and importance of his work. We must not expect that like Alexander and Constantine he will build cities as the monuments of his greatness, nor like Trajan rear a column, nor like Napoleon construct a Simplon. What is stately and imposing, filling the eye of the million, and fit to be celebrated with bonfires and illuminations, does not present itself as the first effect of the pulpit. The preacher's influence is refined and inward. It is upon the soul, is felt oftener than celebrated, but is certainly none the less sublime because of its intangible value. Not seldom is it too modest to be even discovered, or to be described save by negations. That bad men are no worse rather than that good men are so good; that moral evil stops where it does rather than that goodness prevails and triumphs, is often the chief praise of the minister's usefulness. Washington displayed his generalship not so much in his victorious onset upon the hostile invaders, as in preventing their depredations upon him; and many a spiritual shepherd has had no success in aggressive movements, but his great and only honor is to have guarded his flock from the wolves, and to say, "Those that thou gavest me I have *kept*, and none of them is lost." We wrong the good man's ministry, when we disparage it for its want of positive acquisitions. Bad as his people are, no one can tell how useful he has been in preventing them from becoming worse. The great parade they make of indifference to his teaching is often an attempt to hide their real alarm, and they are restive against him because they are held in by the curb. The bravado of wicked men is often an eulogium upon their minister, and their ostentation of sin comes from their very fear of doing what they boast to have done, and from an unwillingness to let any one know how much they dread the reproofs of the pulpit.

The preacher has an influence upon the intellect of his people. He presents to it the most enlivening and enlarging thoughts, and nothing takes so deep a hold of the reasoning powers as the series of proofs which he enforces. A sermon, if it be in good faith a sermon, reaches the very

elements of the mind, and stirs up its hidden energies; for such a sermon is a message from God; is pregnant with what the mind was made for, the solemn realities of eternity; is prolific, if need be, in skilful and manly argument, holds out a rich reward to man's love of investigation, and allures as well as urges to an intense love of study. It is a book of mental discipline to its hearers, and its author is a schoolmaster for children of a larger growth. A late professor in one of our universities, who has been famed throughout the land for his effective eloquence at the bar and on the floor of Congress, says that he first learned how to reason while hearing the sermons of a New England pastor, who began to preach before he had studied a single treatise on style or speaking; and two or three erudite jurists, who dislike the theological opinions of this divine, have recommended his sermons to law students as models of logical argument and affording a kind of gymnastic exercise to the mind. The discourses of such divines as Chillingworth and Butler have been often kept by lawyers and statesmen on the same shelf with Euclid and Lacroix. It was the preaching of President Davies that roused up the energies of Patrick Henry, and urged him forward in his brilliant career.

The preacher's influence is upon the taste as well as intellect. There is a kind of mystic union among all the virtues and excellences of the head and heart. A golden chain seems to bind them together, and when one link is gained all the rest are drawn along with it. Thus there is a strange tie between the sense of right and the sense of beauty, between the good and the elegant. The preacher holds out before his congregation the choicest models of all that can please the taste; of that spiritual comeliness which is the archetype of whatever is graceful and refined in nature or art. By winning his hearers to what is beautiful and grand in religious truth, he fosters the love of those lower excellences that are but the shadowings forth of the good things in heaven.

Working as the preacher does upon the mental sensibilities, he of course modifies the literary character of a people. Whitefield made so little pretension to scholarship, that men often smile when he is called the pioneer of a great improvement in the literature of Britain. They overlook the masculine and transforming energy of the relig-

ious principle, when stirred up, as it was, by his preaching against the pride and indulgences and tyranny of men. Whatever works deeply on the soul must extend its influence to the fashioning of speeches and books. The sermons of a parish minister are the standard of literature to many in his society; his style is the model for their conversation and writing; his provincial and outlandish terms they adopt and circulate; and his mode of thinking is imitated by the school-teacher and the mother, the merchant and the mechanic. You can see the effects of his chaste or rude style in the language of the ploughboy and the small talk of the nursery. He has more frequent communings than other literary men with the mass of the people, with those middling portions of society from which influence works both upward and downward; and he is thus a guardian of the language and the reading of the most sedate classes. His influence on the popular vocabulary is indeed overlooked, and is not always the same; but he often virtually stands at the parish gate, to let in one book and keep out another; to admit certain words and to exclude certain phrases, and to introduce or discard barbarisms, solecisms, impropriety and looseness of speech. The sermons of Bishop Hall and Tillotson, of Leighton, South, Howe and Paley show somewhat of the extent to which the literature of England is indebted to her priesthood. When Lord Chatham was asked the secret of his dignified and eloquent style, he replied that he had read twice from beginning to end Bayley's Dictionary, and had perused some of Dr. Barrow's sermons so often that he had learned them by heart. "There is a living writer," said Dugald Stewart, "who combines the beauties of Johnson, Addison and Burke, without their imperfections. It is a dissenting minister of Cambridge, the Rev. Robert Hall. Whoever wishes to see the English language in its perfection must read his writings." By the influence which a minister's own mind receives from his habit of sermonizing, and which he sends forth from the pulpit and from the fireside, he often raises the standard of scholarship, and excites the youth in his society to a course of liberal education. Very much through the instrumentality of a country clergyman now living in our own State, thirty young men of his parish have been trained for professional life. More than this number have

gone to our colleges from a single religious society in New Hampshire. The Rev. Moses Hallock, of Plainfield, Mass., prepared about a hundred youth for college; Dr. Wood, of Boscawen, New Hampshire, prepared the same number, and among them his two parishioners, Ezekiel and Daniel Webster. A hundred and sixty-two young men were educated by a plain pastor in the neighborhood of Boscawen, and about thirty of them are members of the learned professions. Each of these clergymen will long live in his pupils, and whatever may have been his own literary attainments, will produce and has produced, a visible effect on the literary character of multitudes.

The preacher's influence is still more decided upon the morals and business of a people. He touches the main-spring of the political machine, and its extremities are quickened. Waking up the intellect, he stimulates to enterprise. Refining the taste, he throws an air of neatness over the parish. He pleads for industry and method, for honest dealing and temperate habits, for good order in the family, and school, and state. He preaches from that text which is the mother of friendship and thrift, "Study to be quiet and to do your own business." He infuses new vigor into the counting-room, and new faithfulness upon the farm. Where the true preacher is at work you will see fruits of his labor in even roads and strong walls and thriving arts and a wholesome police; but where the doors of the meeting-house are left unhinged, and the windows broken out, and the pulpit is given up to swallows' nests and the pews to sheep, there you will find a listless yeomanry and ragged farms, thin schools and crowded bar-rooms. Ecclesiastical history is political also. More than twenty parishes in New England might be mentioned, where the settlement of a faithful pastor was the prelude to rapid improvements in agriculture and trade, the style of building and of dress, the complexion of politics, and the whole cast of character. What one preacher does for a parish, thousands do for the nation. To the complaint that the ministry is expensive, we may reply, 'The money given for preaching must be given away, if not for churches, then for more gaols; if not for houses of prevention, then for new houses of correction; and it is as good economy to support religious teachers as to support more watchmen and busier hangmen, to raise

new whipping posts and pillories.' In the books of English law, we often read of criminals convicted with or without the benefit of clergy. This benefit was an exemption from the kind and degree of punishment prescribed for lay offenders, and the exemption was once extended to all criminals who could read and write. Still it retained its instructive name, the benefit of clergy, because nearly all who had any acquaintance with the rudiments of education were clergymen, and an ability to read was a legal sign of the sacred office. Hence clergy, scholars and clerks were convertible terms, in the old English style, and clerk is still the law-term for a preacher of the gospel. These facts afford a hint of the humane relations that subsist between the ministerial office and the literature, the morals, the penal code of a community.

It has often been said that atheists and despisers of the priesthood are more frequently found in Christian lands than in any other. Even such Pagan philosophers as discarded the popular religion were unwilling to injure its credit with the people. But among us there are friends of universal education who decry the pulpit, though it is a great educator of the populace; there are fervid philanthropists who ridicule the missionary, though he carries the blessedness of learning to the heathen; and the founder of one of the most splendid colleges in our land has inserted the condition in his will, that no clergyman shall step his foot on the college grounds. When we hear Franklin speak so often in praise of frugality and industry, and other virtues that derive their chief support from the Bible; when we read his question to an infidel associate, "If men are so wicked with religion, what would they be without it;" and his assertion to the same individual, "The great majority of men need the motives of religion to restrain them from vice;" we naturally expect to find him a reverential advocate of the preacher's office. But in his letter to Whitefield he says, "Now-a-days we have scarce a little parson that does not think it the duty of every man within his reach to sit under his petty ministrations, and that whoever neglects them, offends God. I wish to such more humility." And we, in return, wish more consistency to our great men. Why eulogize the end and sneer at the means? Why praise virtue in the general and condemn it in its brightest particular? Our manufacturers

say that the preached gospel makes better cotton-spinners ; our landlords, that it makes better tenants ; our physicians for the insane, that it hastens the recovery of the diseased in mind ; and it has been shrewdly asked, "What would real estate be worth in Gomorrah, where there was no minister of truth." On the lowest principles, then, of a calculating patriotism, how can a Jefferson allow himself to neglect, still more to deride the pulpit, to which his own country, more than any other, owes her political salvation. How suicidal the policy of Lord Chesterfield, and other devotees of an elegant literature, who delight in sneering at the very office that creates a demand for all of enduring value in their writings, and without which there will remain but little of healthy politeness, or of sound letters in Christendom.

But let us take higher ground. The preacher's great effect is upon the religious character. We shall not be suspected of implying that he transforms the heart without the special interposition of the Holy Ghost ; and yet there is a sense in which a dependent apostle may declare, "I have begotten you through the gospel." The soul, we are wont to say, is percipient ; and yet when it wakes at the call of him who is anointed to preach, it exclaims, "Whereas I was once blind I now see." We are used to say it is alive and quick ; but when touched by the more than divining wand of him whose pulpit is a residence of the Holy One, it confesses, "I was dead but am alive again ; was buried in sin but am risen, and now walk in newness of life." Love to God, penitence for transgression, faith in Christ,—these are the noblest attainments of the soul ; they are essential to the harmony between the intellectual and the moral nature ; and without them man can never gain his appropriate honor and strength. They are the only true antidotes to pain, the only true inlets of pleasure. Pain,—what is it ? We cannot tell what it is, for it seems the more mysterious the more we think of it ; yet the dread of it is what hurries men even into the very courses which procure the dreaded evil. Pleasure,—what is it ? We know if we are not asked, but lose our knowledge when called to express it. It is the first thing that man desires ; the desire of it is inseparable from his very being, and though happiness is not the best thing in the world, the love of the general happiness is the best thing,

for it is the essence of virtue. Now the fruit of the preacher's activity is happiness; not for himself merely, but for a fellow-being; not mere animal or intellectual happiness, but spiritual; nor for a day or a life, but for an eternity; not merely eternal, but eternally increasing. He procures this inward, immortal and ever-augmenting bliss for a soul that would otherwise endure an inward and ever-increasing misery. It is not one soul only that he benefits, nor two, nor twenty, but perhaps a hundred; and a hundred eternities otherwise spent in the darkness that no light cheers, are now spent in the paradise of God. Of the hundred immortals thus transformed by the means of a single preacher, who knows but some one may be an instrument of saving a hundred more; may be a Fuller or a Payson, or a Harlan Page, or a Mrs. Judson? Is it not a moderate calculation, that a hundred praying disciples will be the means, direct or indirect, of gaining two hundred of their fellow-men, their kindred or friends for whom they toil and pray; each one on an average bringing two additional talents into the sacred treasury? And these two hundred Christians may impart, as parents do impart in a kind of legacy, their religious character to their children, and a thousand of their children's children may labor, each one in his own circle, for the renovation of other souls. Each one in his own circle of friends, and here are a thousand different circles, and each member of each of these circles has a separate band of his own associates, and the influence thus branches out into a new sphere, and will continue to widen and amplify and to include still other multitudes. It is well to reflect minutely on the manner in which influence is propagated, filling one area after another, transmitted from a few ancestors to a numerous posterity, and flowing on like a stream broader and deeper, till it becomes a mystery how such great effects can result from a cause so limited.

There has seldom been a preacher belonging to the class of great men, who wrote in so clumsy and awkward a style, and spoke so much worse than he wrote, as Dr. Samuel Hopkins. It was the burden of his daily complaint that he had so little success in the ministry, and he is now often mentioned as a good man who added but little to the stock of public virtue. But let us glance at the effects produced by this "unsuccessful" pleader for

God. Whatever may have been the extent of his indebtedness to the manuscripts of President Edwards, which were left in his possession, he has certainly done much toward moulding the theological character of New England. By his *System of Divinity*, his four religious biographies, and his ten additional publications, he has given an impulse to many who have been esteemed more useful than himself. Dr. Jonathan Edwards ascribed his own speculative conviction of the truth to the reasoning of Hopkins. A pastor of one of the largest churches in Massachusetts, who was extensively admired for his rich and varied eloquence, who was honored as an instrument of repeated revivals, in one of which more than a hundred individuals were gathered into the fold of his church, who was withal somewhat eminent as a theological instructor and controversialist, and who has now several descendants in the ministry, was converted by the blessing of God upon the labors of Hopkins. And there was another divine, who owed his renovation to the same instrumentality;—a divine whose acquaintance was sought and prized by the most eminent theologians in our own land, and by some in England;—a polished gentleman, who was said by his parishioner, Judge Sedgwick, to be “sure of silencing with his urbanity of manner those who were not convinced by his logic.” For more than fifty-nine years he retained the pastoral care of a people among whom Edwards had written his treatise on the Will, in whose cultivated village lived six judges of our courts, and from whose intellectual circle there have come forth one president of Cambridge University, one president, as well as the original founder, of Williams College. He wrote and preached more than three thousand sermons, published nineteen books, some of standard value. His fame as a theological instructor is evidenced in the fact, that on the list of his divinity students are found the names of President Kirkland, Dr. Hyde, Dr. Catlin, and Dr. Spring, “a father of Andover Theological Seminary.” During his pastoral life he was active in six different revivals among his people, and admitted to his church three hundred and eighty-four persons from the world and one hundred and twenty from other churches. He died with the title of “patriarch of his neighborhood,” and the seeds which he scattered are still bearing fruit. In the extended influ-

ence, then, of these two converts of Dr. Hopkins, we see a large measure of his own usefulness. In the churches where their influence will long remain; in the churches of which he himself was the pastor, he has been and is still winning souls to Christ. He saw, at the least, a hundred of his own parishioners subscribe with their own hands to be the Lord's, and he started more than a hundred circles, which will widen and expand upon the lake, wave following after wave, silently pursuing in all future time, but never overtaking each other, and never letting the sheet of waters become stagnant. And if this is the influence of an unsuccessful minister, what will be that of a successful one? At the last day, what a throng of witnesses will there be to the effect of John Newton's ministrations. We are now feeling this effect in the hymns of Cowper, in the writings of Buchanan, a spiritual child of Newton, writings which are said to have first awakened the missionary spirit of our own Judson; in the works of Dr. Scott, another monument of Newton's fidelity, and a spiritual guide to hundreds of preachers and thousands of laymen. What shall we predict as the ultimate result of Whitefield's more than eighteen thousand addresses from the pulpit, and of the impulse which he gave to the activity of the whole church; his friends and foes? Every Christian scholar should meditate often on the inherent value of even one soul; on its influence over its contemporaries, and, still more, over succeeding generations, an influence which is inevitable, resulting from our sympathetic nature; he should follow this widening train of moral causes through time to the judgment, when a single soul shall be revealed as the spiritual father of millions; and then he can easily explain the words of an old English archbishop and lord keeper, "I have passed through many places of honor and trust, both in church and state, more than any of my order in England for seventy years before. But were I assured that by my preaching I had converted but one soul to God, I should herein take more comfort than in all the honors and offices that have been bestowed upon me." He that converteth one soul from the error of its way, shall not only save that being from death, but shall hide a great multitude that no man can number of the sins of others.

The dignity and importance of the preacher's work may be illustrated by the short time which it demands for securing an immense good. Sir Christopher Wren was employed thirty-five years in building St. Paul's Cathedral; but Wolfe, and Spencer, and Christmas, and Bruen, and Summerfield reared more enduring temples for the glory of God, and died young men. In a single discourse the preacher may put in operation a system of causes which will result in the moral renovation of thousands who never heard his name. On a certain Sabbath, about the year 1640, a very obscure country clergyman supplied the pulpit of the Rev. Mr. Calamy of London, and delivered a plain discourse from the words, "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" There was a young man hearing it, a stranger in the metropolis, who had been for five years in the deepest despondency of mind; for three months he had been unwilling to speak a word, and "when he did speak," says his biographer, "it was with much observable disorder." As an unpolished stranger was seen to enter the pulpit of the London divine, many of the congregation left the house, and this youthful invalid was entreated to do the same, but his physical debility prevented his compliance. He found the discourse a healing balm. He was relieved of his moral, mental, and soon of his corporeal maladies; began a life of new Christian activity, as well as new confidence and joy; became highly influential in church and state; published seven folio volumes, twenty-one quartos, thirty octavos, and is still revered as a kind of prince and oracle among divines. It was John Owen who thus ascribed his religious health and much of his usefulness to a single sermon. He was never able to find out the residence or even the name of the man to whose words he owed his freedom from a wasting melancholy. It seemed as if a spirit from a land of mysteries had touched him and straightway vanished into heaven. But though we cannot ascertain who was the instrument of this eventful cure, we know that the word of God healeth all diseases of the mind, and one application of it may revive the spirit of him who is to be the physician of many souls.

The long celebrated revival, commencing at the kirk of Shotts in 1630, spreading through the west of Scotland, and extending to the north of Ireland among the Scotch

Irish, was the apparent result of one sermon, preached by an unordained minister, who was only twenty-seven years of age. This youthful licentiate was John Livingston, an ancestor of the well known family who bear that surname in our own land. His discourse was perhaps the most effective that is mentioned in modern history. Said the Rev. Mr. Fleming of Cambuslang, "I can speak on sure ground, that near five hundred had at that time a discernible change wrought in them, of whom most proved lively Christians afterwards. It was the sowing of a seed through Clyddisdale, so that some of the most eminent Christians in that country could date either their conversion or some remarkable confirmation of their case from that day."

Nor is it only by a single discourse that such great effects are produced; it is sometimes by a single sentence in that discourse. The very first clause of a sermon may seize the attention of some leading mind, and may never cease its transforming efficacy until that mind becomes an efficient advocate for God. Some plain statement, made without any anticipation of its peculiar consequences, is often referred to by a grateful convert as the point on which his destiny was suspended. Many instances are on record of a permanent transformation wrought by the remembrance of a word with its accompanying gesture and look. "Oh, my hearers, the wrath to come! the wrath to come!"—these were the abrupt clauses that fell from the lips of an eminent orator, and fell in such a way as to sink like lead into the heart of one youth, who could not rest until he had become qualified for an eminent station in the Christian ministry. "God only is great," were the words of Massilon, and all his hearers rose and reverently bowed. "Oh eternity! Oh eternity! Oh eternity!" were the closing words of a discourse from M. Bridaine, and they seemed to concentrate into one sudden view the whole subject that had been discussed, and the audience were melted down, and not a few permanently humbled.

If the students of moral history were as watchful as the students of nature, they would often trace the influence of a phrase over such an extent of space and time, that it would excite our wonder and be gazed at like a *lusus naturæ*. As we find the remains of fishes on mountains and deserts,

so we may discover the effects of a spoken word where we would almost as soon have looked for the identical breath with which the word was uttered. Botanists have admired the wise provision of nature for the dissemination of seeds. The embryo plant is encircled with gossamer and swept by the wind over streams and wastes, and comes up in a strange land. And so a pithy remark is appended, as it were, to a tuft of down, and brings forth its fruit far away from where it was first uttered. There was a native of Dartmouth, England, a member of the trained band of Charles the First, who was present at the beheading of that monarch, had some acquaintance with Oliver Cromwell, and subsequently found his way to Massachusetts, and lived first in the merchant's service at Marblehead, and afterwards on a farm in Middleborough. At the age of fifteen years, while yet in his native land, he heard the pious Flavel preach from the text, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema maranatha;" and at the age of a hundred years, while sitting in his field at Middleborough, he recalled the sermon that he had heard eighty-five years before, and the scenes that ensued when Flavel dismissed the auditory. He vividly remembered the solemn appearance of the preacher rising to pronounce the benediction, then pausing, and at length exclaiming with a piteous tone, "How shall I bless this whole assembly, when every person in it who loveth not the Lord Jesus Christ is anathema maranatha." This sinner of a hundred years became at length alarmed by his reminiscence, and particularly by the fact that no minister had ever blessed him. He pondered on that closing remark of Flavel; and at the beginning of the second century of his life gave evidence to the church that he was worthy to be enrolled among her members. He began to address pious counsel to his children, and adorned his profession fifteen years, when he went to receive the benediction of God. His sepulchre remaineth with us, and his dwelling-spot is remembered to this day. The moral of his epitaph is, that a phrase dropped into the mind of a lad on one continent and in one century, may lie buried long in dust, and then spring up and bear fruit on another continent and in another century, and be destined to perpetual remembrance. Such instances remind us that a thousand hallowed associations cluster around the

preacher; that his words come with power, not as his words but those of God; that they borrow efficacy from the house, the time, the whole scene of their utterance, and are retained in the memory long after they seem to be lost. A movement of the arm or eye has often a meaning in the pulpit which it has no where else; for it is enveloped there with new means of suggestion, and is witnessed by men of excited, quick-moving sensibilities. The preacher stands like one insulated and charged with the electric fluid; the touch is now startling which a few minutes ago was like the touch of a common man. Or, if we may change the figure, he is like the surgeon operating on the most delicate tissues, and a hair's breadth movement of the knife saves or kills. That is not an office for the indolent, weak or trifling, in which the causes are for a moment and the effects for eternity; the causes are a short phrase condensing a world of import, or a breath of air making a significant interjection, or a line on the face indicative of a thousand hopes or fears; and the effects are, what "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man."

The high character of the preacher's work is further illustrated by the bad effects which he may produce in a very short time. The evil that may ensue from an office poorly filled, sets out in relief the good that may be done by a fit incumbent. He is an important man who may do much hurt, even if he can never become a positive and decided benefactor. Though an armed maniac is powerless for good, he is guarded with jealous care merely for his tendency to mischief. Now the preacher may benumb the intellect which he ought to arouse and brighten. He may darken the conscience that he ought to illuminate, and may deprave instead of purifying the tastes and affections. As the soul which, with aid from above, he might have allured toward heaven, would have gained without ceasing new capacity for holiness and bliss, so the soul which he now indisposes for a pious life will be perpetually drinking in new sin and new punishment. The sin is just as debasing as the holiness would have been exalting, and the punishment is as refined, and spiritual, and keen, as would have been the reward. Nor does this soul go on alone to its ruin. Spirits move in sympathy, and make companions for their gloom if they do not find them.

The man whom the preacher hardens in guilt imparts a like hardening influence to at least three or four of his friends, perhaps of his household; and these will not shut up the contagion within their own breasts, but will spread it perhaps through nine or twelve of their admirers or dependents; and in this geometrical ratio the progress of the contamination may not cease in this world till the millenium, nor in the world to come till spirits no longer assimilate with each other. If the tide of virtuous influence flows upward from generation to generation, what shall be the breadth and depth and bitterness of that river of death that flows downward! Nor is it only from the aggregate of the preacher's life that this evil may take its rise. It is from one sermon and one sentence that a hearer may start in his course of desperation, and go on diverging further and further from the line of hope. A single unguarded expression has gone from the pulpit and eased a conscience that had for days been extorting the complaint, Oh wretched man that I am! A rough remark on the perdition of infants has been known so to shock a hearer, as make him leave the house of God and never listen again to an evangelical ministry. A morose appellative on the doctrine of eternal punishment was referred to by an enemy of that doctrine, as the first thing that inflamed his mind against it, and induced him to become a minister of false tidings, proclaiming peace to large assemblies for whom there was no peace, said the Lord. "Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved;" this was one of the first texts from which Mr. Murray discoursed on his first visit to Boston. "If one should buy a rich cloth, and make it into a garment, and then burn the garment, but save the remnant, what must be thought of him;" this was one of his first sentences. Homely and clumsy as was the argument, it had a strange and sad effect upon a young man of enterprise who heard it; he carried it to his home in one of our inland towns, and made it the means of awakening a curiosity and a prejudice that terminated in the defection of a large neighborhood from the faith. From that neighborhood have gone several lettered men, who have blended the fascinations of learning with the ungainly creed of their childhood; and may it not be a rational fear that several congregations will be seduced into ruin by a

train of influences that started from the one witless illustration of John Murray? And well would it be if *all* the evil that flows from the pulpit were the emanation of an unsanctified ministry. Does not much of it come from the imperfect addresses of even pious divines; from their bad utterance, that gives an unkind meaning to goodly words; from their style of composition, that makes a hearer turn away the richest truth coming in such repulsive attire; from their want of forethought and skill; from an undue neglect of prayer and study; from low purposes, little faith, clouded views, dull feeling? And, moreover, must it not deepen our sense of the preacher's critical situation to reflect, that he often does not foresee the results of his language? He does good without knowing it, and evil also. A sentence that hastily escapes him has performed its work as hastily, and has broken what a century's discoursing will never mend. God has concealed from us the day of our death, so that every day may be the pivot on which our eternity is seen to depend. He has hidden from us the names of the elect, so that no sinner may fail of applying to himself the invitations of grace, and no Christian refuse the duty of perseverance in view of a final preservation promised of God. There is this apparent indefiniteness and obscurity flung over the works and ways of Jehovah, and therefore the seriousness which might otherwise be confined to a single point is now diffused through a whole existence. If the preacher could always determine the moment when his auditory would be most impressible, he might set a double guard upon that moment. If he knew exactly what discourse or what paragraph would happen to seize the peculiar attention of an inquirer or a caviller, a bright child or an inquisitive student, he might lay out his great strength on a few sentences and feel somewhat secure. He can indeed foresee that some parts of his ministration will require more skill than others; but he will often find a surprising efficacy where he looked for nothing. A discourse of Payson, which he thought little of and wrote almost entirely at a sitting, was one of the most effective that he ever preached. "I could not but wonder," he says, "to see God work by it." So too the sentence which the preacher utters without even a thought of its power, becomes the watchword of a hearer's perdition. The word fell almost unbidden from

the pulpit, and it was perverted to the eternal sorrow of one who listened to little beside that word. The critical and momentous character of the preacher's work is therefore spread out over all its parts, even the most minute. He sometimes labors on his arguments and has no fear for his illustrations; but his illustrations are misunderstood and more than undo the effect of his reasoning. When he raises his hand to enforce a saying, he is like the man of old who drew a bow at a venture, and knew not whom or what he should smite. We have read of navigators whose hair turned from black to gray while they were steering their bark through a dangerous pass, and feeling that a movement of the helm even for a single inch would be for the crew's life or death. But it is often told with seeming surprise, that Martin Luther never stood in the pulpit without trembling; as if there were no cause for his trembling when immortal interests may have been suspended upon one felicitous or inapposite remark. It was because Paul understood the quickness of human sympathies, and the facility of doing evil, and the certainty of doing something either for the hardening or the mellowing of his hearers, that he preached with an alternation of hope and grief and courage and much heaviness of spirit. Nothing can be a more philosophical inference from such dubiousness of result, than the command of an ancient preacher, "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand, for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good." He who gives great heed to some things in his preaching and none at all to others, is like one who watched all the night and let the thief enter in the morning; who built his walls thick and high, and left only one aperture open to the enemy. The spiritual watchman ought *always* to pray and *never* to faint.

The dignity and importance of the preacher's work may be illustrated still more clearly by the fact, that God has devised and approved it as the chief instrument of promoting his glory among men. What God has instituted may not be called common; and his mandate is not so much in the useful words of human philanthropy, 'disseminate tracts,' 'organize Sabbath schools,' as in the words of the Saviour's wisdom, 'Go ye and *preach* the gospel.' God has so formed the voice of the minister and the ear of the

people, that the philosophical consequence is, "faith cometh by hearing," if the Spirit is near with his aid. He has so made the hand and the face of the speaker, and the eye and heart of the hearer, that the sacred office seems to have its foundation laid in the very constitution of the body and soul; and like the Sabbath, to have what is technically called a moral as well as positive ground-work. The eye, voice, lips, arm and attitude of such a man as Stillman seem to have an edifying power, because they are symbols of the truth which edifies. This mysterious relation between the spirit of the gospel and the tones of voice which express it is a sign that the preacher's office is no arbitrary device. But the Christian ministry is not merely of divine institution. God has shown that he approves of it as his chief instrumentality for Zion. He diffused the knowledge of his gospel over what was termed the whole world, and planted churches in great numbers, before a single book of the New Testament was written. He sent forth apostles with no message save what came from their own mouths, and "they went every where preaching the word." God testified his approval of their labors by the fact that on the same day with one of Peter's sermons 'there were added to (the church) about three thousand souls,' and a few days afterward 'the number of the men (who believed) was about five thousand.' And in all succeeding times there have been some who preached, and their words were "as goads and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies;" but when their posthumous sermons were read on the mute parchment, it became a wonder where was the hiding of their power. The seals of peculiar favor which this office has received from God are also found in the direct expressions of the men whom he inspired. We hear indeed of the foolishness of preaching; it is not, however, a real foolishness but only a seeming one to the Greeks and them that perish. As in the soberest kind of irony we call him a great and wise man, who is great and wise only in his own esteem, so the apostle calls that work foolishness which is so only in the regard of perverse men, and which though fruitless without aid from heaven, is yet "the power of God and the wisdom of God." Jeremy Taylor did well in saying, "Let no preacher compare one ordinance with another, as prayer with preaching, to the

disparagement of either, but use both in their proper seasons and according to their appointed order ;” yet there are some inspired eulogiums on the work of preaching that can well befit no other mode of Christian appeal. It were a singular fancy to conceive of Paul as saying in his first chapter to the Corinthians, ‘I thank God that I preached the gospel to none of you but Crispus and Gaius, and I preached also to the household of Stephanas ; besides I know not whether I preached to any other, for Christ sent me not to preach the gospel but to administer sacraments.’ The true language of an apostle is,—“A necessity is laid upon me, yea, wo is me, if I preach not the gospel.”

We have spoken of the sacred office as the chief instrument of glorifying God. And here is its chief dignity. If it were nothing but the means of refining and saving men, it would command our homage ; but whatever it does for men, it also does, as a thing of course, for the illustrating of the Maker's excellence. In more senses than one, whoever presents a cup of water to a sick man performs thereby a service unto God. It is the highest privilege conceivable to be an instrument of setting forth the grace of Jehovah by enlarging the number of his redeemed. But if the preacher fail of this highest honor, he still may not weep as one bereaved of all hope. His faithful message shall not return void to heaven, but shall accomplish a great work. All is not lost when man is lost, but the wrath of man shall pay a reluctant tribute to the doctrines which the preacher reveals. He magnifies the law and is sure of illustrating the holiness and justice of the Lawgiver, even if he be the melancholy savor of death unto men. Whatever right step he takes, is taken for the exaltation of the divine character in some one of its features. The honor of the law he is certain of, or else the brighter glory of the gospel. Nor does he illustrate the Creator's excellences for the whole world merely ; he is a minister to the praise of God for other ranks of being. The apostle who “magnifies his office” may say, “Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by

Jesus Christ, to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known *by the church* the manifold wisdom of God."

Exalted and momentous as is the work of him who is called to be the ambassador and even the mouth of Jehovah, the work will rise yet higher in its worth and grandeur, as it is performed with increased ability. If a sermon is great in its theme, and good in its influence, then the more carefully the theme is studied so much the more important will be the sermon; the more skilfully the preacher adapts his style to the nature of man, so much the more exuberant is the fruit he may anticipate. True, he is only an instrument and God is a sovereign and may bless the feeblest agency rather than the strongest. He may do so, but commonly does not. If he require means, he thereby requires the best means. If he approve of preaching, then he gives most of his approval to the best, most real preaching. It is generally his sovereign purpose to honor with the greatest success such instruments as are in themselves most wisely fitted to secure the end which he secures by them. He rules the wind and the tide as he pleases, and yet the cunningest mariner will so adjust the sails, and prow, and helm, as to receive the largest share of the blessings coming from absolute sovereignty. The man who is wise in winning souls to Christ will find out what are the laws according to which the decrees of heaven are usually fulfilled among hearers of the word, and he will strive to shape his discourses so as to meet these laws. And he is the best husbandman in the moral vineyard who studies most faithfully the nature of the soil and the qualities of the seed, who plants and waters at the hour and in the way which the soundest discretion advises, and moreover is sending up the devoutest and most persevering prayers to heaven whence alone cometh increase. But what manner of man must he be who is making these intricate observations, and toiling for a perfect conformity to the laws of God's highest workmanship! What agonizing of the inner spirit must he often endure, when selecting and aiming the dart which may save or destroy a hearer dear to him as an own son! If a Christian is the highest style of man, what must a preacher be? If an undevout astronomer is mad, what shall we say of an undevout pastor and bishop? If any man should be

one of various learning and severe, protracted study, of generous impulses and painful watchings, of intense longing after improvement, and of daily progress in mental and moral culture, what must be the character and purposes of the consecrated man who stands between the great God and a hostile congregation,—who knows that at every opening of his mouth he may so affect his hearers as to make them gems in the crown of his rejoicing, or make himself responsible for their blood? The homely words that Philip Henry wrote on the day of his ordination over a small people, express the feelings of every true preacher: “I did this day receive *as much honor and work* as ever I shall be able to know what to do with. Lord Jesus! proportion supplies accordingly.” A.

ARTICLE VIII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

1. *A Discourse on the Latest Form of Infidelity; delivered at the request of the “Association of the Alumni of Cambridge Theological School,” on the 19th of July, 1839. With Notes.* By ANDREWS NORTON. pp. 64. 8vo. Cambridge. John Owen. 1839.

WE profess to feel something more than a mere literary or even historical interest in such a production as the one now before us. The subject discussed is one of momentous concern; it involves nothing less than the general conception which we are to form of Christianity as a whole. Coming, too, as it does, from one whose authority in the higher branches of theological learning has long been leaned on by the religious denomination to which he belongs, and representing as it does the anti-transcendental party in the new division which seems to be springing up among them, it has so much the stronger claims upon the attention of those who are not indifferent to the character of public religious sentiment at the present crisis.

A few extracts will put the reader in possession of the strong points of the Discourse. The author introduces his leading topic thus:

“But we meet in a revolutionary and uncertain state of religious opinion existing throughout what is called the Christian world. Our religion is very imperfectly understood, and received by comparatively a small number with intelligent faith. In proportion as our view is more extended, and we are better acquainted with what

is and what has been, we shall become more sensible of the great changes that have long been in preparation, but which of late have been rapidly developed. The present state of things imposes new responsibilities upon all, who know the value of our faith and have ability to maintain it. Let us then employ this occasion in considering some of the characteristics of the times and some of those opinions now prevalent, which are at war with a belief in Christianity.

"By a belief in Christianity, we mean the belief that Christianity is a revelation by God of the truths of religion; and that the divine authority of him whom God commissioned to speak to us in his name was attested, in the only mode in which it could be, by miraculous displays of his power."

He speaks in a very desponding tone in regard to the grounds on which alone we may hope for a pure theology. Though intelligent men have to a great extent rejected what was false in the systems of former times, they have not adopted correct views of Christianity.

"On the contrary, the inveterate and enormous errors, that have prevailed, have so perverted men's conceptions, have so obscured and perplexed the whole subject, have so stood in the way of all correct knowledge of facts and all just reasoning; there are so few works in Christian theology not at least colored and tainted by them; and they still present such obstacles at every step to a rational investigation of the truth; that the degree of learning, reflection, judgment, freedom from worldly influences, and independence of thought, necessary to ascertain for one's self the true character of Christianity is to be expected from but few. The greater number, consequently, confound the systems that have been substituted for it with Christianity itself, and receive them in its stead, or, in rejecting them, reject our faith. The tendency of the age is to the latter result."

There is much truth in the following remarks:

"But at the present day there is little of that avowed and zealous infidelity, the infidelity of highly popular authors, acknowledged enemies of our faith, which characterized the latter half of the last century. * * * But infidelity has but assumed another form, and in Europe, and especially in Germany, has made its way among a very large portion of nominally Christian theologians. Among them are now to be found those whose writings are most hostile to all that characterizes our faith. Christianity is undermined by them with the pretence of settling its foundations anew. Phantoms are substituted for the realities of revelation."

The last assertion, though certainly true of no small number of professed theologians, can be safely applied only in the use of great discrimination. Honest and good men may hold to many speculative errors without becoming downright infidels. Would the author submit without complaint to being called an infidel by the large body of Christians who think he has advanced some false and dangerous doctrines?

Again he says: "In Germany the theology of which I speak has allied itself with atheism, with pantheism, and with the other irreligious speculations, that have appeared in those metaphysical systems from which the God of Christianity is excluded."

If the allusion here is to such men as Strauss and others of his class of Hegelians, it is in the main just. The charge of atheism, however, can fairly be brought only against a very few. Pantheism, in the genuine sense of the term, may be more properly applied to them. To maintain that the universe is but an emanation from God and a part of him, or that the universe, including the Divine Mind, is God, is a very different thing from denying the existence of God in any form. There is, probably, as much truth in pantheism, which, when christianized, is little more than the belief that God actually resides in all his works, as in deism, which places a great gulf between God and his works. If, as would seem probable from the notes appended to the Discourse, the allusion is designed to extend to Schleiermacher and De Wette, nothing could be more unjust.

Mr. Norton's exposure of the weakness of the grounds on which miracles have been set aside by many, appears to us entirely successful. The discussion of this part of his subject will give to his Discourse a permanent value. We quote a few passages.

"To deny that the truth of a miracle may be established, involves the denial of creation; for there can be no greater miracle than creation. It equally implies, that no species of being that propagates its kind ever had a commencement; for if there was a first plant that grew without seed, or a first man without parents, or if of any series of events there was a first without such antecedents as the laws of nature require, then there was a miracle. So far is a miracle from being incapable of proof, that you can escape from the necessity of believing innumerable miracles, only by believing that man, and all other animals, and all plants, have existed from eternity upon this earth, without commencement of propagation, there never having been a first of any species."

"But incredulity respecting the miracles of Christianity rarely has its source in any process of reasoning. It is commonly produced by the gross misrepresentations which have been made of Christianity. It has also another cause, deeply seated in our nature;—the inaptitude and reluctance of men to extend their view beyond the present and sensible, to raise themselves above the interests, the vexations, the pleasures, innocent or criminal, that lie within the horizon of a year or a week; and to open their minds to those thoughts and feelings, that rush in with the clear apprehension of the fact, that the barrier between the eternal and the finite world has been thrown open. * * * * * But let us imagine, if we can, what would be the feelings of an enlightened philosopher, were he to witness an unquestionable miracle, a work breaking through the secondary agency, behind which the Deity ordinarily veils himself, and bringing us into immediate connection with him. We can hardly conceive of the awe, the almost appalling feeling, with which it would be contemplated by one fully capable of comprehending its character and alive to all its relations. The miracles of Christianity, when they are brought home to the mind as realities, have somewhat of the same power; dimmed as they are by distance, and clouded over by all the errors that false Christianity has gathered round them. If they be true, if Christianity be true, if its doctrines be certain; it is the most solemn fact we can comprehend, as well as the most joy-

ful. It requires that our whole character should be conformed to the new relations which it makes known. All things around us change their aspect. Life and death are not what they were. We are walking on the confines of an unknown and eternal world, where none of those earthly passions, that now agitate men so strongly, can find entrance. They bear upon them the mark of their doom, soon to perish. But from the revulsion of feeling that must take place when the character of all that surrounds us is thus changed, and the objects of eternity appear before the mind's eye, it is natural that many should shrink, and endeavor to escape from the view, and to forget it among the familiar things of life; clinging to a vain conception, vain as regards each individual, of an unchanging stability in the order of nature.

"Vain, I say, as regards each individual. Whatever we may fancy respecting the unchangeableness of the present order of things, to us it is not permanent. If we are to exist as individuals after death, then we shall soon be called, not to witness, but to be the subjects of a miracle of unspeakable interest to us. Death will be to us an incontrovertible miracle. For us the present order of things will cease, and the unseen world, from which we may have held back our imagination, our feelings, and our belief, will be around us in all its reality."

The author, in rigidly constructing his system, has set forth in bold relief some important truths, but, if we mistake not, he has also set up some artificial boundaries. His own words are:

"It has been vaguely alleged that the internal evidences of our religion are sufficient, and that miraculous proof is not wanted; but this can be said by no one who understands what Christianity is, and what its internal evidences are.

"But Christianity was a revelation from God; and, in being so, it was itself a miracle. Christ was commissioned by God to speak to us in his name; and this is a miracle. No proof of his divine commission could be afforded, but through miraculous displays of God's power. Nothing is left that can be called Christianity, if its miraculous character be denied. Its essence is gone; its evidence is annihilated.

"The proposition that the history of Jesus is miraculous throughout, is to be understood in all its comprehensiveness. It is not merely that his history is full of accounts of his miracles; it is that every thing in his history, what relates to himself and what relates to others, is conformed to this fact, and to the conception of him as speaking with authority from God. This is what constitutes the internal evidence of Christianity; a term, as I have said, often used of late with a very indistinct notion of any meaning attached to it."

If the principle that lies at the bottom of his assertion be well founded, and we see no philosophical objection to it, provided it be sufficiently explained, that *every thing divine in Christianity is miraculous*, miraculous because it is above and beyond what nature produces, we see not how it can be limited to the life of Christ, or even to the age of the apostles. Has Christianity lost its divine efficacy? Is it, now that it is introduced, a mere natural agency? If it can be

said that "Christianity *was* itself a miracle;" it can, for a similar reason, be maintained that it is a standing miracle still, and, therefore, that its present existence and operation are proof of its divine origin. By excluding from the field of evidence the propagation of Christianity after the time of Christ, and its effects upon the individual and upon the mass, he limits both external and internal evidence in an unwarrantable degree. According to his hypothesis, the moral change wrought in an individual by the gospel is no evidence of its divine origin; the remarkable agreement between the effect it has on him and that which it has on thousands and thousands of other individuals is no evidence; the agreement between his new spiritual affections and the descriptions given of them in the word of God is no evidence; the adaptation of Christianity to men of all ages and of all countries, and of all grades of improvement, is no evidence; the moral consciousness of all human beings, whether holy or unholy, responding to the voice of revelation, is no evidence; for nothing of all this belongs to the personal history of Christ, to which all evidence is limited. The conformity of his character, or of his doctrines, or of his work, to man's nature and moral necessities, is impertinent to the subject. Nothing but the conformity of what he did to what he professed to be, can be regarded as proof of his divine mission.

But why so much stress laid on this distinction; why this rejection of one kind of evidence and exclusive adherence to another? Obviously to clear the ground of probable evidence, to make the more room for that which is positive. And yet we fear that this latter will, in its original character, avail with but very few. The great body of Christians, who have not the facilities for learned research, must take their evidence upon trust, a circumstance which brings it down to a level with probable evidence. Our author comforts such with the assurance that on many other important subjects they have no better evidence. We are far from wishing to invalidate this kind of proof. We have as much faith in it as the learned writer himself. Still we cannot perceive how it appears that the other kind of evidence, which is the property of every Christian, whether learned or unlearned, is *worthless*; and that this kind is so *reasonable* that it ought to satisfy the good people. Why not let them have both?

We have attempted to represent Mr. Norton's views on this subject as accurately and as fairly as possible. There is one infelicity in his application of it to certain German writers, which is liable to mislead his readers. He either forgot the unusual breadth of signification in which he had used the word "miracles," or he inconsiderately interpreted the word the same way when examining the systems of others. To make the case plain, we will suppose that Christ had come into the world and lived and taught precisely as he did, with the exception of healing the sick, raising the dead, and the like; and that the gospels were conformed to this exception; could it then be said: "Nothing is left that can be called Christianity, if its miraculous character [in this respect] be denied; its essence is gone; its evidence is annihilated?" The German writers, to whom Mr. Norton refers, take the negative. They maintain that the great doc-

trines of revelation, the divine nature and the spotless character of Christ, the method of salvation by him, remain substantially the same; and that no small amount of evidence of the divine character of Christianity would still survive the "annihilation." Now those parts which they believe would remain, after the outward and direct miracles alleged to be wrought in attestation of the divine mission of Jesus were removed, are included by Mr. Norton under miracles, as he uses the word. "Christianity itself," he says, "was a miracle;" and certainly these are parts of Christianity, according to his own view. That which "constitutes the internal evidence of Christianity," according to his theory of it, and which, consequently, is miraculous in his estimation, is, though not termed miraculous, still adhered to as strenuously by his opponents as by him. Either his mind was in a little confusion here,—a charge that cannot often be brought against him,—or he labored under a misapprehension in regard to the real sentiments of some of those men whose theory he was opposing.

We pass to notice some of the theological views of two of these men.

Schleiermacher and De Wette agree in this, that piety is not so much a matter of science as of moral feeling; that its seat is more in the affections than in the understanding. Knowledge, feeling and action all meet in the ordinary Christian. But the first may exist without the second, and it is then not religion, but mere science. The third, also, may exist without the second, the form without the power, the act without the Christian motive. The essence of piety cannot, therefore, exist in mere action. The middle member, *feeling* (devout affections), always includes piety, and therefore, piety or religion is essentially a matter of feeling. Knowledge is an *indispensable condition*, and action the *necessary consequence* of religious feeling, but neither of them is religion itself.

Now religion, as a matter of experience, say they, carries its own evidence with it. A small amount of historical knowledge, the *simplest statements*, relating directly to Christ and his work, without any array of learned proof, are a sufficient intellectual basis for the most deeply religious character. An individual of such a character cares but little what the learned say about the historical evidences of Christianity. There is a divine reality within him, of which he is immediately conscious. This experience is founded on Christ, and is always referred to him as its author. He reads the Scriptures without any inquiries about their genuineness, authenticity and canonical authority, and finds in them, as they reveal Christ and the way of salvation, a confirmation of his inward impressions. He compares his religious emotions with those of other Christians and with the Scriptures, and in consequence of such remarkable coincidences, finds himself surrounded with evidence on the whole subject satisfactory to his mind. This, in our apprehension, is all true. Only we should be careful not to substitute a part of the truth for the whole truth. Religion, if genuine, consists of two parts, or perhaps we had better say the word designates two distinct things, 1, a system of truth altogether *independent* of us, 2, a spiritual life, which exists necessarily *within us*. The former, as a subject of

scientific investigation only, will be of no benefit to us in securing our salvation. Mr. Norton says: "Of the facts on which religion is founded, we can pretend to no assurance, except that derived from the testimony of God, from the Christian revelation. He who has received this testimony is a Christian." Now if this reception be merely on scientific principles, the assent of the understanding to the reality of certain facts, because they are supported by testimony, we must maintain that it is still but objective religion, the intellectual admission, willing or unwilling, of something that exists without us. The great stress laid by Mr. Norton on learned investigations, in respect to the historical evidence, leads us to suppose, that he fixes the seat of religion too much in the understanding. How many have that kind of religion, and are yet strangers to vital godliness! The latter, or second sense in which the word religion is used, relates to what is subjective, or to our inward religious feelings and spiritual life. Of these two things, religion without us, and religion within us, the former can exist alone and can even be believed, as we believe in the principles taught in chemistry for example, and still be without us as a matter of intellectual observation. But the latter cannot exist alone; it is founded on the former. Here we must take middle ground between Mr. Norton and his German opponents. The question at issue is, In what proportions ought these to be combined in the Christian; what is the relative importance of religious knowledge and religious feeling? The writers referred to maintain that love is the essence of religion; that where this exists there is faith, and that without it there is no faith; that yielding assent to a truth or withholding it, is a moral act only so far as moral feeling governs that act; that unbelief is not an intellectual difficulty arising from a want of evidence, but is itself essentially a moral aversion to truth; that to convert an unbeliever one must aim more to arouse his conscience than to enlighten his understanding; that the difficulty does not consist in his ignorance, but in the perverseness of his feelings. Now while these considerations are weighty against some of the doctrines of Mr. Norton's discourse, he offers other considerations equally weighty against the opposite extreme. The deficiency of the system he opposes is, that objective truth as the guide and test of our inward religious feelings is not made sufficiently prominent; hence pious feeling is liable to degenerate into mere sentimentalism, or fanaticism, or superstition. Their views of the nature of religion,—which we must regard as founded in truth, distorted only because pushed to an extreme,—modify the form and character of their systems of theology. Theology, according to them, is not a system of metaphysical truths, but is rather the analysis and scientific exhibition of experimental piety. Their language on this subject, though perfectly perspicuous and definite, appears to Mr. Norton very obscure and unmeaning. That both of these men had too great a horror of positive authority in religion, and attached too much importance to moral consciousness as a source of religious knowledge, we, for our part, fully believe. That the light of pure Christianity is obscured by them, that its *facts* are undervalued, and that, in attempting to make

religion more divine (spiritual) they have made it more human, is to us equally clear.

Upon the whole we must regard this Discourse as a serious and honest effort to guard the sacred interests of religion. Its tendency is to rationalism, in the philosophical sense of the term, as opposed to mysticism. The author sympathizes more with Aristotle than Plato, and would probably place a higher estimate upon ten solid pages in John Locke than upon all the works of the spiritual philosophers from Kant to Cousin.

2. *The latest form of Infidelity examined. A Letter to Mr. Andrews Norton, occasioned by his Discourse before the Association of the Alumni of the Cambridge Theological School, on the 12th of July, 1839.* By an Alumnus of that School. pp. 160. 8vo. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1839.

This long and elaborate epistle came under our notice while we were preparing our remarks on Mr. Norton's discourse, but too late to be examined in connection with that. The anonymous author complains of the impropriety of pronouncing an illiberal and intolerant discourse on the first anniversary of an association of liberal theologians; still more, of openly attacking the sentiments entertained by a large part of the association; and most of all, of classing them with Spinoza and Hume and denouncing them as infidels. But as the author of the Discourse is not very explicit in pointing out the men in whom "the latest form of infidelity" has manifested itself, and as he is particularly indefinite in regard to the American theologians who might be supposed to lie open to his rebukes, it was necessary for the examiner, in reply, to make out the case from allusions and from what was implied in the circumstances of the occasion. On this point he says: "If you meant to say that the opinions of Spinoza and Hume on the doctrine of miracles were adopted by that portion of your audience who differed from yourself, your discourse was unjust; if you did not mean to say this, it was nugatory."

In all such cases, it is extremely difficult to avoid misunderstanding. Who can ascertain the exact *quantity* of an allusion, or the measurement of what is meant, but not said? Could not Mr. Norton have in view a gross form of infidelity fully developed in Germany, and hold it up in *terrorem*, before those who might be supposed to be in danger of adopting it, and yet not attribute to the latter all the doctrines which he should cause to pass in review? But it will be said, if there be nothing to limit the application, the reader will naturally make it in its fullest extent. This is undoubtedly true, and the "Alumnus" cannot be alone in the construction he has put upon the discourse. Still, we doubt whether the author of it designed to be so understood. But we leave the work of mediation to other hands.

Mr. Norton is next represented as holding opinions at variance with those of the church generally, and of testing by his own peculiar opinions the Christian character of his brethren. It is the object of the letter to controvert those opinions. "The doctrine," says the writer, "to which I allude, and which I now mean to dis-

cuss, is that **THE MIRACLES RECORDED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT ARE THE ONLY PROOF OF THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.**" "The question at issue," he continues, "is not concerning the divine mission of Jesus Christ. The certainty of that will be at the foundation of all my reasonings."

"Nor is it whether Jesus Christ performed the miracles ascribed to him in the New Testament. I shall hereafter allude to the doubts which are felt by many excellent Christians on this point; but for my own part, I cannot avoid the conclusion, that the miracles related in the gospels were actually wrought by Jesus. Without being blind to the difficulties of the subject, I receive this view, according to my best knowledge and understanding, on the evidence presented; and in this belief I am joined by a large number of those, against whom your charge of infidelity is alleged among ourselves. Neither does the question, I am about to consider, relate to any philosophical explanation of the miracles of Christ. I believe that he gave health to the sick, sight to the blind, and life to the dead; and my explanation of these facts is that presented in the New Testament, 'No man could do the miracles which he did, except God were with him.' 'God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power; who went about doing good; for God was with him.' If you have any different, or any better explanation to offer of these facts, it would furnish an interesting object of examination, but can form no part of the present discussion. Nor, finally, does the question relate to the validity of miracles as the credentials of a divine messenger. That question, it is true, forms an important topic of theological science; much vague and superficial thought is exercised concerning it; it is often presented in a manner, adapted to awaken the most lively doubts; and it demands a wise and thorough revision, before, in the present state of opinion, it can receive an answer that will satisfy the earnest and reflecting Christian inquirer. But this is by no means the question at issue on the present occasion. The point now to be considered is simply this, Are miracles the only evidence of the divine origin of Christianity?"

An array of learned argument is presented to show that miracles are very far from being the *only* evidence of the divine origin of Christianity. The Saviour's pure and heavenly character, the elevated nature of his doctrines, the power of the gospel on the heart of the believer, its harmony with our spiritual nature, its effects upon society and many other things, it is said, all make a part of that body of evidence on which the church rests for the divine origin of its faith. It is satisfactorily shown by numerous quotations from eminent writers that there never was a period in the history of the church when Christians regarded miracles as the only evidence of the truth of their cause.

We have already intimated, in our notice of Mr. Norton's discourse, that the language of it, in some connections, was liable to be interpreted as the writer of this letter has actually interpreted it. The train of reasoning pursued in the second note, "On the Objection to Faith in Christianity, as resting on Historical Facts and Critical Learning," is adapted to make the impression that common Christians are as dependent on the learned for their faith in the divine origin of

Christianity, as mechanics and artizans are upon philosophers for the principles of the practical arts. It is surely an objection to such a view, "that it removes Christianity from its strong hold in the common mind and puts it into the keeping of scholars and antiquaries."

But though Mr. Norton lays too great a stress on those evidences which can be examined only by the learned, and too little on those which every good man feels within himself, or witnesses immediately around him, he cannot, surely, be supposed to hold to the absurd position controverted in this letter. He evidently used the word "miracles," as we have elsewhere said, in a much wider sense than the ordinary one, and did not sufficiently consider that his readers would often almost necessarily understand it in its common acceptation.

Without going farther into that subject, we will direct our remarks to a point incidentally introduced in the Letter. The author maintains that there is a broad distinction "between a belief in a divine revelation, and in the miracles alleged in its support." "Now the truth," he adds, "of the divine origin of Christianity is expressed by one proposition; the reality of the miracles of Jesus, by another; these propositions are clearly distinguished in all accurate thought; they are no less clearly distinguished in the history of opinions; and it by no means follows, that because a man receives or denies the one, he receives or denies the other also."

No doubt Christianity is one thing, and the record of it another. The introduction and establishment of the former by Christ and his apostles, might have been substantially as they were, and yet no connected account of them have been given by any original witnesses; or such an account of it might have been given by uninspired men with different degrees of accuracy. In the one case nothing but vague tradition, a light waning with every century, would have been left to guide us in regard to a knowledge of primitive Christianity; in the other, we should have enjoyed the ordinary means which are furnished by general history. Now if we take the gospels (for our remarks relate more particularly to them), without any regard to the subject of their inspiration, but merely in the light of an historical guide in regard to the origin of Christianity, can we utterly discredit those parts which relate to miracles, and at the same time, retain our confidence in the remainder? The point before us now, is not what is the relation of primitive Christianity to the history which records it, in themselves considered, but what is the relation of those to each other in their bearing upon us who live in an age so remote from that of Christ and his apostles? Is primitive Christianity available to us if we have no means of ascertaining what it was? Now if we are dependent on the gospels for any authentic account of the Founder of our religion, whatever affects the credibility of the gospels affects also primitive Christianity itself in its historical relation to us. Otherwise there is no distinction between Christians and Pagans. The facts relating to Christ are the same in both cases; but the knowledge of those facts and the influence of that knowledge, distinguish the Christian from the pagan. Can the gospels, then, be invalidated without invalidating our knowledge of Christianity, and consequently of Christianity itself, so far as it is any thing to us? If it be con-

ceded that they cannot, we are then brought to the question, whether the rejection of miracles recorded by the evangelists will not necessarily lead to the overthrow of their testimony altogether. Could they mislead us, in all the details which they have given of the numerous public miracles of Jesus, without a degree of stupidity or dishonesty that would destroy all reasonable confidence in their accounts of other occurrences? To suppose that they knew the miracles were not real, and yet that they represented them as real, would not only take away all our veneration for the sacredness of their character, but all our respect for them as honest-hearted trustworthy men. The attempt to save the character of the evangelists by excluding miracles from their accounts, on the hypothesis that the writers did not intend by their language to convey the idea that miracles were actually wrought, has signally failed. Winer speaks the sentiments of the great body of living critics, when he says of Paulus and Kuinöl, "while they make themselves appear very wise, they make the apostles appear very silly." The only remaining view to be taken on this supposition, is that the writers themselves were sincerely mistaken in all the instances of supposed miracles, a view which would necessarily place their authority lower than that of the early church Fathers. For all practical purposes, then, the distinction made by the author of the Letter is of but little importance. Our faith in the character (not the existence) of primitive Christianity must stand or fall with our faith in the competency and credibility of the witnesses. If they have misled the whole church in regard to miracles, what assurance have we that they have not misled it in regard to numberless other points? How do we know but that Christianity, as a whole, is miserably represented by these writers? How do we know what Christianity was, in its genuine, original form? The gospel, destitute of any sure historical foundation, would be left to float upon an ocean of doubt and uncertainty. Our faith would rest on uncertain traditions, and that moral light which we, in common with the savage, have within us. We should be without a Bible. Christianity itself would lose its definite character; its fixedness and stability would be gone. There would be no way for it to be perpetuated in its purity but by a succession of revelations. Montanism or skepticism must take the place of our present system.

Whether these remarks necessarily conflict with the author's views, it is not important for us to decide. Our object has been rather to discuss an interesting topic than to enter the lists of controversy. For the purpose of making some discriminations which seem to us necessary, we extend our remarks to another point.

We cannot admit, without some limitation, the justness of the distinction between the revelation and the miracles of Jesus. The divine revelation made in the person of Jesus is two-fold, that made by his words, and that made by his actions; or rather these are the two modes in which he reveals himself. If we were to lose the light thrown by his *acts* upon his character as Redeemer, and to be reduced to the necessity of ascertaining his nature and character solely from what he *said*, our knowledge of this mysterious personage would evidently be much less perfect than it now is. Without his acts, of which miracles form a part, his words would in many instances lose

much of their power. Now his miracles, so far from being the less important, are the more important part of those acts by which his exalted character and heavenly origin were manifested. He was to manifest himself as competent to the stupendous work of human redemption, which he openly professed to have undertaken. How could he create public confidence in himself as the Saviour of his people? He could not, from the nature of the case, perform the whole work at once before the multitude. It was to be progressive, and many, many steps were to be taken between his advent and the final consummation of his vast designs. It was reasonable and natural, if not necessary, that he should give such *specimens* of his power as to satisfy sober-minded men that there was no disparity between the greatness of the enterprise and the energies of the performer. He, therefore, performed, in certain particular cases, not taken by chance, but selected with care, very extraordinary acts, and held them up as representatives of that power which was to be universally exercised before all the parts of his great work should be finished. The actual removal of sin from those who should be saved by him, was a fundamental point in redemption. How could he satisfy men that this achievement was within his power? In no way better than by giving them a specimen of his power in this respect; by making it evident in an extraordinary way, that he could say, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," with the same authority that the Almighty could say, "Let there be light." This species of miracle distinguished him from all other benefactors. No philanthropist had ever attempted to benefit his fellow-men by such means. But what could better reveal him as Redeemer than this very act? He professed to be a deliverer ultimately from every kind of evil, from physical suffering, from death, and from perdition. All these acts are necessarily involved in redemption. Consequently, he gave *signs* of various descriptions, specimens of each kind. He actually did, on a small scale, but sufficiently large for his purpose, redeem from bodily disease, from death, and from Satan's more direct power. If he could perform such amazing and almost incredible miracles directly before the eyes of men, it was a sufficient proof of his ability to accomplish, on a more enlarged plan, his purpose of complete redemption. These single acts were so many pledges for the certainty of that which was in prospect, as his own resurrection was a pledge of the general resurrection. We cannot conceive how he could more effectually proclaim: "I am the resurrection and the life." If, therefore, the acts of Christ should be separated from his declarations, it would detract materially from the revelation of his character; if his miracles, the most significant part of his acts, should be set aside, it would greatly affect the manifestation which he made of himself as our REDEEMER.

3. *Dictionary of Latin Synonyms, for the use of schools and private students, with a complete Index.* By LEWIS RAMSHORN. From the German, by Francis Lieber. Boston. Little & Brown. 1839.

Were we to state our opinion of the chief defects of the manner in which Latin is ordinarily studied among us, we should say that they originate in the very spirit with which the labor is undertaken. Latin

lore is not in honor among us. To be a good Latin scholar is one of the last objects of our ambition. Hence little Latin is ever read from boyhood to old age. Few Americans read a dozen entire volumes of Latin in all their lives. With a spirit corresponding to this state of things, our students commence the study; and they acquire just so much knowledge of the grammar and lexicon as will enable them to translate with tolerable accuracy, and make their way honorably through college; after which period they never expect again to hear the praises of Latin. A better state of things is beginning to appear, and the publication of such a book as that before us is one of the signs of advancement. The study of synonymes leads to habits of closer observation in reading,—to nice discriminations, not in regard to single words only, but in regard to the nature and genius of the whole language; and enables us, above all, to feel the power of “fit words in fit places.”

It can scarcely be said that students among us have used in the course of their Latin studies, any work whatever on this subject. Dumesnil's *Synonymes* and Crombie's *Gymnasium* have generally been in the hands of teachers only, and not always in theirs. The German student is abundantly supplied with works of this character. A few years since, Ernesti's *Dumesnil*, far superior either to the original French edition, or the English translation, was most in use, and it still maintains a respectable rank. In 1829, E. C. Habicht published his “*Manual of Latin Synonymes for students*,” an octavo volume of 873 pages,* which, for its general accuracy and its numerous improvements was deservedly received with much favor. But there was yet wanting a profoundly critical work for the mature scholar, and that demand has called forth from Professor Lewis Döderlein, of Erlangen, a more elaborate and learned production than is elsewhere to be found on the subject in the German or any other language.† Professor Ramshorn, of the Altenburg Gymnasium, whose death too soon followed that of his distinguished associate Professor Matthiæ, holding the same relation to the Greek language and its grammar that Ramshorn did to the Latin, prepared first a general work for more convenient reference on the basis of Dumesnil, and afterwards from this an abridgement for schools. Professor Lieber has shown good judgment in selecting for translation this abridgement as best adapted to our condition and wants. Neither the “*Latin Synonymes and Etymologies*” of Döderlein, nor the larger “*Dictionary of Latin Synonymes*” by Ramshorn, would find patronage enough in this country to meet the expense of publication. The form and character of Ramshorn's *Abridgement*, of which a translation is now offered to the American student, are almost exactly what we needed. It is, in fact, the only one that is adapted to schools, and at the same time not behind the age in critical learning. The translator and publishers have evidently done all in their power to render the work worthy of universal patronage. It is distinguished for great care and accuracy in revision, for convenience of form,

* Since the above was written, a new edition of this valuable work has been announced, Hanover 1839.

† *Lateinische Synonyme und Etymologien von Ludwig Döderlein.* Leipzig, 1836—1839, six thin octavo volumes, costing eight rix or six Spanish dollars.

beauty of mechanical execution, and, if compared with Dumesnil or Crombie, it is not less distinguishing for its cheapness.

But our office, as critics, requires us to search out excellences and defects with equal zeal, and to hold an even balance in regard to them. That Ramshorn was a very learned Latin scholar, no one can doubt, who is acquainted with his chief work, the *Latin Grammar* (1830), containing more than a thousand pages. The same great work proves that he was more learned than philosophical. He fails frequently in judgment, so that one cannot rely with entire confidence on his conclusions. The defects, which are discoverable there, reappear in his "*Dictionary of Latin Synonymes*." His plan is not perfectly clear. He ought to have settled more rigidly his principles of selection. We often find words put together, such as *concilium* and *praeceptum*, *modestus* and *abstinens*, *abdere* and *condere*, which no student ever confounded. Again the boundaries between his work and a lexicon are not properly fixed. A work that should merely point out the differences of words, without any lexicographical basis would be likely to bewilder the mind with hair-splitting distinctions, distinctions that might be indefinitely multiplied without ever explaining the true principle. Against this evil, Ramshorn was specially on his guard. On the other hand, if one avoids detail and illustration, and deals merely in abstract statements of the true import and genius of the word, the work becomes purely lexicographical in its essential character, and is a dictionary of synonymes only by the juxtaposition of those words that would be separated in a lexicon. To this fault, our author occasionally leans. The two modes should be united; the lexicographical part should be brief and distinct, and should constitute the *foundation* of an article. The discriminating part should occupy the chief place, and should mark the distinctive features of each word clearly and fully. Our author too frequently pursues the very opposite course. Another defect in the method, is that the distinctions, instead of being painted to the imagination, are presented metaphysically. None but mature scholars will readily seize the idea in its abstract form. Again, an article is often obscure from too great brevity. If unnecessary synonymes had been omitted in order to make room for enlargement upon others more important, it would have been better. We have but one more fault to add to the catalogue, and that is the want of a different type for those words which give the English of the synonymes from that of the other part of the article. We will illustrate our meaning on all the points by a few examples. Article 59, "*Aliquando*, sometime or other, designates a case happening by chance among others; *Quondam* (quom-dam), at a certain time, once, a single period, the more accurate determination of which is unimportant; *Unquam*, ever, a certain point of time, without giving its distinct place in time; *Olim* (olere, to grow), always, continual recurrence of the same circumstances; whether these words belong to the past, the present, or the future, is indicated by the surrounding words." Under the first word, the definition, '*sometime or other*,' ought to have been put in italics, and so in other similar cases. But there is a want of description here; the statement is too naked; the abstract, etymological signification, radically correct, undoubtedly, needs to be accompanied with details from ordinary usage. Who

would ever apprehend from this language that *quondam* more frequently refers to past time?—or that *unquam* is chiefly used in a negative connection, or implication, like our word *ever*, as distinguished from *always*?—or that *olim* more commonly designates something *remote*, whether past or future? Again, article 3, “*Abesse*, to be away at a distance, used of the length of the distance; *Distare*, to stand asunder, to be remote, used of the interval.” A just etymological view, but a very meagre distinction. Would it not aid the young student’s conceptions to add some outward sign or mark of difference in usage; to say, for example, that *distare* is properly used of lifeless things only, whereas *abesse* is used of things that have life, as well as of those that have not? Article 261. “*Consecrare* withdrawing from common use, and destining to the gods to make *sacred*, consecrate; *Dedicare*, to consecrate something as something holy (consecratum) to a deity, especially which [!], respecting temples, was performed by one or two magistrates in the presence of the *Pontifex maximus*, who cited to them the formula of dedication; *Inaugurare*, to consecrate (Germ. einweihen), after the auspices have been consulted.” Still the difference between these words is rather hinted at than fully pointed out. It might be marked with equal accuracy and much greater clearness by saying that *dedicare* relates to a formal *surrender of property* in the presence of a magistrate; *consecrare*, to the consequent act of *consecrating* in the presence of a priest the property thus surrendered; *Inaugurare* can be applied to persons as well as things, and designates an installation by augury.

Article 256. “*Confutare*, to damp, smother, cheek; *Refutare*, driving back, pressing back, repressing; *Refellere*, showing by arguments, that that which has been said is false, refuting; *Reduarguere*, convince of error, untruth.” This is merely laying down, as in a lexicon, the primary meaning of the words. What is there here peculiar to *synonymes*, or what is there that could be omitted even in a pocket dictionary? If the whole work were executed in this manner, in what would its merit consist beyond placing side by side words, that are separated from each other in a lexicon? The question to be answered here, is not, how these words derive their general signification from their etymology; but in what way and to what extent they differ from each other. Is not *confutare* a stronger term than *refutare*? and are not both of these stronger than the remaining two?

Article 379. “*Dumtaxat*, in the mean time only, limits to a definite duration; *Solum*, only, alone, excluding all the rest; *Tantum*, only, according to the degree of quantity [!], in contradistinction to the negation; *Modo*, only, in the sense of moderating, restricting.” *Dumtaxat* is falsely explained. It means, *dum quis taxat*, i. e. *strictly considered*; *only*, in the sense of limiting to strict accuracy. *Modo* expresses a *subjective* limitation, or a limit fixed in thought. Meaning, *moderately*, *within bounds*; *Tantum* designates a limit existing in the thing itself, independently of our opinions; *only* i. e. just so much and no more.

In several instances, the author’s views are clearly erroneous. We will give a specimen or two.

Article 727. "*Novus*, new, according to time, that which has begun only a short time ago to exist, opposed to *antiquus*; *Recens*, fresh, according to condition, that which retains its perfect quality, is unimpaired." It is impossible to explain all the uses of these words according to this view. *Novus* does not mean *what has just occurred*, but *what occurred for the first time*, whether recently or long since; *Recens* denotes *what has just taken place*, and in consequence of this signification, it has as its secondary meaning, *fresh* as opposed to *stale*.

Article 138. "If two ideas in a disjunctive relation are so opposed to one another, that only one of the two can take place, it is expressed by *Aut*, or [*or*], if they differ essentially, but by *Vel*, or, even [*or, even*], if they differ only in certain things." Though this is a very common way of distinguishing these words, to our minds it appears unsatisfactory. We doubt not that Hand, in his recent admirable work on Latin Particles,* has shown the true distinction: *Aut* refers to one of two things in which a *real* diversity exists; *vel* to a diversity which exists only in *thought*. *Aut* withdraws the *thing* (*res*) first mentioned and substitutes another; *vel* withdraws the *thought* (*cogitatio*) first presented and introduces a second. This distinction not only agrees best with the etymology of the word, *vel* from *velle*, but also with usage.

But these are points respecting which it is to be expected there will be a diversity of opinion, and no author can produce so immaculate a work on this subject as to unite the suffrages of all. Upon the whole, there will, we believe, be but little occasion to complain of the doctrines contained in this volume. And as to the abstract character, brevity and consequent obscurity of many of the articles, it is in the teacher's power to turn this very circumstance to a good account, if he will furnish by lectures or otherwise a copious commentary upon the text. All works of this description will be a dead letter, unless the *topics themselves* of which they treat, be investigated zealously both by the teacher and by the pupil. If the teacher of the Latin language furnish himself with the standard grammars, lexicons, synonymes, commentaries on the classics, and other works which make up a good critical apparatus, and examine them all with an independent mind, and compare them with his own observations, and present the results, in his own oral instructions, he will not only find himself growing enthusiastic, but his classes too. No man will be eminently successful who merely teaches what is in his text-books. But we are digressing from our subject, and giving counsel unasked.

The English employed in this translation is generally correct. It is only here and there that we meet with such expressions as "well-behaved manners," "hitting wit" "good-natured sportiveness," though these all occur on page 288. There is, however, what must, perhaps, always in a greater or less degree occur in an author who writes in a foreign language,—a want of idiomatic flexibility. The best word is not always chosen. Instead of "an air of tender

* Ferdinand Handii Tursellinus seu De Particulis Latinis Commentarii. 4 vols. 8vo. Lipsie. 1839—1839.

melancholy," we have on page 177, "the deep but silent, dumb pain at the misfortune or loss of a beloved object, which has obtained a hold of our soul, so much so that it becomes visible." Surely some of the several gentlemen through whose hands the manuscript is said to have passed, ought to have noticed such passages. Notwithstanding these obvious, though comparatively speaking, trifling defects, we feel bound, in conclusion, to express our gratitude to the learned and distinguished foreigner who has made such valuable contributions to our literature.

4. *Novum Testamentum ad Exemplar Millianum; cum Emendationibus et Lectionibus Griesbachii, Praecipuis Vocibus Ellipticis, Thematibus Omnium Vocum Difficiliorum, atque Locis Scripturae Parallelis. Studio et labore GULIELMI GREENFIELD. Hanc Editionem Americanam, summa cura recensuit, atque mendis quam plurimis expurgavit JOSEPHUS P. ENGLER, A. M. Philadelphiae: sumptibus Henrici Perkins. Bostoniae: Perkins et Marvii.*

A very commodious and elegant pocket edition. The form of the book could not be improved; the type is round and fair, and the mechanical execution in almost every respect good. We cannot, indeed, approve of adopting the old text retained by Mill; for whatever may be said of the questionable principles of Griesbach, the slight improvements of Knapp, the incidental nature of Tittmann's labors and the incompleteness of Lachmann's edition, it being but a partial execution of his admirable plan, certain it is, that the text here presented is not entitled to the first rank. There is not, however, so great importance to be attached to the different readings as has sometimes been supposed. In all the variations, there are only five and six that materially affect any Christian doctrine. Rückert affirms that "there are only two or three passages where the text of Lachmann needs any criticism, every thing else which the manuscripts present, relating only to unimportant trifles."

But what shall we say of the "*praecipuis vocibus ellepticis*," and of the "*thematibus omnium vocum difficiliorum*?" In the year 1839 we are gravely told again and again that before an infinitive used substantively in the genitive case, as, for example, τοῦ διδάσκειν, there is an ellipsis of the word λέγεσθαι! Not only are the "principal elliptical words," which are supplied, useless, but are nearly all of them directly false. Then, again, the "*difficult themes*;"—that of εἶπαι is given not less than *sixty-five times* in Matthew alone; γινώσκει *thirty-eight times*, and ἐρχομαι nearly as often! It was a satire upon the English schools to furnish them with such philological aids; and we could wish the American editor had spared us this compliment. However, as these defects are all assembled together in the narrow central column, we can easily rid ourselves of them by imagining that column a blank. That done, we shall have a most beautiful pocket edition of the Greek Testament left.

5. *Memoiren der Mrs. Anna H. Judson, Missionarin in Burmah. Zur Geschichte der Burmanischen Mission. Zusammengetragen von JAMES D. KNOWLES, Professor am theologischen Seminar zu Neuton. Nach der zehnten Ausgabe. Aus dem Englischen. Hamburg. Bei J. G. Oncken.*

It is grateful to our feelings to be thus reminded of the useful labors of our beloved predecessor. It is fit to pay a passing tribute to our departed friend, by noticing, in the *Christian Review*, a translation of Mrs. Judson's memoirs, two works with which the endeared name of Knowles will always be associated.

These Memoirs in German appear as to form and execution very nearly as in the last American edition. The likeness which is engraved by G. W. Lehmann, our missionary at Berlin, has a little bolder expression than the American engraving, but is an improvement upon the imperfect impression of the tenth American edition from which it was copied. The translation is into correct, substantial German, which, however, with all the labor that has been bestowed upon it, does not quite equal the classical elegance of the original. In general, a due medium between two great servility and too great freedom in the version has been observed. We have discovered some trifling mistranslations, but not such as materially affect the sense. That there was no negligence on the part of the publisher, is sufficiently evident from the fact, that he rejected the first translation and procured a second, a circumstance which, at the same time, explains the cause of the delay of its publication.

6. *Joannis Calvini in Librum Geneseos Commentarius. Ad Editionem Amstelodamensem accuratissime exscribi curavit E. HENGSTENBERG. 2 vols. 8vo. Berolini. 1838.*

Calvin's Commentary on Genesis, edited by E. HENGSTENBERG. Berlin. 1838.

It is a singular circumstance that the writings of the champion of the old Genevan school should be revived and brought again into general notice, and that the place of their publication should not be Scotland, nor England, nor Holland, but the capital of Prussia. It is still more singular that one of the strongest opponents of Calvinism should be the greatest admirer of his genius and one of the chief editors of his commentaries. The interest which was universally excited in this great theologian and skilful interpreter by Dr. Tholuck's edition of his New Testament Commentaries, and which was enhanced by Henry's masterly biographical researches relating to the Reformer, is now still more increased from the fact that Prof. Hengstenberg, while preparing his great work on the genuineness and authenticity of the Pentateuch, should be so deeply impressed with the merits of this neglected Old Testament interpreter as to be induced to publish a new edition of his commentary on Genesis.

But how is it that a rigid Lutheran should become the editor not only of Calvin's Commentary on the epistles of Paul, which would

of course frequently exhibit unpalatable doctrines, but of his Institutes of Theology where his peculiar sentiments are strongly entrenched in logical forms? Again, how does it happen that a Hebraist of the newest German school should imagine that any human being in the days of Calvin understood either Hebrew or the science of interpretation?

In the first place, the prodigious noise which the stout Germans, since the middle of the last century, have made about biblical interpretation, turning and overturning system after system, has finally brought them to this odd result, that the Scriptures, when rigidly interpreted according to the most approved laws, teach substantially the doctrines maintained by the Reformers! Such is the decision of Winer, than whom no man living is a better judge.

Again, it is now pretty generally conceded, that a mere philologist is not qualified to interpret the Scriptures. The experiment has been tried on a fearfully large scale in Germany, and has shown to the satisfaction of nearly all, that a biblical critic, though profoundly versed in ancient and oriental lore, if he be still destitute of certain moral and intellectual qualities, can hold no intimate communion with Prophets and Apostles. In Calvin is found a rare union of the higher qualifications of an interpreter. His heart and his intellect could easily sympathize with the sacred writers. His philological attainments were highly respectable; his *critical feeling* was of the very first order; he was a sound moral reasoner and a comprehensive, profound and logical thinker. Few men are better qualified, either by nature or by spiritual endowment, to trace out the logical connection and religious import of Paul's writings. His depth of moral feeling, his reach of thought, his theological acumen, his critical tact, his versatile genius and his glowing eloquence, these are the qualities that render him the favorite of Tholuck. That Hengstenberg, so different from his friend in temperament and character, could be equally pleased with the same old divine may appear at first sight a little remarkable. But he finds in the same man other things to admire, such as his sturdy, old-fashioned theology, his lofty views of the divine economy, his strong common sense and his uncompromising character.

The parts of Scripture on which Calvin excels as a commentator are the epistles of Paul, Genesis and the Psalms. In history and antiquities he is not to be compared with Clericus, and Vitringa. On the prophets and on the historical books of the Old and New Testament he by no means excels. The book of Genesis, extending as it does so far beyond all other historical documents, can borrow but a slender light from the researches of the antiquary. He who can enter most fully into the relations of God to the visible creation and to man, who can comprehend something of the ways of Providence and trace its movements in the education of the human race; who can take the simple statements of Moses and in them read the secrets of the divine administration, he it is that will draw the richest instruction from the book of Genesis. Calvin was qualified to be an interpreter of the Psalms nearly in the same way that Luther

was. Ardent piety, great knowledge of the human heart, strong feelings, and a susceptibility to poetical impression, gave them both a deep insight into that ancient treasury of spiritual experience.

The work we are noticing is, as its title imports, a reprint of the Amsterdam edition. Not a word of the editor is to be found in the two volumes except on the title-page. His account of his labor is brief and to the point: *accuratissime excubiri curavit E. Hengstenberg*. Most editors occupy several pages in saying precisely the same thing, and imagine they are doing the public a service.

7. *Commentar zum Evangelio Johannes, von Dr. A. THOLUCK. Fünfte umgearbeitete Auflage.* Hamburg. 1837.

Commentary on the Gospel of John. By A. THOLUCK, D. D. 5th edition. pp. 346. 8vo. Hamburg. 1837.

This new edition is not a mere reprint with a few slight alterations, but is, in fact, a recasting of the greater part of the whole work. The reader every where meets with traces of researches made by the author and by other critics, subsequently to the publication of the fourth edition. Since that time, Tholuck himself has probably delivered repeated courses of lectures on the Gospel of John; the new and greatly improved edition of Lücke's elaborate commentary on John, and various other recent productions, have exhibited fresh materials to be disposed of; especially has the historical skepticism with which Strauss has recently assailed the narrative parts of this gospel stirred up Tholuck's excitable mind, and called forth a new ebullition of his learning and zeal. The expositions of the discourses of Christ as given by John, and all of the last nine chapters of his Gospel have been entirely rewrought. In the remaining parts of the book additions or alterations are made on almost every page. The numerous quotations from Calvin, to be found in the former editions, are removed from this; because his commentary is now accessible to every student.

As there are some new and interesting bibliographical notices here that were not in the edition from which the Rev. Mr. Kaufman made his translation, we will insert them for the gratification of the biblical student.

1. *Bengel*, *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, newly edited by Dr. Steudel. *His hints are sunbeams and his beck lightning.* In presenting common views, he says in two or three words what with others it takes pages to express; and he often opens new prospects by cutting through mountain and forest.

2. *Paulus*, *Commentary on the Gospels*. Perhaps there is a tendency at the present time to make the defects of this work more prominent than its merits. If the author had ascertained the points of the compass in heavenly things as well as he has in earthly things, his commentary would have been admirably executed. He would undoubtedly have succeeded much better in explaining the judiciary system of Palestine, than he has in commenting upon the

life of him in whose mouth there was no guile, and who was slain for our iniquities.

3. *Kuinöl*, Commentary on the Historical Books of the New Testament. As a repertory, containing the exegetical views which prevailed from the year 1750 to 1820, during which period the explanation of words was as deficient in accuracy as that of things was in depth, this commentary of Kuinöl will always have its value.

4. *Lücke*, Commentary on John, 2d edition, 1834. This work has undergone great changes in ten years. In the first edition, a youthful enthusiasm burst forth, which, like that of Herder, by whose fire it was evidently kindled, was not always fully conscious of its aim. Though he well knew what opposition he should meet with from those critics who gave the tone to biblical interpretation at that time, he confronted them courageously and poured forth volleys of fire and smoke which drew down upon him their indignation and wrath. In this second edition, the smoke has all disappeared, and it is pleasant to see the light that has come in its place, though painful to observe that its warmth is gone. For thoroughness of investigation, for clearness and neatness of execution, the new edition deserves to be ranked among the very first works of the age. We fear, however, that the respected author has paid too much regard to the sentiments of the leading critics of the day, and too little to the Inspired Writings themselves. A more independent course would have given a greater fixedness of character to the exhibitions of truth by this Evangelist. Moreover, one cannot suppress the desire that the author, who has such an evident fondness for the writings of John, and who has devoted to them so much labor, had gone a little deeper into the investigation of several topics. The exposition, particularly, is far from exhausting the subject; we look in vain for a thorough solution of many difficulties both in regard to the language and to the thought.

5. *Olshausen*, Commentary on the New Testament. There are two things that contribute to render this work attractive. The first is, that the exposition is one entire casting thrown off from the author's inmost soul, with but little of foreign materials attached to it. This circumstance gives it a peculiar unity of character and freshness of spirit; but it detracts, at the same time, from its thoroughness of investigation. The other ground of merit is, that the exegesis rests upon a consistency of theological views, and that single parts are explained with a reference to the whole.

6. *H. A. W. Meyer*, Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Second Part. 1834. The grammatical and antiquarian observations are very good and are judiciously presented in a condensed form. In the illustration of the religious and doctrinal import of this Evangelist's writings, the annotator is not at home. His theology dates from 1790.

8. *Means and Ends, or Self-Training.* By the author of *Redwood, Hope Leslie, Home, Poor Rich Man, &c., &c.* Boston. Marsh, Capen, Lyon & Webb. 1839.

The author of this book, Miss Sedgwick, is favorably known in our country by those who are familiar with our lighter literature. The present work deserves a favorable reception. It is intended to instruct young females, in a familiar and attractive manner, on a great variety of topics pertaining to the body and the mind, to the individual and the social state. The author avails herself of information which is communicated in more formal treatises, particularly the works of Dr. Combe on Physiology. She is, however, we venture to say, quite as much indebted to her own habits of attention and reflection. Her extensive observation of persons and things furnishes her an ample fund of happy illustrations.

The titles of some of her chapters will convey an idea of the book:—Forethought; School Education; Health, a Talent; Care of the Skin; Exercise; Pure air and Ventilation; Housewifery; Bad Cooking; Manners; Dress; Conversation, Calumny, Gossiping, Flattery, &c.

A fund of good common sense is here laid open. No ingenuous young lady could fail to derive from it improvement, or confirmation at least, in almost every lovely and useful quality. We were particularly delighted with the delineation of Mary Bond's character and conduct, both in the sick room restoring her brother to health and happiness and usefulness, and in the more homely duties of the kitchen. Still more were we gratified on being told, when we had become deeply interested in her and were ready to imagine that the description was only a *beau ideal*, that Mary Bond is a real character.

The last chapter is on The Rights of Women, and bears the running title, *Might makes Right*. It takes the position, that if females were so educated as to attain their proper intellectual and moral *might*, their proper *rights* would naturally follow. The author's views of what constitutes woman's might, may be discerned from the following extract. "I cannot believe it was ever intended that women should lead armies, harangue in halls of legislation, bustle up to the ballot-boxes, or sit on judicial tribunals. But what then? The work that is done quietly, and in seclusion, is as important as that which is manifested by collision and noise. Without secret, under-ground processes, would the sap mount into the tree, and give growth to the boughs that wave in the wind, and to the leaves that rustle in the breeze? By an unobtrusive and unseen process, are the characters of men formed, at home, by the mother, the first teacher. There the moral basis is fixed. It is the mother's great duty to infuse the generosity and the self-sacrifice that makes the patriot warrior,—she can form those habits of intellectual investigation that qualify a man for judicial authority; and she must train the boy to that love of justice, that strict regard for truth, and that generous sympathy which will fit him for all his social duties. What then, my dear girls, does it signify, if you are shut out from halls of legislation and from political tumults, if the wisdom and virtue manifested there is the result, in some good part, of *woman's work*? And may we not hope there will be less folly and corruption in those

places where men most do congregate, when women are so educated that men may hold more communion on their great social duties with their mothers, wives and sisters?"

We may be excused for introducing another sentence, showing the power of a virtuous and affectionate sister over her brothers. We love to contemplate such themes. They satisfy us more than any abstract reasoning, that the domestic constitution is an ordinance of Heaven; and that the fireside of an affectionate and pious family is a spot of choice and sacred influences. The sentence is from a letter, said in the book to have been from a college student to his sister. "One who has an affectionate and loveable sister who can sympathize with him, and show an interest in his welfare, has a greater safeguard for his own character than he ever could create within himself."

But we do not regard the book as faultless. Even a rose-bush must be approached with care. In the chapter on *The One Thing Needful*, we should be glad to have met with more discriminating views on the subject of religion. Still, the chapter, quite a short one, is defective rather than erroneous. In the chapter on *Health a Talent*, ill temper and various bad states of mind are ascribed, without sufficient modification, to a person's physical condition. This may indeed be, to some extent, very proper; but we have a poor opinion of the kindness, or the general virtue, of the person who must be perfectly well in body, or be out of the east wind, in order to bestow a favor. Real goodness has its seat in a deeper recess of the human constitution. The influence, however, of our physical on our mental and moral state, is unquestionably great; and we could heartily wish that the moral obligation of being kind and amiable, should be employed to dissuade people from sumptuous meals, from the theatre and ball-room, and from summer dresses in midwinter.

The style of female writers is said to be more natural and easy than that of men. There is no need, however, that familiarity and ease of expression should lead to carelessness. In this book, designedly very familiar, there are frequent violations of grammatical and rhetorical propriety. The corrector of the press, too, ought to have done his work more faithfully; or else some words were misspelled in the manuscript.

R.

9. *The Theatre, in its influence upon literature, morals and religion.* By ROBERT TURNBULL, Pastor of the Boylston Street Church, Boston. Second edition. Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. pp. 110. 1839.

The first edition of this work was favorably noticed in the second volume of the *Christian Review*. We are pleased that the author has been encouraged to prepare a second edition. The present edition is very considerably enlarged, particularly in discussing the influence of the theatre on literature. We wish for the work an extensive circulation. "The importance of the subject," says the author in his preface, "is not sufficiently felt, even by the religious community. They are little aware of the sad influence which the theatre exerts, not only upon society in general, but upon the church. Thousands in our large cities drown all serious thoughts in the amusements of the stage. Youthful

professors of religion are not unfrequently drawn away from their allegiance to Christ by the same means, while others have their purity of character much impaired by its occasional influence. Nor is the country free from its corrupting power; for large numbers, who reside there, go to the theatre whenever they visit the city. And among these will occasionally be found members of country churches.

"For this reason, Christians in the country, as well as in the city, are interested in the discussion of the subject. *Young men* are especially interested in it. It was for their sakes chiefly that the writer prepared this volume, and he begs, therefore, to commend it to their particular attention."

We unite with the author in the closing request.

R.

10. *The Rollo Books.* By the author of "The Young Christian." Boston. Weeks, Jordan & Co. 1839.

Caleb in the Country, and Caleb in Town. By the author of the Rollo Books. 2 vols. Boston. Crocker & Brewster. 1839.

The Rev. Jacob Abbott, so well known as a successful teacher and an excellent author, has furnished our children with abundant cause of pleasant remembrance by a series of juvenile works, entitled "Rollo learning to Talk," "Rollo learning to Read," &c., &c.

We cordially recommend the whole series of "The Rollo Books" to parents who are desirous of procuring for their children volumes which are both useful and delightful. Mr. Abbott is familiar with human nature in its early developments. He knows how to awaken youthful attention, to impress the tender mind with choice recollections, to develop the beautiful features of affection, and lead the heart in the way of love to both man and God. This knowledge, which is a rare acquirement, he has turned to good account, as a writer of children's books,—and many a young reader will hang with delight, and improvement also, over the pages of these volumes. Caleb, and others of its class, have a higher aim than the Rollo Books, and to a pleasing communication of useful knowledge are designed to add intellectual and moral discipline, and may, therefore, be regarded as partaking directly of a religious character.

When Anaxagoras the philosopher died, he commended his memory to the love of children, by requesting that the anniversary of his death might be observed by the scholars of his native city as a universal holiday. Professor Abbott has erected a more durable monument in the affections of children, by the production of books which they will read and study with perpetual interest, and remember with satisfaction all their lives long.

R.

11. *The Life of GEORGE WASHINGTON.* By JARED SPARKS. 8vo. pp. 562. Boston. 1839.

"The contents of this volume," says the author, in the preface, "are essentially the same, as those of the volume prefixed to WASHINGTON'S WRITINGS. It being designed chiefly for readers, who may not have access to that work, such additions have been made, as the prescribed

space would admit; and as would contribute to enhance its value in this form of a separate publication."

We have read the *Life of Washington* with unmingled satisfaction. It was a difficult undertaking to write a good biography of such a man. His relations were so complicated, the theatre of his action so vast, and the events of his life so blended with general history, that it was no easy matter to settle properly the character and limits of such a work. That it should be kept distinct from a history of the American Revolution is very obvious. Not only does biography lose its charm, if it be clogged and loaded with matters in which the individual had no personal concern, but the history of his times, if it be introduced, becomes tedious from the awkwardness of the arrangement, and from the want of an easy flow in the current of events. Mr. Sparks has, we think, wisely limited himself to those events in which Washington was personally concerned; and has related these only so far as they illustrate the actions and character of the individual. To many readers, it would have been a favor, if the author had given, as he passed along, a bird's-eye view of contemporaneous events. But he wrote for those, who study history in its appropriate place, and whose object here is merely to learn whatever of interest pertains to Washington himself. With all the effort of the writer to adhere rigidly to his plan, the volume has swollen to a considerable size. Yet we think it contains neither too much nor too little.

Of the historical accuracy of the work, the character and circumstances of the author are a sufficient guaranty. The materials were drawn "from the manuscripts at Mount Vernon, papers in the public offices of London, Paris, Washington, and all the old thirteen States; and also from the private papers of many of the principal leaders in the Revolution. The entire mass of manuscripts left by General Washington, consisting of more than two hundred folio volumes, was in the author's hands ten years." No man living has had such facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the life and character of Washington.

It is needless to speak of the literary execution of the work to those who are acquainted with the other productions of the author. The style is clear, rich and flowing; the narrative simple and natural, and every thing in short, just what we should expect from a practised writer. The volume, which is adorned with fourteen good engravings, is splendidly executed; and, to those who have ample means, is well worth its cost, which, we regret to say, is no less than five dollars.

12. *Spiritual Improvement: or Aid to Growth in Grace. A Companion for the Christian's Closet.* By RAY PALMER, pastor of the Third Congregational Church, Bath, Me. pp. 239. 12mo. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. Philadelphia. Henry Perkins, 1839.

Had we taken up this book in a foreign country, without title-page or any other external sign of its origin, we should have known from its topics, scale of thought, design and method of proof and illustration that it received its birth in an orthodox New England pulpit. Its views are sober and judicious, but not grand and far-reaching; its warmth in religion is cautious and calculating; the affections are hardly allowed to spring up spontaneously, but are made to wait pa-

tiently for the assent of the understanding. These characteristics not merely of the author, nor of his communion, but of a large class of American preachers and writers, will perhaps be regarded by the majority of our readers in a favorable light. Be it so. Though we would like that the whole soul should have a little freer play in its religious exercises, our chief aim here is to describe the character of the work. Its merits, which are far from being inconsiderable, may best be seen if we direct our attention successively to its different parts.

The first discourse or chapter, is a clear and sensible, though not very striking exhibition of the evidences of Christian character. "The soul that is really renewed, renounces self, confides in Christ, delights in God and holiness, lives in the spirit of devotion, and in conscientious obedience to the divine commands." The next gives valuable rules for "growing in grace," but is rather too legal; it has too little of the life and inspiring spirit of the gospel. The third chapter, showing that study and profound thought are necessary to a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, is very valuable. Chapter fourth, on religious meditation, teaches, by just representation, that piety cannot be improved by the mere effort of the will, but that its growth depends on appropriate means. The principles which should regulate our meditations are clearly laid down and well illustrated. The relation of believers to the Redeemer, under the figure of the vine and its branches, which is the next topic, is treated with such excessive caution against mysticism, that it is rendered barren and superficial. The chapters on the contemplation of Christ, the indwelling of the Spirit, on being spiritually-minded, and on steadfastness in piety, are full of elevated and ennobling thoughts, and are, in a very high degree, *edifying*. Of the nine remaining chapters only the three last, on Christian union, deserve particular notice. These are written with so much good sense and candor that we cordially recommend them to the attention of our readers. Whether one approve of every idea that is advanced or not, he will certainly give the author the credit of great sobriety and discretion. We select a few passages, partly to exhibit his views on an important practical subject:

"It is believed that the inconstancy of Christian character which is too common at the present day, and which manifests itself in alternate excitement and stupidity, originates, mainly, in mistaken views of the nature of religion. When a season of awakening comes, and intense religious feeling is drawn forth, it is thought by many that such a state is the only one becoming a Christian; and that it should always therefore be maintained. The resolution is made, that the glow of feeling which is experienced, shall be perpetually preserved. But the laws of the human constitution, by-and-by, prevail over resolve and effort, however firm and vigorous, and there is a conscious ebbing of the tide of spiritual emotion. Under the false impression, that this is necessarily a proof of the decline of piety, many struggle to bear up against the returning current, until finding their efforts vain, they give over in despair; and then follows of a truth, what before was only feared, a decline of real piety, and a time of worldly-mindedness and estrangement from the God of grace."

"There are two separate elements, which united, constitute religion: viz. principle and feeling. These elements may be united in different individuals, or in the same individual at different periods, in different proportions; but without them both, there can be no Christian character.

"Principle, is a permanent decision of the will. Thus when we say of a man, that he has a principle of justice, veracity, or benevolence, we mean that his will is fixed on doing right, and speaking truth, and showing kindness. Religious principle, then, is the permanent decision of the will for God and holiness; the permanent choice of these, as the supreme objects of regard; the settled purpose, to be governed in all things by a simple sense of duty.

"Feeling, is an excited state of the affections; and is always the result of an object, addressed to the susceptibilities of the mind. Religious feeling, then, is an excitement of the affections, in view of religious objects."

"Now take two persons of equally elevated piety, and place one of them amidst all this, and the other in a wilderness alone. Is it surprising, that the first should be raised to a higher pitch of feeling, than the last? But has he now become as much more holy than the other, as he is above him in the excitement of his feelings? Plainly, in such a case, he who is full of religious emotion, is so because he is in circumstances peculiarly fitted to awaken it, and the other is in a state of calm and collected piety, because the causes of emotion are now absent; and the latter, at the same time, may be in a state as holy, and as acceptable to God as the former.

"To suppose, therefore, that piety rises and declines within the soul, just as the feelings ebb and flow, is plainly a very serious error; an error likely to prove highly pernicious in its influence. The state of piety in any mind is really proportioned to the strength of holy principle, and the degree of moral sensibility; or in other words, to the energy of purpose in well-doing, and the readiness and intensity, with which the mind is in a state to feel, when the objects of holy emotion shall be present."

In the chapter on love to enemies, there is a statement, which, though not altogether false, is so unguarded, and so like a current pulpit mode of sweeping expression on this and other similar points, that we are induced to give it a moment's notice. Respecting the command to love our enemies, the author remarks on page 165, "it is a precept which no system but Christianity can boast." It is also often said that nothing like our Saviour's "golden rule" is to be found in all the writings of the pagans; and that the word, *humility*, in a good sense, was unknown to classical antiquity.

We by no means call in question the originality of the Christian code of morals, and its infinite superiority over all the precepts of pagan philosophers. We would only hint to preachers the impropriety of stating positively what they have not, by suitable investigation, ascertained to be true. How few of our young pulpit orators are qualified to affirm whether a particular sentiment is to be found in all the writings of pagan antiquity! The indiscretion of which we speak is by no means uncommon, and lest an enemy should meet such assertions and come off with a triumph, we will present a few quotations for consideration. The sacred books of the Brahmins contain the following beautiful passage: "Not only forgive him who seeks your hurt, but show him kindness, as the sandal-tree perfumes the axe that fells it."*

* See Schwarz Sittenlehre, i, 68. Also pages 56, 57, for the two next quotations.

In the collection of the maxims of the Seven Wise Men of Greece by Buddeus, there is one relating to the same subject: "Be kind not only to your friend, but to your enemy; to the latter to make him your friend, to the former to strengthen his friendship."

Confucius said, "The perfect man loves his neighbor and treats him as he would wish to be treated in like circumstances."

Plato, speaking of equity, says, "The man who is to be happy adheres to it, and follows after it with *humility* (*ταπεινός*) and decorum."* Plutarch, says, "The neophyte in philosophy is noisy and turbulent, but he who is truly initiated — follows after wisdom as after a Deity, with *humility* and decorum."†

Origen reproaches Celsus for "not understanding the nature of Christian humility, though he had been taught by Plato," and then quotes the passage from the Laws.

Afterwards, when Celsus accused the Christians of borrowing this idea from Plato, Origen refuted him, by showing that David taught the doctrine before the time of Plato.‡

Undoubtedly the humility taught by Plato and Plutarch falls far short of Christian humility. It is but a modest submission to what is right and wise, a matter of propriety and decorum and has little to do with *guilt* as a ground of humiliation. Besides, the lofty moral precepts which we sometimes hear from heathen sages, are not clearly exhibited as resting on great principles; they are not strongly seized and boldly set forth as prominent features of a general ethical system, but they drop from the lips of the wise as if by accident, and are soon forgotten. Though it be admitted that there is scarcely a precept in the Bible which has not in one form or other been given or hinted at by some pagan writer, still the principles on which such precepts are enjoined are so widely different in the two cases that the whole *spirit* of Christianity is unapproached by the spirit of paganism.

13. *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Uebersetzt von Dr. W. M. L. DE WETTE. Erster Theil. Die historischen Bücher des A. T. Dritte, verbesserte Ausgabe. 1839.*

The translator remarks in the preface: "I have once more, with all possible accuracy and with all the aid furnished by works published since the second edition, compared this translation with the original text. I may also mention that I have availed myself of the remarks which some of my friends have presented me."

The translation has been revised with great care, and generally speaking, the alterations are decidedly for the better. The extent to which these have been made, may be estimated from the first chapter of Genesis, in which nineteen verbal changes occur. The notes of this edition are removed from the bottom of the page to the end of the volume.

This is, undoubtedly, the most critical version of the Scriptures extant; and the biblical student will wait with anxiety for the two remaining parts, which are now in a course of preparation.

* De Legibus, iv, p. 716.

† De Profect. in Vir. 10.

‡ Origen, c. Celsum, iii, p. 489 and vi, p. 640.

14. *Essays in a series of Letters on the following subjects*: On a man's writing memoirs of himself. On decision of character. On the application of the epithet Romantic. On some of the causes by which evangelical religion has been rendered less acceptable to persons of cultivated taste. By JOHN FOSTER, author of the "Glory of the Age," &c. Sixth American from the eighth London edition, with additions and improvements by the author. Boston. James Loring. 1839.

The title of this work is all the passport it needs to public favor. A commendation from us of Foster's Essays cannot be desired by any of our readers. It is more to our purpose to say that the new edition is neat and elegant. The paper, type and the form of the book are as they should be.

15. *Historical Collections*; being a general collection of interesting Facts, Traditions, biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, &c., relating to the History and Antiquities of every town in Massachusetts, with geographical descriptions. Illustrated by 200 engravings. By JOHN WARREN BARBER, author of Connecticut Historical Collections, Elements of General History, &c. pp. 624. 8vo. Worcester. Dorr, Howland & Co. 1839.

The character of the work corresponds with its title. Consisting as it does of miscellaneous facts relating to each town in the State, it is both interesting and, in its way, instructive. A book of this kind, being rather a collection of curiosities than a connected history, serves a rational and not unimportant end. Not professing any particular acquaintance with the special history of these towns, we cannot of course judge of the accuracy of the various details here presented. The work has the appearance of being executed with industry and judgment; and we doubt not it will furnish a welcome entertainment for the winter evenings of many an inhabitant of the Bay State.

16. *The Southern Baptist Preacher*; Or Sermons by living Baptist ministers in the South. Edited by WILLIAM H. STOKES. Washington, Ga. 1839.

The first number has reached us just in time for us to give its title and a word or two from the introduction.

"In presenting this, the first number of the SOUTHERN BAPTIST PREACHER to the public, we can not so much say what we have done, as what we desire to do. As we have already stated in our Proposals, so we now repeat, it is our purpose to stir up our brethren, if possible, to an effort to contribute something towards a Southern Baptist Literature; to bring into some durable form, a few memorials of our elder brethren, who by the course of nature must soon leave us; and last, though not least, we are not without hope that in this way, we shall be able to do some good by scattering knowledge, and increasing a spirit of reading."

This number contains a sermon on Phil. 3: 8, by the venerable Jesse Mercer, of which, for want of time, we can now give no further notice.

EDITOR.

QUARTERLY LIST.

DEATHS.

THOMAS ATKINSON, Irwinton, Ala., July 27, aged 40.
 AUGUSTUS O. BACON, Walthourville, Ga., July 3, aged 23.
 JOHN BUSH, Indiana, Aug. 24.
 JOHN FORD, Pickins Co., Ala., June 5, aged 52.
 OLIVER T. HAMMOND, Irwinton, Ala., Sept. 6, aged 96.
 THOMAS T. HARRIS, Green Lawn, Va., Aug. 25, aged 52.
 JOHN R. PRICE, Buckland, Mass., Oct. 19, aged 98.
 NICHOLS JOHNSON, Fishville, E. I., Aug. 20, aged 45.
 PHILIP MATHEWS, Prince Edwards Co., Va., Aug. 10.
 JOHN SMITH, Carroton, Ill., Aug. 6.
 GEORGE WHITWELL, Crawford Co., Pa., Aug. 19.

ORDINATIONS.

CYRUS BARKER, Newport, R. I., Sept. 3.
 IMMAN G. BARKER, Newton, Mass., Aug. 21.
 ARCHIBALD BENNET, Norwich, Vt., June 15.
 HENRY BLACKMAN, Villanouvise, N. Y., June 23.
 JOSEPH B. BREED, Lynn, Mass., Sept. 24.
 ROSWELL CHERRY, Girard, Pa., Oct. 8.
 WILLIAM P. COOL, Belfast, N. Y., June 27.
 WILLIAM DICKENS, Middletown, Conn., Sept. 18.
 J. SEWALL EATON, Hartford, Ct., Nov. 13.
 SAMUEL W. FIELD, North Yarmouth, Me., Oct. 3.
 DAVID P. FRENCH, Sullivan, N. H., Sept. 5.
 EDGAR H. GRAY, Freeport, Me., Oct. 30.
 JONATHAN H. GREENE, Cavendish, Vt., Aug. 15.
 PELATIAH HANSCOM, South Hampton, N. H., July 5.
 JOHN JOHNSON, Charleston, Me., Oct. 8.
 INCREASE JONES, Pittsford, Vt., July 25.
 ASA MARSH, Jeffersonville, Ia., Sept. 20.
 ELIAS L. MAGOON, Newton, Mass., Aug. 21.
 SULLIVAN A. MAXIM, Palmyra, Me., Oct. 29.
 JOHN MCCOY, Northfield, Mich., July 11.
 A. L. McLELLAN, Piqua, O., Oct. 15.
 JOHN MCQUESTOR, Macon Co., Ala., July 14.
 CYRUS MINER, North Stonington, Ct., Aug. 22.

JOHN D. PARRIS, Bangor, Me., Aug. 29.
 R. M. PRENTICE, Norwich Village, Chango Co., N. Y., Sept. 18.
 D. ROUNDS, Nantucket, Aug. 17.
 NELSON D. SANDERS, New Orleans, La., Jan. 12.
 RICHARD SATTERFIELD, New Orleans, La., Jan. 12.
 HENRY A. SMITH, Burlington, N. Y., Aug. 15.
 JAMES A. B. STONE, Gloucester, Mass., Nov. 13.
 THOMAS TAYLOR, Manchester, Ill., Aug. 12.
 STEPHEN VAN HUSEN, Bristol, Ontario Co., N. Y., Aug. 29.
 HEATHLY WARD, Lyons, N. Y., Sept. 18.
 DAVID E. WILLIAMS, Bangor, Me., Aug. 29.
 ISAAC WOODBURY, Haverhill, Mass., Nov. 6.

CONSTITUTION OF CHURCHES.

At Jackson, Miss., May.
 At Lake Co., Ia., May.
 At Triana, Ala., June 2.
 At Sangerville, Me., June 10.
 At Lexington, Ia., June 16.
 At Little Missouri, Schuyler Co., Ill., June 16.
 At La Salle, Ill., June 21.
 At Tuscaloosa, Ala., June 22.
 At Jacksonville, Ill., June 22.
 At Wethersfield, Ill., June.
 At Clinton, Ohio, June.
 At Mount Moriah, Clark Co., Me.
 At Rock Creek, Menard Co., Ill.
 At Jones Co., Ga., July 6.
 At Wyconda, Clark Co., Me., July 6.
 At La Beouff, Erie Co., Pa., July 8.
 At Mount Pleasant, Ill., July 20.
 At Carlisle, N. Y., July 29.
 At Sugar Creek, Tazewell Co., Ill., Aug. 4.
 At Middlebourne, Va., Aug. 12.
 At West Point, Ohio, Aug. 18.
 At Tremont, Rockland Co., N. Y., Aug. 22.
 At Richville, N. Y., Aug. 28.
 At Lyons, N. Y., Sept. 18.

DEDICATIONS.

In Canton, Ct., Aug. 22.
 In Edgartown, Mass., Sept. 6.
 In Keene, N. H., Sept. 17.
 In Gloversville, N. Y., Sept. 18.
 In Addison, Me., Oct. 22.
 In Dexter, Me., Oct. 30.

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